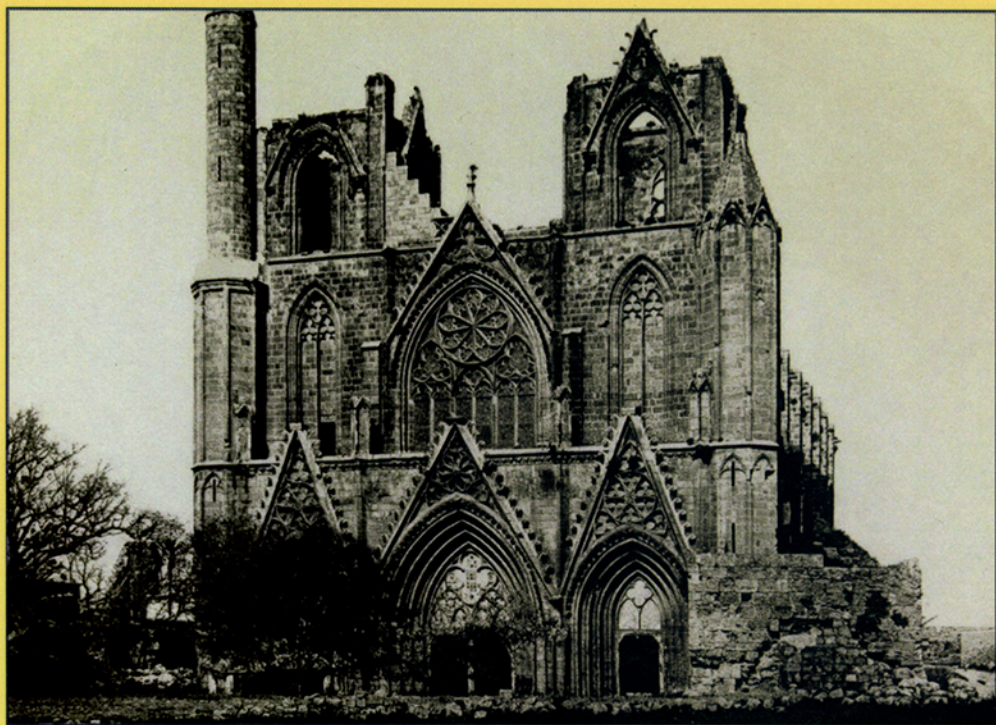


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# A HISTORY OF CYPRUS

VOLUME 2:  
THE FRANKISH PERIOD,  
1192-1432

GEORGE HILL



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Sir George Francis Hill (1867–1948), was perhaps best known as a numismatist, although his scholarly interests and accomplishments included a range of time periods and subjects. A classicist by training, Hill built his career at the British Museum's department of coins and medals. In his forty-three years there he produced volumes on coins of antiquity; Greek history and art; coins, heraldry, and iconography of medieval and Renaissance Italy; and treasure troves. In 1931 Hill became the Museum's director and principal librarian, the first archaeologist to hold this post. His four-volume *History of Cyprus* (1940–52) ranged from Cyprus's earliest years to the twentieth century, and became the standard text on the subject. It is a valuable resource for scholars of the country, of antiquity and of the Mediterranean world. Volume 2 commences Hill's investigation of the Frankish period (1192–1432), which he continues in Volume 3.



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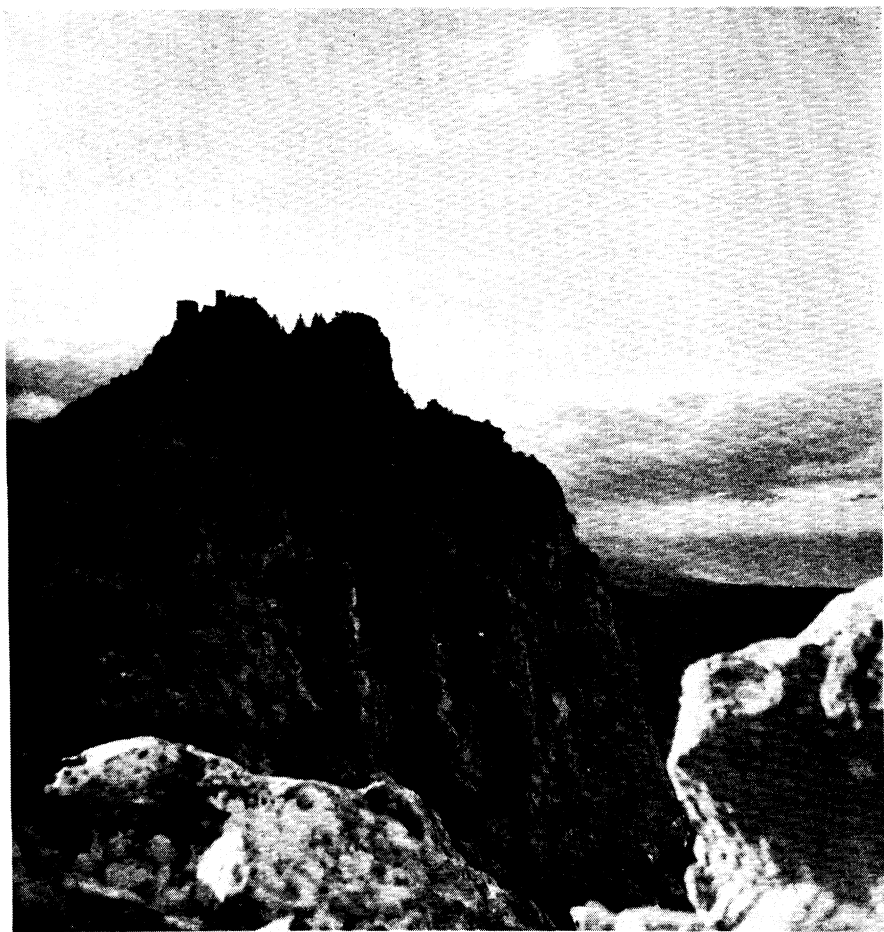
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# A HISTORY OF CYPRUS

Volumes II and III together cover the whole of the Frankish Period; they are not sold separately; the pagination is continuous; the Index for Volumes II and III appears at the end of Volume III

FRONTISPIECE



*Phot. Mr W. H. Covington*

ST HILARION CASTLE



# A HISTORY OF CYPRUS

BY  
SIR GEORGE HILL  
K.C.B., F.B.A.

\* \*

VOLUME II

*The Frankish Period*

1192-1432

CAMBRIDGE  
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# CONTENTS

## Volume II (1192-1432)

<i>Preface</i>	page vii
<i>List of Illustrations and Maps</i>	ix
<i>List of Books Referred to</i>	xiii
Chapter I. The Frankish Foundation. Guy and Aimery de Lusignan, 1192-1205	i
II. Hugh I. Henry I to the end of the Longobard War, 1205-43	73
III. The Last Days of Frankish Syria, 1243-91	138
IV. From the Fall of Acre to the Restoration of Henry II, 1291-1310	193
V. From the Restoration of Henry II to the Death of Hugh IV, 1310-59	261
VI. Peter I, 1359-69	308
VII. Peter II. James I, 1369-98	370
VIII. Janus, 1398-1432	447

## Volume III (1432-1571)

IX. John II, 1432-58	497
X. Charlotte and Louis of Savoy, 1458-64	548
XI. James II, 1464-73	621
XII. Catherine and James III. Catherine alone, 1473-89	657



<i>Chapter XIII. Cyprus under Venice</i>	<i>page 765</i>
XIV. The War of Cyprus. I. The Expedition of 1570	878
XV. The War of Cyprus. II. The Turkish Conquest	950
XVI. The Two Churches, 1220-1571	1041
XVII. Literature and the Fine Arts	1105
<i>Note on some Authorities</i>	1143
<i>Genealogy of the Lusignan Dynasty</i>	1156
<i>Addenda</i>	1159
<i>Index</i>	1163

## PREFACE

Volumes II and III of this work, comprising the history of the Frankish Period, were completed in manuscript while the issue of the War of 1939-45 was still in suspense, while communications in the world of scholarship were closed, and much material in this country that ought to have been consulted was inaccessible. Experience of the aftermath of the War of 1914-18 showed that it may be long before all such difficulties can be smoothed away. At the risk of leaving many points undecided, which reference to the relevant authority might settle in a moment, it has seemed better to present the work with a number of ragged edges, rather than postpone publication indefinitely in the hope of achieving a tidier result.

Such as it is, then, the material of these two volumes takes the history of the island from the Frankish settlement down to the Turkish conquest in 1571. The most difficult part of my task has been to maintain the true proportions in the picture of the role which Cyprus played in the political and military history of the age; its place within the framework of the feudal system and of Italian colonial adventure; its activity in the Crusades and generally in the struggle with Islam. The expert medievalist will probably find that this composition by one, whose training has been rather in the field of antiquity, is in this respect ill-balanced. But I trust that the domestic aspect of the story, with its picturesque parade of striking personalities, has not been inadequately presented.

The succeeding three centuries of Turkish rule offer nothing of comparable interest, and the history of British occupation and colonial administration from 1878 to the present time bristles with difficulties. But this period cries out for an impartial treatment, which I trust the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, who have hitherto so generously supported the present undertaking, may see that it receives in a fourth and concluding volume, by some other hand if fate decides that it shall not be my own.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the scholars to whose assistance I have never had to appeal in vain. Some acknowledgements will be found in the footnotes, but I must in addition record my indebtedness first of all to Professor R. M. Dawkins for his continued interest and encouragement; then to my former colleagues at the British Museum, more especially Sir Harold Bell, Messrs John Allan,

A. S. Fulton (who has kindly read the proofs with an eye to Oriental spellings), John Walker, F. Wormald, and generally the staff of the Library; as well as to Dr W. H. and Dr Georgina Buckler, Mr Porphyrios Dikaïos, Miss Evelyn Jamison, Professor J. L. La Monte of Cincinnati, Mr Malcolm Letts, Mr J. G. Mann, Mr A. H. S. Megaw, Sir E. H. Minns, Mr Theophilus Mogabgab, the Very Rev. Diran Nersoyan, Sir Charles Peers, Dr Loizos Philippou, the late Professor Previté-Orton, Mr Raleigh Radford, Dr F. Saxl, Dr H. A. Utidjian, and Dr Paul Wittek. For the efforts of the Readers of the Cambridge University Press to introduce some sort of uniformity into the text I cannot be too grateful. A word of acknowledgement is also due to the Librarian of the Royal Empire Society, who made me free of the incomparable collection of books and pamphlets on Cyprus which was given to it by Claude Delaval Cobham, and to Mr C. J. Purnell and his staff at the London Library, who never faltered in their service when nearly all other libraries in London were closed.

It has been the fate of the two finest scholars who have interested themselves in Cyprus to die before they could finish their great works. Eugen Oberhummer's *Die Insel Cypern* was my inseparable companion throughout the writing of the first volume. For the second and third, it will be obvious from the footnotes that my work is largely a rearrangement and digest of the immense mass of materials which were collected by Comte Louis de Mas Latrie in his two volumes of documents and in many other publications. It is with a distinct feeling of unworthiness, mingled with the keenest gratitude, that I have tried to build on the foundations which he laid for a structure of which he was spared to complete, so to speak, only the *rez-de-chaussée*.

In transliterations from Arabic or Turkish there doubtless remain, in spite of Dr Fulton's vigilance, a number of inconsistencies. In the author of *Revolt in the Desert* these might be excused as whimsicalities; in my case I can offer no explanation but Dr Samuel Johnson's.

For the index (at the end of Volume III), long as it is, I hardly venture to apologize, merely pleading that to have made it adequate would have greatly swollen an already unwieldy volume.

GEORGE HILL



# ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

## PLATES

### Volume II

St Hilarion Castle (Phot. Mr W. H. Covington)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
I. Nicosia, Latin Cathedral (From Enlart, <i>L'Art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre</i> )	<i>to face p. 12</i>
II. Famagusta, Latin Cathedral (From Enlart, <i>op. cit.</i> )	14
III. (a) Kolossi Castle (Phot. Lt.-Col. Vivian Seymer, D.S.O.) (b) Famagusta Enceinte (Phot. Lt.-Col. Vivian Seymer, D.S.O.)	22
IV. Bellapaïs Abbey, from the North (From the <i>Cyprus Calendar</i> )	26
V. Bellapaïs Abbey, Refectory (From Enlart, <i>op. cit.</i> )	28

### Volume III

VI. John II, King of Cyprus (Wrongly lettered 'Philip' etc. From the <i>Diary of Georg von Ehingen</i> , ed. Malcolm Letts)	546
VII. Catherine Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus. By Gentile Bellini (Budapest. Phot. Hanfstängl)	760
VIII. Jerome Zane (attributed to Parrasio Micheli) (Vienna. Phot. Wolfram)	896
IX. Mark Antony Colonna. By Scipione Pulzone (Colonna Gallery, Rome. Phot. Anderson)	902

# *List of Illustrations and Maps*

X.	John Andrew Doria. By Domenicus Custos (Ashmolean Museum)	to face p. 904
XI.	Sebastian Venier. School of Tintoretto (Vienna. Phot. Bruckmann)	910
XII.	Astorre Baglione (attributed to Domenicus Custos) (From Schrenck von Nozing, <i>Augustissimorum Imperatorum Imagines</i> , 1601, p. 119)	950
XIII.	Plan of the Siege of Famagusta. By Marius Cartaro (British Museum. The legend at the bottom of the plan is not reproduced)	990
XIV.	Mark Antony Bragadin. By Tiziano Aspetti (Venice, Palazzo Ducale. From Venturi, <i>Storia dell' Arte Italiana</i> , x, iii, p. 289)	1030
XV.	(a) St James, Trikomo (Phot. Lt.-Col. Vivian Seymer, D.S.O.) (b) St Evlalios, Lambousa (Phot. Mr C. J. P. Cave)	1118
XVI.	St Catherine, Nicosia. West door (From Enlart, <i>op. cit.</i> )	1128
XVII.	Famagusta, Martinengo Bastion (From the Cyprus Monuments Committee, <i>Fourth Report</i> )	1134
XVIII.	(a) The Ascension. Pitt-Rivers Museum (Phot. Mr T. D. Kendrick) (b) The Pantokrator, Asinou (Phot. Lt.-Col. Vivian Seymer, D.S.O.)	1136
XIX.	The Virgin between SS. Michael and Gabriel, Asinou (Phot. Mangoian. Block lent by the Society of Antiquaries)	1138

## MAPS

General Map of Medieval Cyprus	at end of volume III
Sketch-map: from Crete to Syria	volume III, page 915

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

[All the coins, except fig. 11, are from Schlumberger,  
*Numismatique de l'Orient latin.*]

Volume II

Fig. 1. Denier of Guy de Lusignan (Schlumberger, Pl. vi, 2)	page 41
2. Armorial slab on Kolossi Castle (After Rey, <i>Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés</i> )	70
3. White besant of Hugh I (Schlumberger, Pl. vi, 3)	73
4. Silver gros of Henry II ( <i>Ibid.</i> Pl. vi, 15)	193
5. Silver gros of Amaury ( <i>Ibid.</i> Pl. vi, 19)	221
6. Silver gros of Peter I ( <i>Ibid.</i> Pl. vi, 27)	308
7. Silver Buckle of the Order of the Sword (Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels. From <i>Mémoires de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France</i> , 1910)	319

Volume III

8. Silver gros and demigros of James II (Schlumberger, Pl. vii, 22, 23)	645
9. Silver gros of Catherine Cornaro ( <i>Ibid.</i> Pl. vii, 26)	681
10. Plan of Nicosia (From Lusignan, <i>Chorographia</i> , 1573)	847
11. Copper siege-money of Famagusta (From Papadopoli, <i>Monete di Venezia</i> , II, Pl. LI, 14)	956

## LIST OF BOOKS REFERRED TO

This list does not pretend to be a systematic bibliography of the period covered by the present volume, nor even to contain all the books or articles consulted or mentioned in the footnotes. But, taken together with such references, it is hoped that it will remove any difficulty in identifying the sources of the information given in the text.

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xxxix

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# THE HISTORY OF CYPRUS



## CHAPTER I

### THE FRANKISH FOUNDATION

#### GUY AND AIMERY DE LUSIGNAN (1192-1205)

Before we proceed to the next epoch in the history of Cyprus, it will be well to try and form some idea of the state of the island at the time of its passing into the hands of a French dynasty, and of the immediate effects of that change. What were the constituents of its population, in respect of nationality, religion and social status, and in what sense were these to develop in the next three centuries; which were the cities and ports, and which were the religious establishments and the places of military importance in existence at the time and destined to play a part in the coming age?

Of the racial and religious elements which went to make up the population<sup>1</sup> of Cyprus at the time when it passed out of the hands of the Byzantines, by far the largest was of course Graeco-Cypriote. The Arabs, in spite of their frequent incursions, had left no trace, if they had ever settled there in any numbers.<sup>2</sup>

The Syrians, who at various times had found their way thither, became, so far as language, religion and manners were concerned, entirely fused with the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> Under the Lusignans they enjoyed the separate

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* 1, Ch. v; Hackett, pp. 522-34; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 65-78. Stubbs (*Seventeen Lectures*, p. 187) exaggerates when he speaks of 'flight of the Greek population which had begun under Isaac and had been completed after the massacre of Nicosia'. The account of the various sects given by Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 34sq., and *Descr.* ff. 71sq., is especially valuable, although it is not always possible to distinguish the earlier conditions from those prevailing in his own time. He has been fully used by Hackett.

<sup>2</sup> Almost certainly Arabic place-names are Kantara and Komi Kebir (Vol. 1, p. 272, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> *Constitutio Cypria* of Alexander IV, 1260; Raynaldus, 1260, p. 67, § 50.

jurisdiction of a *Reis* appointed by the King at Nicosia, and, as late as the fifteenth, and probably even in the sixteenth, century, at Famagusta.<sup>1</sup> But most of these Syrians were probably later arrivals, rather than survivors of early immigrations. They were for the most part settled in the towns, though the locality Syrianochori (in the Morphou district) may have been an agricultural settlement.

The Armenians,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, never lost their national identity. As we have seen (Vol. I, p. 281), people of that race were settled in the island as early as the sixth century. That immigration was involuntary; but later, with the rise of the state of Armeno-Cilicia in the eleventh century, communication between that kingdom and Cyprus, though by no means always friendly (Vol. I, pp. 306f.), must have led to Armenian immigration into the island. There were Armenians in the army which Isaac Comnenus opposed to Richard Lion Heart,<sup>3</sup> and Armenians are mentioned early in the thirteenth century along with the Greeks, as making up the subject population, in a way which implies that they had not settled there recently.<sup>4</sup> A memory of an early settlement is preserved in the name of Armenochori, a village (now Turkish) near Limassol, which was taken from the Templars and transferred to the Hospitallers in 1307.<sup>5</sup> But more important was the quarter of Nicosia, between the Konak Square and the Paphos Gate, known as *Armenia*, a name which it still bears.<sup>6</sup> In the middle of the sixteenth century the

<sup>1</sup> In the capitulation of Famagusta in 1464, § 8, it is agreed that the Greek burgesses shall have *la loro corte de Suriani* (Fl. Bustron, p. 412). Something must here have fallen out of the text. From Lusignan (*Chor. f. 81; Descr. f. 216b*) it is clear that the Greeks and Latins were specifically excluded from the court of the Reis.

<sup>2</sup> On the Armenians in Cyprus, see Palmieri in Vacant-Mangenot, *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* II, col. 2467; Papken I, *Hai-Kibros* (Antilias-Lebanon, 1936). I have to thank Dr H. A. Utidjian for a copy, and translations of certain parts, of this little work.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* III, p. 592.

<sup>4</sup> Wilbrand of Oldenburg, 1211; *Exc. Cypr.* p. 13. In spite of his contemptuous description, the Armenians seem to have been favoured by the Lusignans; they were too clever in commerce to be neglected, and their religious beliefs made them sympathize more with Latins than with Greeks. (M.L., *H.* I, p. 106. Cp. Hackett, pp. 523 f.)

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 110. Three villages mentioned by Lusignan in 1573 as inhabited by Armenians now show no trace of them.

<sup>6</sup> Sir H. Luke, *More Moves on an Eastern Chequerboard* (1935), p. 182. The Armenian church in Nicosia (Surp Asvadzadzin), a fourteenth-century building, came into the hands of the Armenians before the Turkish conquest. The Turks used it as a salt-store, but afterwards handed it back to the Armenians as a reward for their help in the capture of Nicosia. Mustafa Pasha, as will be seen, employed in the sieges of Nicosia and

sect had bishops in Nicosia and Famagusta. The latter, however, though of Armenian birth, was of the Roman religion, and a Dominican, Br. Julian by name. Before his time the Armenians in Cyprus had recognized as head of their Church the Armenian Patriarch, who resided in Cilicia. Julian made them transfer their obedience to the Roman Church.<sup>1</sup>

The connexion of the Maronites,<sup>2</sup> the most numerous Christian sect in Cyprus after the native Orthodox Church, with the Mardaïtes of the Byzantine historians (Vol. I, p. 287) is extremely doubtful, and the earliest evidence of their presence in the island dates from the twelfth century, when, as we have seen (Vol. I, p. 305), in 1121 and 1141 the abbots of the monastery of St John Chrysostom at Koutzoventi were appointed by Maronite patriarchs.<sup>3</sup> After this there is no record of Maronites in the island until the thirteenth century, the last immigration from Syria having perhaps taken place at the end of the twelfth century. They seem to have settled not in the towns, but chiefly in the mountains to the north of Nicosia. Their chief centre, Tala or Attalia in the Karpas, seems to be no more traceable. Their numbers, once very large,

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Famagusta a great body of Armenian sappers; but, as regards the Armenian inhabitants of Nicosia, there is a tradition that they assisted the besiegers, opening the Paphos Gate to them, and that as a reward they were entrusted with the keeping of one of the city gates (*Hai-Kibros*, pp. 27, 87; information from Dr Utidjian). The church has been identified with the Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady of Tyre, which was the only nunnery of the Latins in the time of Lusignan (Enlart, I, p. 145. Cp. below, p. 29, n. 5). Pagouran, (*Kipros Gueghzi*, 1903, pp. 63, 68) quotes a firman ordering Muzaffer Pasha, Beylerbey of Cyprus, to return to the Armenians the church called 'Tartougha', which they had previously owned, after it had been emptied of the salt. They were not to be allowed to add to the structure. The date is Zi'lhijje 978 (27 Apr.-25 May 1571). The Latin Archbishop is said to have laid a curse on the Armenians that they should never increase to more than forty families. On medieval Armenian churches in Nicosia, still unidentified, see Mogabgab, *Supp. Exc.* II, p. 87. The Armenian church in Famagusta is of the fourteenth century. See Enlart, I, pp. 142 ff., 365 ff., for this and the Nicosia church; also Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* pp. 50 ff., 143 f.; cp. for that at Famagusta his *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, no. 4, p. 37. The church in Famagusta was known as the 'Cathedral of the Mother of God, the Caller' (Mogabgab, *op. cit.* p. 55).

<sup>1</sup> Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 73.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* I, pp. 106-11; Hackett, pp. 527-9; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 70-3; *Hdb.* pp. 52 f.

<sup>3</sup> But afterwards the monastery came to depend on that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

though the estimate of 180,000 is incredible, may have been under the last of the Lusignans 7000 or 8000, occupying some thirty villages.<sup>1</sup> The most interesting monument connected (though only by tradition) with the Maronites is the fourteenth-century church of St Anne at Famagusta.<sup>2</sup>

The Jacobites,<sup>3</sup> representing the Monophysite heresy which had been condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, were of sufficient importance in Cyprus in 1222 to be included by Honorius III in the order which he gave to enforce on them, with the Syrians and the Nestorians, obedience to the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia. It is likely, therefore, that they had penetrated into Cyprus before the Latin occupation, but as to this we have no trustworthy information.<sup>4</sup>

The Nestorians or Chaldaeans<sup>5</sup> were included with the Jacobites in the order of Honorius III mentioned above. A bishop sometimes resided in the island; otherwise they were under the Metropolitan of Tarsus, himself subordinate to the Patriarch of Baghdad. They were to be of great importance in the fourteenth century, when they built the church at Famagusta identified with that known to the Greeks as A. Georgios Xorinos,<sup>6</sup> and recently handed over to the Orthodox community.<sup>7</sup>

The Jews had certainly come back to Cyprus in some numbers before the end of the twelfth century. The edict prohibiting their return after the Revolt of 115 must soon have become ineffectual (Vol. I, pp. 241 f.). The earliest<sup>8</sup> testimony to their presence in the Middle Ages seems to be that of Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the island between 1160 and

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<sup>1</sup> Lusignan (*Chor.* f. 34 b; cp. *Descr.* f. 73) says the Maronites were the most numerous sect in the island, after the Greeks, and occupied 30 (33) *casali*. Under the Turks, at the end of the sixteenth century, they were scattered about nineteen villages or farms (Dandini in Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 182). From the latter years of that century they were closely connected with the Communion of Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Enlart, I, pp. 347-55; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 140, and *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, no. 4, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* I, pp. 112 f.; Hackett, pp. 525 f.; Papaïoannou, III, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* II, 1421, gives two Jacobite bishops in Cyprus in the 7th-8th centuries (Hackett, p. 526); after this there is no record until the 13th century.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *H.* I, p. 112; Hackett, p. 529; Papaïoannou, III, p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> Enlart, I, pp. 356 ff.; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* pp. 144 f.; Dawkins on Machaeras, 93.

<sup>7</sup> Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 144, with a characteristic footnote.

<sup>8</sup> Except that a scholar, Moses of Cyprus, is said to have acted as arbitrator between Armenians and Greeks in the eleventh century (*Jewish Encycl.* s.v. Cyprus).

1173, and who tells us that besides the orthodox Jews there is a community of heretic Jews called Cyprians. They are Epicureans, and excommunicated by the Jews everywhere. They profane the evening of the Sabbath and keep holy that of the Sunday. These heretics are also mentioned by Abraham Ibn Ezra, who in the middle of the eleventh century wrote refuting the books which they had composed in defence of their tenets.<sup>1</sup> Since Benjamin found not only orthodox but heretic Jews, the total number must have been considerable. From the fourteenth century onwards, as we shall see, they must have been flourishing.

Many other races<sup>2</sup> and languages were represented in the island, since pilgrims of all countries passed through it, so that 'the tongues of every nation under heaven are heard and read and talked; and all are taught in special schools'.<sup>3</sup> This in the middle of the fourteenth century. In the Byzantine period, Greek (for communicating with Byzantium) and 'Syrian' (Syriac, for the Patriarch of Antioch) had sufficed for official purposes. But after the Frankish settlement, men 'began to learn French, and barbarized their Greek into what it is to-day', says Machaeras in the fifteenth century, 'and we write French and Greek so that in the world there is no one who can say what language we use'.<sup>4</sup> In the sixteenth century the Babel of tongues had become even more confused.

It seems clear, from the slight indications given above, mostly inferences from conditions at a later date, that, with the possible exception of the Armenians, the only people with whom the new Latin regime at

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<sup>1</sup> Rapaport in Asher's ed. of Benjamin of Tudela, II, p. 56. He points out that, in calling them Epicureans (*Apicorossin*, which in the language of the Talmud would imply exclusion from the Jewish community), Benjamin is punning on *Kaphrasin*, Cyprians. See also M. N. Adler's ed. of the *Itinerary* (1907), p. 15. Ibn Ezra visited Cyprus before he went to England in 1158. Kyprianos (p. 95) is of course wrong when he says that the Jews had never returned to Cyprus. There were 2000 in Famagusta alone in Lusignan's time; Cotovicus (p. 93) found many at Lemesos in 1598; but they rapidly decreased later, and by Pococke's time (1738, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 269) they must have disappeared altogether. De Vezin (end of 18th cent., *ibid.* p. 368) confirms that they were strictly excluded. Cp. Palmieri, col. 2468.

<sup>2</sup> Of the gypsies who were there in the sixteenth century (Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 71; M.L., H. I, p. 114) there are now none left. Mrs Scott-Stevenson (*Our Home in Cyprus*, 1880, p. 254) describes them as being often met with in Cyprus in her time.

<sup>3</sup> Ludolf of Sudheim, in *Exc. Cypr.* p. 20. See Dawkins on Machaeras, 158, II, p. 112. It is interesting to note that, when Henry II was carried off by the Lord of Tyre, his mother Queen Isabel cursed in a mixture of French, Arabic and Greek (Amadi, p. 322).

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 158. See also below, Ch. XVII, p. 1106.

its beginning had seriously to reckon were the Greek-speaking Cypriotes of the Orthodox Communion.<sup>1</sup> Of this fact, as already observed,<sup>2</sup> one obtains no true picture from the great legislative monument of Frankish Cyprus, the *Assizes of Jerusalem*, which reproduces the conditions of the kingdom for which they were first drawn up, and where the Syrians and Arabs were by far the most important people after the ruling class, the Greeks and Armenians being regarded as hardly worthy of notice. In the documents which were drawn up in Cyprus, on the other hand, the picture is in truer proportion to the relative importance of the various peoples.

Yet it must be remembered that between the French ruling class and the natives there never came about any such general fusion as the Normans effected in England and Sicily.<sup>3</sup> For a man like Philip de Novare, representative of the chivalry of the realm, the Cypriotes seem hardly to exist. The Normans, on the other hand, and the peoples whom they conquered, had all come within the sphere of Latin civilization and the Roman Church, and knew no such causes of religious animosity as made an impassable gulf between the French rulers of Cyprus and their Greek subjects.

Our historians, being chiefly concerned with the affairs of courts and war, give little or no information of the condition of the people during Byzantine times. Such reflections as we can catch seem to show their condition in a pitiable light. Taxation for tribute stripped the wretched inhabitants of what the raiding enemy had left them. 'Strange and ill to hear of', writes St Neophytus about 1196, 'are the terrible sufferings of this land, so that its rich men have forgotten their wealth, their grand dwellings, their families, servants and slaves, their multitude of flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, horses and animals of all kinds,<sup>4</sup> fields of corn, and fertile vineyards, and varied parks, and in great haste have stolen away and sailed to foreign lands and to Constantinople. And as for those who could not escape, who can recite the tragedy of their tribulations, the inquisitions, the imprisonment in public gaols, the extortion

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<sup>1</sup> Whom, for brevity's sake, but without committing ourselves to any theory of their racial affinity, we may be content to call simply 'Greeks'.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> J Longnon, *Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen-Âge*, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Πλήθους ποιμνίων, βοσκόλων, λακινίων, βοσκημάτων παντοίων. By λακινίων the translators understand 'swine'. But, in view of Cypriote λακινάρι, 'stallion' (Kyriakides, *Cypriote Vocab.*), I have translated 'horses'.

of money, up to thousands and thousands?' Doubtless the writer is thinking of the rich men and the nobles,<sup>1</sup> rather than of the poor, but where the upper classes suffer under a tyranny, the lot of the lower is not usually improved. It has been justly remarked<sup>2</sup> that the picture drawn by many writers of the prosperity and happiness of Cyprus under the Frankish rule is entirely distorted, and that the brilliant surface presented by the Lusignan court or the rich merchantry of Famagusta covered a core of poverty and oppression. In 1211 Wilbrand of Oldenburg describes the Franks as rulers of the country; all the others—Greeks and Armenians—obey them like villeins (*coloni*), paying tribute like slaves (*servi*). They are rude in all their ways, and go about poorly clothed, yet are given to self-indulgence (the blame for which may lie on the wine of Cyprus, or rather on those who drink it). A picture of a degraded people. Thus all classes alike of the original population had been reduced;<sup>3</sup> all alike were in the same position of subjection to an alien dominion. The cleavage between rulers and subjects was more definite, probably, than had ever been the case in the history of Cyprus, where the population had usually stood in some sort of relation, commercial or political, with the conquerors before the conquest became a fact. But these English, from a far and almost unknown island, 'a land far beyond Romania towards the north', in the words of St Neophytus, these English, or rather Anglo-Normans, who swept like a hurricane through the island, and the French who followed them, were a race almost unknown to the Cypriotes, whose only experience hitherto of Westerners must have been confined to the few Italian traders who had settled in such places as Lemesos.

The accounts which we have of the different classes of the Cypriote population all date from the Frankish period or later, but we are assured that these classes were the same as under Byzantium.<sup>4</sup> In the towns the Cypriote population lost all its rights,<sup>5</sup> although it was subject to

<sup>1</sup> Kyprianos (p. 56) says that the noble houses under the Dukes numbered about a hundred.

<sup>2</sup> L. Philiprou in *Διαλέξεις περί τῶν κορυφαίων Κυπρίων φιλοσόφων κτλ.* (1937), pp. 67 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. M.L., H. I, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., H. I, pp. 48 f.

<sup>5</sup> How far, if at all, the non-noble class had any share in local government, is doubtful. Kyprianos, a native of Kilani, says (p. 47) that this place preserved down to Venetian times an ancient usage, by which the inhabitants elected twelve local officials (*primates, proëstotes*), who governed their community, and were subordinate to the island authorities. He seems to imply that this was exceptional.

taxation, regular or exceptional. These people, descendants of Byzantine Cypriotes of good family, came, under the Franks, to be called *bourgeois*. In course of time, many such Cypriotes, as we shall see, rose to positions of importance in commerce, the army or the administration, and even to noble rank; but, at the beginning of the period with which we are concerned, their condition must have been no better than under the tyranny of the last Byzantine ruler.

The ruling class in the Frankish period consisted of the royal house and the nobles,<sup>1</sup> who, it was said, all came to Cyprus with Guy de Lusignan, being mostly French barons who had lost their lands in Palestine. In the time of James the Bastard those who were dispossessed (as supporters of Charlotte) were superseded by many noble (and some not noble) Italians; and others came from Venice in the time of the Venetians.<sup>2</sup> And yet, from the actual names of the 126 noble houses, as recorded in the sixteenth century,<sup>3</sup> it would seem that some at least of the old Byzantine families must have survived. Such names are Androutzes, Agapetos, Kallerges, Kontostephanos, Laskaris, Loaras, Palaialogos, Podocataros, Perakis, Sozomenos, Synkletikos, Nicolas Kyrieleßos. A few of these can be explained as having found their way to Cyprus through Venice. The rest must be old indigenous noble houses which after being reduced to mere burgessdom had fought their way up again.

The native Cypriotes—the landed gentry among them disappeared—fell into three classes:<sup>4</sup>

The lowest was that of the *Paroikoi*, *parici* ('neighbours').<sup>5</sup> These paid

<sup>1</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 30b; *Descr.* ff. 81b sq. On the principal noble families under the Lusignans, see M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 135 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In 1477 plans were made for sending 100 noble families from Venice to settle in Cyprus, but came to nothing. See below, Ch. XII, p. 729.

<sup>3</sup> By Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 82b sq.; *Descr.* ff. 82b–83b; cf. Kyprianos, p. 273; Pandelides, in 'Αθηνά, XXXIV, p. 140. The last writer includes Kallepios; but this was probably of Italian origin (Cobham, *Exc. Cyp.* p. 123).

<sup>4</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 29 sq.; *Descr.* ff. 70 sq.; Loredano (Giblet), I, p. 9; Porcacchi ap. Cobham, *Exc. Cyp.* p. 167; M.L., *H.* 1, p. 49; Hackett, pp. 72f.; Papaioannou, I, pp. 101 f.; Dawkins on Machaeras, as below.

<sup>5</sup> The word is variously explained; by Attar (M.L., *H.* III, p. 520) as 'forestieri habitatori'. The explanation of Fl. Bustron (p. 461) is probably correct, though I do not understand his etymology: 'Il *Parico* è vocabolo greco, tratto da παρά τουκής, che vuol dire huomo obligato star appresso la casa, che non si può partir da quella casa, ovvero casale, senza licenzia del patron di quel casale.' As it were *adscriptus glebae*.



an annual tax per head,<sup>1</sup> and rendered a *corvée* (*angarion*) of two days' labour a week to their lords, who also took one-third of the produce (excluding the seed) of the fields.<sup>2</sup> This had been the arrangement under the Dukes; the French kings confirmed it and increased the tax, and in granting a fief gave the lord jurisdiction over his *parici*. They were treated as mere chattels, and their lord could inflict on them any sort of punishment short of mutilation or death.<sup>3</sup> From an entry in the Book of the Secrète in the fifteenth century it appears that marriage between *parici* belonging to two different lords was restricted. James II, in a mandate issued in 1468,<sup>4</sup> abolished an old regulation, by which when a man of one village and a woman of another, both belonging to the same lord, were affianced, and by reason of escheat or dowry or donation the two villages passed into the hands of different lords, then the woman, on marriage, might go to live with her husband, but the husband's lord was obliged to give her former master another woman in her place. He now ruled that such compensation was not to be exacted, but the woman, if her husband predeceased her, was to return to her former master.

The second class were the *Perperiarii*, so called from the tax which they paid in hyperpers (which is only another name for the gold nomisma or besant).<sup>5</sup> Originally *parici*, they had risen out of that class, by compounding with the Dukes or Katapans; they had thus become freemen in regard to the persons of themselves and their children; but their lands and crops paid the same tribute as those of the *parici*, and they were still liable to an annual tax of fifteen hyperpers payable to their lords.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 1463 the Hospital exempted a *paricus* at Phinika from the annual *testagium* of 38½ besants (M.L., H. III, p. 125).

<sup>2</sup> Philip de Mézières, writing in 1389 (M.L., H. II, p. 382), says that 'le menu peuple ... est serf au roy et aux seigneurs; et convient que trois jours en la sepmaine chacun fasse corvée à son seigneur'. This corvée persisted under the Venetians; below, Ch. XIII. The tax of one-third is the origin of the *triton*, which came in time to mean the tax on crops, whatever its amount, and survived to modern times as the word for tithe. Pandelides in 'Αθηνᾶ, XXXIV (1922), pp. 135-40.

<sup>3</sup> The lord had jurisdiction in all minor matters; but when the condition of the serf or the ownership of the slave was concerned, and when the case was a criminal one, involving capital punishment or mutilation, the Haute Cour took cognizance (M.L., H. I, pp. 49f.).

<sup>4</sup> M.L., H. III, pp. 226-7; Zannetos, I, p. 934.

<sup>5</sup> Dawkins on Machaeras, II, pp. 46f., 168.

<sup>6</sup> These *perperiarii* had originally included most of the civil servants and all the rich bourgeois of Nicosia. But many redeemed themselves in the fourteenth century,

Thirdly, there were the *Lefteri* (*eleutheroi*) or *francomati*,<sup>1</sup> *parici* who had been emancipated on a payment to their lord or by his mere grace (this freedom was extended to any children born after such emancipation). Their lands and crops were free, but a proportion (varying from one-fifth to one-tenth) of the latter was taken by the lord. If he asked them to work for him, he had to pay them wages, although most of them were content with very little. The children of marriages between this class and the *parici* usually descended to the lower grade.<sup>2</sup> These *lefteri* were subject to the jurisdiction not of the lord, but of the ordinary magistrates. They paid tribute to the King for certain privileges and for salt.

Another class in a different category from those already described, were the 'White Venetians'—native Greeks or Syrians who enjoyed the rights of Venetian nationality. Of the White Venetians, most lived in the province of Paphos, and, in Stephen de Lusignan's time, they paid 300 ducats a year to the Captain of that place. In other parts of the island there were a few who paid the tax to the Lieutenant of the Kingdom. They had bought their rights from the King, to whom they paid tribute every St Mark's Day; and they were under the jurisdiction of the Venetian bailie, in Nicosia, with appeal to the royal judges. A similar, but smaller, class were the 'White Genoese'.<sup>3</sup>

The Albanians, who are generally mentioned by the writers who describe the various classes of the population, were comparatively late

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when Peter I wished to raise money for his travels (Machaeras, 157; Amadi, pp. 414, 418), and in Lusignan's time there were few left; cp. Attar, in M.L., *H.* III, p. 520, and Sagredo, *ibid.* p. 540. The value of the hyperper went steadily down. On the progress of the fall, see Dawkins on Machaeras, II, p. 47.

<sup>1</sup> Both Attar and Sagredo (M.L., *H.* III, pp. 520, 541) explain *francomati* as later immigrants into the villages (*essendo venuti altri habitatori per i casali; altri habitatori di diversi paesi*). Lusignan's explanation, adopted in the text, is preferable. Luke, in his note on Savorgnan's *Descrittione*, p. 17, is wrong in supposing the term to be first used in Lusignan's *Description*. Nor is his suggestion that it was properly *francinati*, i.e. the free-born children of emancipated *lefteri*, likely, since it is applied to such emancipated *lefteri* themselves.

<sup>2</sup> In some places they were divided; if there was only one child it belonged to the lower class. Such intermarriages were discouraged, and the priests forbidden to solemnize them.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 51, n. 4; III, p. 18 n., p. 60, n. 4; Dawkins on Machaeras, II, pp. 110 f., 156. There was also a class of 'Black Genoese', which seems to have comprised manumitted slaves. This probably gives us the reason for the others being called 'White'. Loredano's reasons (Giblet, I, pp. 10 f.) seem to be without any foundation.

comers; for the tradition that they provided the original *stratiotai*, who were imported to garrison the island in Byzantine times, is clearly false (Vol. I, pp. 260f.). It is unlikely that the Albanians were introduced before the fifteenth century, when they were imported to stiffen the coast-guard service which, since the abolition by the Lusignans of the original *stratiotai*, who had become useless and undisciplined, had been entrusted to the villagers of the coast, who were, however, allowed to buy themselves off from this unpleasant corvée.<sup>1</sup>

Over against the lay population, it must be remembered, was set the Church with all its hangers-on. It was not surprising that, as we shall see, the latter was frequently at variance with the feudal aristocracy and the crown, claiming exemption for peasants on its estates from the corvée and the crown-taxes, while the other side complained of the great number of peasants who managed to take the lowest orders with the object of escaping such burdens. This quarrel between Church and State was of course nothing new, but went back to the Byzantine regime.<sup>2</sup>

The taxes mentioned above were not the only imposition; the *stratia* or hearth-tax, originally raised for the payment of the military garrison<sup>3</sup> (Vol. I, p. 261, n. 2), amounted, in the case of townsfolk, to one gold hyperper, whereas the villagers were mulcted in three times that amount. This was not a poll-tax, but was levied on each hearth; thus a son who lived with his father paid nothing until he set up for himself. This exaction was maintained by the Lusignans, although they suppressed the *stratiotai* for whose payment it was originally established.

The distribution of the population had doubtless undergone considerable changes in the course of the eight centuries covered by Byzantine rule. That will be evident in the following pages; here it will be

<sup>1</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 85. For a full description of the coastguard service at the end of the Venetian period, see Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 81b; *Descr.* f. 218; and compare Attar, M.L., H. III, p. 545; and for the various opinions on the value of the stradiotes, below, Ch. XIII, pp. 775f.

<sup>2</sup> Diehl et Marçais, *Le monde oriental* de 395 à 1081, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Dawkins on Machaeras, II, p. 47. Pandelides (in Ἀθηναῖ, XXXIV, pp. 135-40) points out the distinction between this special tax of the *stratia*, and the *triton* which was levied on the crops of the *parici* (above, p. 9, n. 2). It appears that the Latin and later writers, searching for the origin of this tax of a third, which looks much more like a product of the feudal system, confounded it with the *stratia* or *kapnikon*. There is no evidence for the *triton* having been imposed on the Cypriotes by the Byzantine government, though it is not impossible that it was.

convenient to indicate which were the more important of the various centres of population, as well as the distribution of the monasteries and of the military posts which were established before or soon after the Latin occupation. In order to do this, it will be necessary, at the risk of repetition, to cast both backwards and forwards.

The fourteen great administrative divisions of the island under the Byzantines have been enumerated in the previous volume (p. 270). After the Frankish occupation, the number varied from time to time,<sup>1</sup> but was generally twelve or eleven. Thus there were twelve after the beginning of the Frankish period.<sup>2</sup> These twelve districts were grouped in four provinces, administered in the time of Hugh IV by four bailies, but afterwards came to have each its own magistrate.<sup>3</sup>

The more important towns were eight; of these, the capital falls to be considered first. The Franks seem to have had some difficulty in

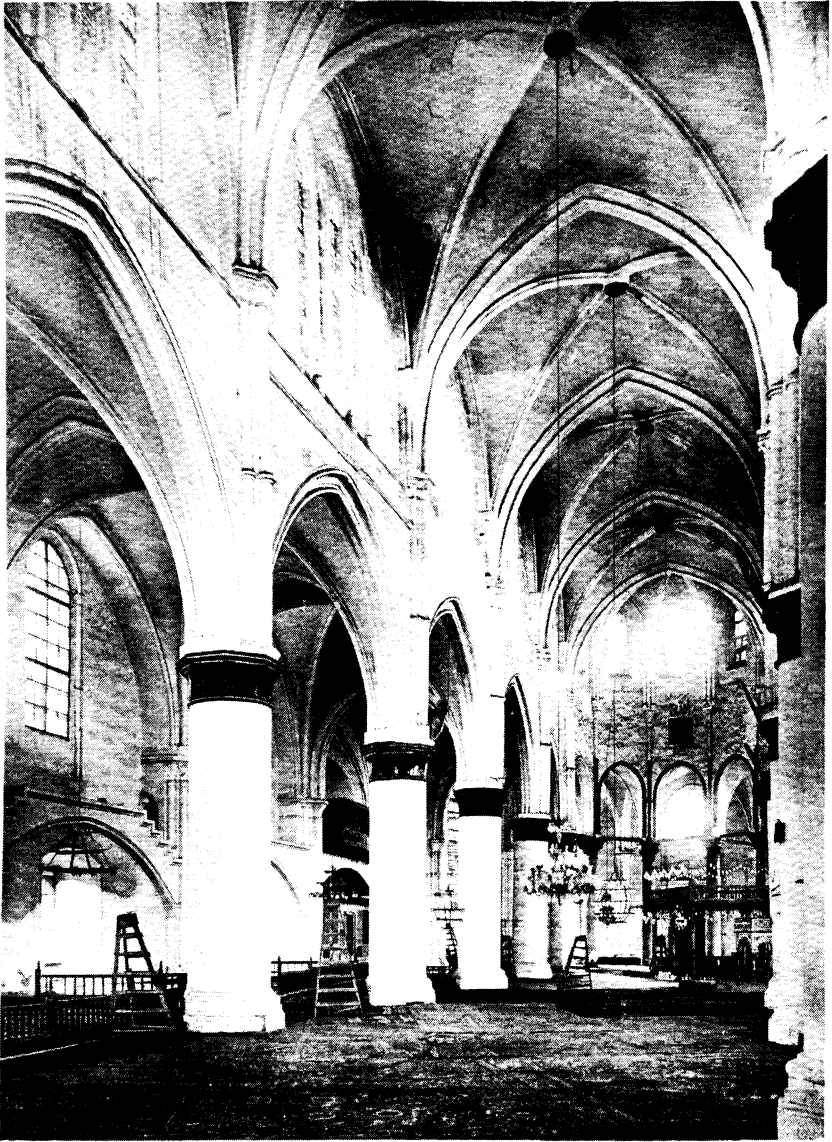
<sup>1</sup> The best account of these is in M.L., *Île de Chypre*, pp. 18–48. Sixteen *contrées* or districts were generally reckoned, but for administration they were sometimes reduced to twelve or fourteen by joining two in one, e.g. Mesarea and Karpas, Avdimou and Kouklia, Kilani and Episkopi.

<sup>2</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 80; *Descr.* f. 214 b, followed by Kyprianos (p. 267). Twelve in 1385 (Machaeras, 621). Kilani and Episkopi have fallen out of Kyprianos's list of the Byzantine eparchies. At the beginning of the 16th century, Kilani was in the bailliage of Kouklia (M.L., *H.* III, p. 507), but the bailliaiges of the royal domain did not correspond to the *contrées*. In the 16th century we find Kilani and Episkopi both in the *contrada* of Lemesos (Attar in M.L., *H.* III, p. 521, c. 1540, and Fl. Bustron, p. 134). Writers of the Venetian period who reckon eleven *contrade* omit Famagusta (see Ch. XIII, p. 768 n.).

The Mesarea (Mas Latrie, *Île de Chypre*, pp. 41 ff., 150) is the plain district between Kythrea and Famagusta, but also included five or six leagues of the mountains on the north, and some hills to the south towards the capes of Pyla and Greco. The part of the plain crossed by the Pediaeus (Pedias) towards Famagusta was called after Sigouri or Sivouri, where a fortress was built by James I against the Genoese, to be destroyed in Venetian times (Enlart, II, pp. 658–61); while it stood (as in 1468, M.L., *H.* III, p. 811), it was the military centre, and the name was used under the Lusignans for the whole of the Mesarea. The Mesarea under the Lusignans included the town and territory of Famagusta. Under the Venetians it was governed by a Captain usually known as Captain of Sigouri. Normally the Captain of Sigouri and the Bailie who governed the Karpas had both to be Famagustan citizens. See Ch. XIII, p. 768 n.

The Viscountry of Nicosia strictly meant an area of three leagues radius round the capital, but the name came to be used for the *contrée* between the Mesarea on the east and Pendayia on the west, corresponding to the modern districts of Orini and Kythrea (Mas Latrie, *Île de Chypre*, p. 149).

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* III, pp. 813 f.



*From Enlart, 'L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre'*

NICOSIA, LATIN CATHEDRAL

pronouncing the initial 'L' of Lefkosia, and gave it the name of Nicosia.<sup>1</sup> There was an important town of this name in Sicily, but the name appears in Cyprus at a time when, although there may have been Italian merchants in ports like Lemesos, it is unlikely that there were any in the capital, or at least any of sufficient standing to influence the pronunciation. We have therefore to do with a mere coincidence. Nicosia became the usual though not the invariable designation for the Latins, while the Greeks have never to this day given up the form Lefkosia.

The present Nicosia, within the walls, occupies but a fraction of the area over which the city came to extend under the Lusignans. Although the Venetians, in taking over the Kingdom, razed the citadel which had been built by James I, the circuit of the city was, or came to be, no less than nine miles, compared with the three of the existing fortifications. In the space between, which was cleared in 1567, there had arisen, probably for the most part since the Lusignan occupation, besides citadel and palace, some eighty churches.<sup>2</sup>

The capital, upon the organization of the Latin Church by the bull of 1196, naturally became the seat of the Latin Archbishop, whose diocese absorbed those of Lefkosia, Tremithus, Kition, Lapithos, Kerynia, Chytri, Soli and Tamassos.

The cathedral of Santa Sophia<sup>3</sup> was probably begun in the time of Guy, but the plan of the existing building, on the model of churches of the Île de France, may perhaps be referred to the year 1209, which some authorities give as the date of its foundation. The seal used in 1217 by Eustorge, who actively continued the construction, represents the church from the south; it shows in the centre the great doorway which the Turks removed to the east end, a pair of turreted towers at the west end, and a dome-like lantern over the crossing. There was very little

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the converse alternatives Nemesos-Lemesos (below), Narnaka-Larnakatis Lapithou. For a discussion of the question I may refer to *Journ. Warburg Inst.* II (1939), pp. 379ff. and the translation in *Κυπρ. Γράμματα*, IV (1940), pp. 443-6. There seems to be no basis for the statement of Hammer (III, p. 578) that Nicosia was formerly called Kali Nikosia, and earlier Limosia, which last Greek name survives in the modern Turkish Lefkoshe. It is perhaps necessary to observe that the island of Naxos, frequently called *Nixia* in Italian writers, sometimes appears as *Nicosia*, e.g. Stefano Magno ap. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, pp. 206, 209: *Naxo, chiamato Nixosia and Nicosia isola in Arcipelago*.

<sup>2</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 15 sq.; *Descr.* ff. 32 sq.; Enlart, I, pp. 70ff.

<sup>3</sup> Plate I; Enlart, I, pp. 80ff., 140; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* pp. 64ff.

of the present building in existence when the seal was in use, and the relation of the seal to actual facts is therefore obscure.<sup>1</sup> When Wilbrand of Oldenburg was at Nicosia in 1211, a new castle was a-building (the *castellum Nicosie* is represented on the counterseal used in 1217 by Hugh I); on the site of the old Byzantine castle arose the church of St Claire *Castegliotissa*.<sup>2</sup> The old palace of the Byzantines was doubtless succeeded by a new construction under the Lusignans; we cannot say which it was that Wilbrand saw but fails to describe (being interested only in the ostrich with which he made acquaintance there). Eustorge also built an archiepiscopal palace.<sup>3</sup>

Ammochostus<sup>4</sup> first begins to be of importance at the time of the Third Crusade; later, as Famagusta,<sup>5</sup> after the fall of Acre in 1291, it was to become the most flourishing centre of Oriental trade. We have seen (Vol. I, p. 286) that after the destruction of Salamis in the seventh century the see of the Archbishop was transferred to Ammochostus; but the name of Salamis-Constantia was retained for the see. When the

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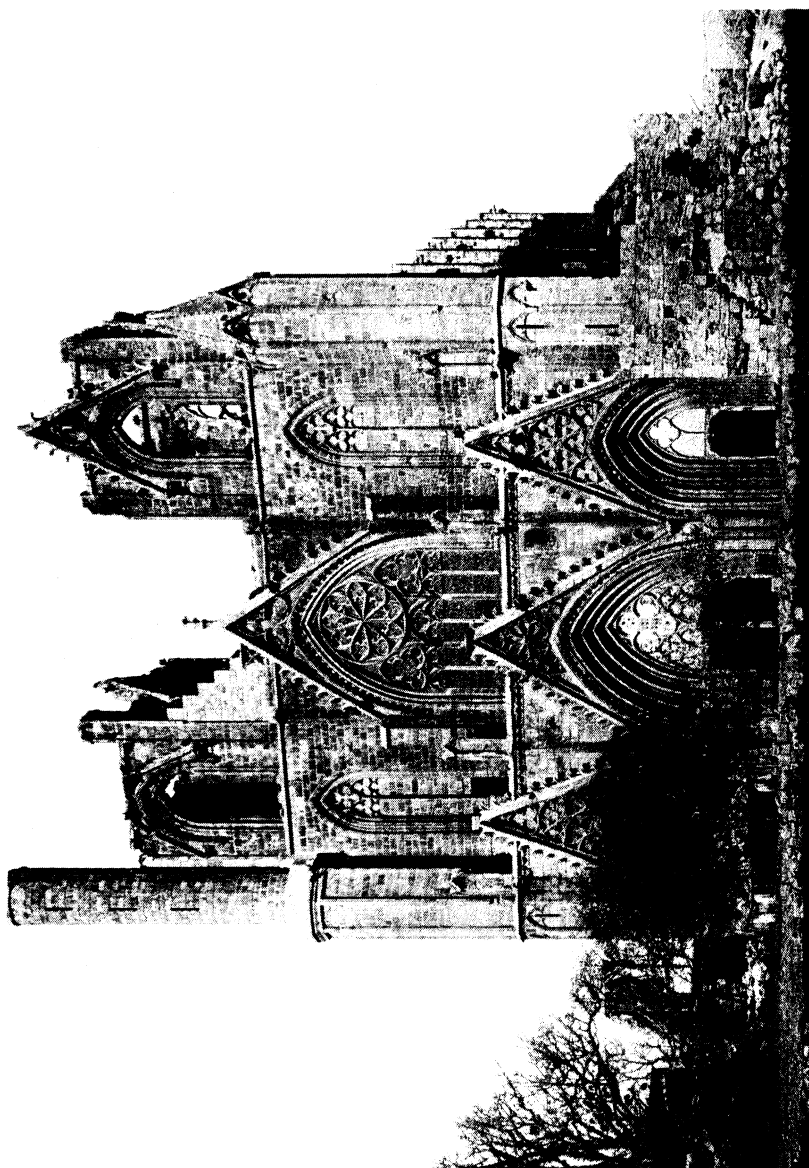
<sup>1</sup> Mr Megaw writes (26 Dec. 1935) that since the present church was started before the time of Eustorge, and when he died only the eastern part was completed, the seal must represent either a predecessor which remained in use while the other was building or alternatively the projected design for the new church. He notes the round-headed arches, which favour the theory that a Greek church might have been used at first; but he prefers to regard the seal as representing the artist's idea of what the new building was to be like. Being familiar with the Greek style the engraver represented it with round-headed arches and domes. But the seal is evidently so crude that its details must not be taken too seriously.

<sup>2</sup> Enlart, II, p. 518; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 20. According to Machaeras (41) the castle-wall (τειχόκαστρον) of Nicosia was built by Henry II. For the castle see also the fine seal-impression of the first half of the 13th century in *Rev. Or. Lat.* II, Pl. I, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Fl. Bustron, p. 56. Doubtless near the cathedral, but it is uncertain whether on the site of the later building of Venetian date (Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 80; *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, no. 3 (1931), pp. 7f.).

<sup>4</sup> Oberhummer, *Ztschr. d. Ges. f. Erdk.* xxvii (1892), p. 460. Hackett, pp. 243 ff. (Papaioannou, II, pp. 15 ff.), who, however, perpetuates the error about the see of Arsinoe.

<sup>5</sup> The etymology *Fama Augusti* seems to be first found in Lusignan, *Descr.* (1580), f. 23 b (see Dawkins on Machaeras, 90, n. 3). But Aeneas Sylvius (*Comm.* p. 321) suggests *Fanum Augusti*. The name *Famaugusta* is, of course, a pedantic corruption of the Greek, and is used by Latin writers from the 12th century (1197; M.L., *H.* III, p. 605). *Amocusta* is another Latin form, the termination of which has been affected by *Famagusta*; it is found into the 16th century (e.g. in the Doge's Commission to Captain John Contarini, 1538, Br. Mus. Add. MS. 45539). The Turks say Maghusa.



*From Enlart, op. cit.*

FAMAGUSTA, LATIN CATHEDRAL



Latin Church, with its Archbishop at Nicosia and three suffragans, was organized, it appears that the Greek Archbishop continued to reside at Famagusta until in September 1222 he was sent away to Carpasia.<sup>1</sup>

The fortifications of Famagusta at the beginning of the Frankish period were modest,<sup>2</sup> and of what existed then nothing has survived. The harbour was defended by a tower in 1232, and it is reasonable to suppose that some protection of the kind must have been provided from earlier times. The church of St Nicolas (Plate II) was said to owe its foundation to Eustorge,<sup>3</sup> but the present building seems to date from the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Limassol represents the Byzantine Nemesos. The initial 'N', it is generally said, was changed to 'L' by the Franks (conversely to the change in the name of the capital) and gave the modern *Lemesos* (Limassol). The change to 'L' was commonly accepted by the Greeks.<sup>5</sup> At the beginning of the French period the place must have been in a fairly flourishing condition, or at any rate a considerable port. In 1191, when Richard Lion Heart arrived,<sup>6</sup> Isaac Comnenus had had to improvise

<sup>1</sup> Fl. Bustron, p. 53: the fourth Latin bishop was Bishop of Famagusta, Salamis or Constantia, and Carpasia; the Greek bishop was called Bishop of Constantia and of the Greeks of Famagusta and Carpasia.

<sup>2</sup> Lusignan (*Chor.* f. 49b) says that the fortification was begun by Guy de Lusignan. Wilbrand of Oldenburg (1211): 'civitas...portum habens bonum, non multum munita'. Enlart, II, pp. 606ff. Amaury de Lusignan, during his usurpation (1306-10), did much to strengthen the fortifications (pp. 236, 244).

<sup>3</sup> Fl. Bustron, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Enlart, I, p. 268; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> The question, which is extremely complicated, is discussed in *Journ. Warburg Inst.* II (1939), pp. 375-9; where, however, I should have observed that the form *Nemesos* is twice used in the text of Machaeras (54, 55). Greek translation in Κυπρ. Γράμματα, IV (1940), pp. 438-43. I have since seen the article of Menardos in the Νέα Ἡμέρα, 1903, and am glad to find him agreeing with me in all essentials. The theory of K. I. Myrianthopoulos (Χατζηγεωργάκης Κορνέσιος, p. 217) that the form *Lemesos* arose from the Arabic *el-Nimasun* is ingenious. He explains the rare form *Nalmassos* or *Nalmaisos* as having arisen, by transposition of the sounds, in the same way. Mogabgab (*Supp. Exc.* I, p. 37) observes that Paul Waltheri of Guglingen, who calls the place *Misso*, has taken the first syllable for the French article. The view expressed by many of the older writers (e.g. Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 50) that *Lemesos* was founded by Guy de Lusignan cannot be accepted, although it is possible that he built considerably there; as Lusignan himself says (*Descr.* f. 123), Guy began to rebuild it.

<sup>6</sup> There were western merchants resident there who welcomed Richard; but the Porta Latina which Iorga (*F.d.C.*, p. 27, n. 1) has imagined (incidentally misplacing it at Famagusta) is a myth. What the *Itin. Reg. Ricardi* says is that Richard put in at *Lemesos* on the Feast of St John *ad Portam Latinam*.

defences (Vol. I, p. 317), and in 1211 Wilbrand of Oldenburg found the town but slightly fortified, although the port was much frequented. Hugh I's grant to the Hospitallers in 1210 (see below) must have led to building. Some kind of castle was in existence in 1228,<sup>1</sup> and it may be to about this time that one should attribute the earliest portions of the existing castle, including a large square donjon (originally without vaults) and a hall or chapel. The castle was subjected to rebuilding in the fourteenth century and then again at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century (perhaps after the damage done by the earthquake of 1491)—hence its Renaissance aspect. But the town had decayed by that time into a mere village of thirty or forty houses (beside the cathedral, which still stood); as such it is described by travellers in the last decades of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Lemesos was the third of the Latin bishoprics in the organization of 1222, and included the dioceses of Kourion and Amathus; the Greek

<sup>1</sup> Enlart, II, pp. 673–83.

<sup>2</sup> How Lemesos fell gradually into decay we may judge by the remarks of travellers. Ludolf of Sudheim (1336–41) says that it was once a fair city, but had been laid waste by constant earthquakes and floods. Orient d'Anglure (1395–6) says it had been destroyed by the Genoese and was for the most part uninhabited. Lusignan says that it was totally destroyed by the Mamelukes, and wretchedly rebuilt afterwards. In 1459 the Latin bishop, Peter de Manatiis, resigned because the city had long lain in ruins, and was at the time quite deserted, on account of the incursions of pirates and other barbarous peoples; the church itself was half destroyed, and the services had been transferred to a chapel at Kolossi, five miles distant, where the archives and ornaments of the church were kept. The bishop resided in Nicosia (G. dalla Santa, in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, xvi, 1898, pp. 151 ff.). Joos van Ghistele in 1482 or shortly afterwards (*Tvoyage*, bk. v, cap. iii) calls it a mere village of thirty or forty houses. The bishop, he was told, who drew the revenues, lived at Venice (this would be Nicolas Donato). The church was served by three religious, a Franciscan (with a wife and family), an Augustinian Eremita, and a third of another Order. They had small salaries from the bishop and lived 'in horribilissimo statu'. Felix Fabri (1483) also found it a miserable place, a ruined city, though with a good harbour. 'Ruin in many forms has stricken it.' It was damaged by the earthquake of 1491 (Dietrich v. Schachten in Röhrich-Meisner, p. 187). Casola, in 1494, found the cathedral on the point of falling down; it was served by a priest from Mantua who had learned Greek; there was a fine altar-piece with gilded wooden figures, and a tomb with a painted pietà. All the other churches were in ruins, and there was not a single good house in the whole city (ed. Newett, p. 214). The trade which Famagusta began to lose after the Genoese seized it in 1373 went not to Lemesos but to Larnaka. The Venetians planned to rebuild and fortify it, but failed to do anything before the Turks ruined it once more (Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 8 b; *Descr.* f. 20).

bishop was called Bishop of Amathus and of the Greeks of Lemesos; but he was sent to live at Lefkara, where he remained when the other Greek bishops had gone back to their old sees.<sup>1</sup> Amathus, overshadowed though it was by its successor, continued to exist after a fashion down to the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Old Kition, as we have seen (Vol. I, p. 266), fell into decay, though its name is preserved by the present Kiti, which from the fourteenth century was a royal domain and flourished exceedingly.<sup>3</sup> The roadstead continued to be fairly important after the silting up of the old harbour. It was here<sup>4</sup> that Richard came in 1191 on his pursuit of Isaac. The landing-place was afterwards called *Halikai* (Alikí) or *Salines*, from the neighbouring salt-lake; later, in the eighteenth century, *Marina* or *Scala*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 31 b; Fl. Bustron, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> The cathedral church of A. Tychon was still standing and in use in the last days of the Venetian domination; Pococke, in 1738, found it in ruins. The neighbouring village church of the same saint was built out of the remains of Amathus. The last recorded bishop, independently of Lemesos, was Esaias, in 1608. Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 9, 25; *Descr.* f. 55 b; Pococke in *Exc. Cypr.* p. 253; Hackett, p. 318; Papaioannou, II, p. 78. The date of Joakim is uncertain (Κυπρ. Σπ. II, p. 140, n. 21). A medieval bishop Daniel of uncertain date, Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 10; *Descr.* f. 22 b; Kyprianos, p. 27. James II deprived Clarion or Charles de Lusignan of it; under Venice it was held by the Podocatari. Mariti (*Viaggi*, I, p. 51) points out that Lusignan is wrong in identifying Kiti with the ancient Kition. The medieval *casale*, he says, took its name from C. Kiti, but the truth is probably the other way about.

<sup>4</sup> *Quit* in the Continuator of William of Tyre (M.L., H. II, p. 6). But in 1469 (III, pp. 240, 241) the village is meant. The palatalization of the initial *k* into *ch* was late in coming; *Quit* is found in French documents as late as 1469 (*op. cit.* III, pp. 241-2).

<sup>5</sup> Joos van Ghistele (bk v, ch. iv) describes the village of Salines as ruined, about 1482. It was sometimes called the Port of Lazarus (Possot, 1532, in *Exc. Cypr.* p. 64; he also describes it as ruined). The rise of Larnaka, as the chief port of the island, dates from the end of the 14th century, when, the Genoese having deprived the royal treasury of the dues which it enjoyed from Famagusta, the creation of a new port became necessary (Kyprianos, pp. 27 f.). From the 17th century the residence of the foreign consulates was at Old Larnaka, which lay some mile and a half inland and is first mentioned, apparently, in Machaeras, 36 (Dawkins). Distortions are *Arnacho di Salini* (Locke, 1553), *Arnica*, *L'Arnica*, etc. The name, according to Menardos, means a hollow place (Τοπωνυμικόν, p. 331). Legend connected it with the coffin (*larnax*) of St Lazarus. A good description of Old Larnaka is in Mariti, *Viaggi*, I, pp. 58 ff. The name and the activities of the place gradually extended themselves to the seaside, and the old town became a quiet suburb of the new. For the history of the churches in

Paphos, which had fallen to so low a state, gradually recovered its prestige. Geographical considerations, perhaps, caused its inclusion among the four Latin sees which were established by the Franks, and among the four Orthodox sees which were left to the Greeks (although the Greek bishop was not allowed to reside there, but was sent to Arsinoe, he was still Bishop of Paphos). There was indeed no other city of any standing in the south-west of the island. But the medieval travellers who mention Paphos lay stress on its ruinous state and unhealthy climate. Everyone who could do so seems to have left the old site by the sea and moved to the high ground, where the settlement of Ktima offered a more healthy air.<sup>1</sup> The harbour was defended by two forts, as it was by at least one in the Byzantine period. The present buildings of the seaward fort, though they pretend to be mainly of

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Old Larnaka and Scala, especially St Lazarus, since the 16th century, see Kyriazēs in *Κυπρ. Χρον.* vi (1929), pp. 1 ff. For the Salines, Vol. I, p. 11 and below, Ch. XIII; also Romanin, IV, p. 444, n. 4, for the encouragement given by Venice to the traffic in salt and manufacture of saltpetre.

<sup>1</sup> Even the harbour was only used by ships which were forced to run for safety there, says Felix Fabri in 1483; the place was desolate, a miserable village built over the ruins to which earthquakes had reduced the once fine city; and no king or bishop ever lifted a hand to raise it up again. Oliver Scholasticus (*Hist. Damiat.* ed. Hoogeweg, c. 86, p. 279) records that in the earthquake of May 1222, which did much damage at Lemesos, Nicosia and elsewhere, Paphos suffered most; the city and castle were completely ruined, the inhabitants wiped out, the harbour dried up, *ubi postmodum aque sive fontes eruperunt*. Even the Franciscans, who had had a fine church there (Enlart, II, p. 475), abandoned it. In 1323, however, the Bishop Aimery was repairing the church of St Peter, and an indulgence was offered to those who contributed to the work (Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* no. 16852, 21 Jan. 1323). Towards the end of the Venetian rule, in 1566, the bishopric had an estimated revenue of 3000 ducats; and in 1570 the bishop raised at his own cost 100 soldiers, while the local militia numbered 300, the same as in places such as Salines and Lemesos (Fürier, in *Exc. Cypr.* p. 78; Calepio, in Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 95b, 96b). With the suppression of the Latin Church, the Greek bishop of Paphos became the most important Greek ecclesiastic after the archbishop, and acted as his representative when the archiepiscopate was vacant. Released from semi-exile at Arsinoe, the bishop came back to reside, not at Paphos but at Ktima. Sagredo (1562) says that the Latin bishop (Peter Contarini) had done much to restore the ruined church and have it properly served. But nothing was done then or since for the old, unhealthy site. Since the British occupation, however, Ktima has developed into one of the best administered towns in Cyprus. On Paphos and Ktima, see Peristianes in *Κυπρ. Χρον.* v (1927), pp. 24-43 (uncritical) and L. Philippou, *Paphos Guide*, 1936 (for the Turkish inscription on the castle, p. 25); also in *Κυπρ. Χρον.* xi (1935), pp. 44-7.

Turkish origin, and are said to have been erected, according to an inscription over the entrance, in 1592 by Ahmed Pasha, Governor of Cyprus, are in actuality a Venetian construction, incorporating a Lusignan tower, and restored by the Turks.<sup>1</sup> The harbour was very unsafe, but was usually the last port of call for ships sailing to the west.<sup>2</sup>

Of Kerynia,<sup>3</sup> Cerines, we shall hear much in the following pages. The later medieval fortress was so strong that it was never taken by assault;

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<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Director of Antiquities to the Leverhulme Trustees*. Dec. 1939. In describing the seizure of Paphos by the Genoese in 1373, Machaeras (377) says they heightened the walls of the 'castles' (καστελλία) and dug a trench so that they were surrounded by water from the sea, and so strong that they easily resisted the attacks of the fighting-towers which the Cypriotes brought up. The subsequent attack on 3 July on the 'tower' (πύργος) was repulsed by the Genoese from their galleys drawn up on the shore. Unless πύργος and καστελλία mean different things, both refer to one or the other of the harbour forts, and the trench, as Dawkins says, was merely a cutting through the mole which connects the seaward fort with the land. There must have been some sort of works at the land end of the mole, which would account for the use of the plural. And this is perhaps what Lusignan means when he says (*Chor.* f. 6b; *Descr.* f. 16) that there were formerly two forts on the seaside, continually beaten by the waves, but that the Venetians destroyed them (cp. p. 862). Dietrich v. Schachten, however (in Röhricht-Meisner, p. 187), says in 1491 'there are to-day still two towers on the seashore, but one of them fell in the earthquake two months ago'. As stated above, the Lusignan core of the seaward tower was incorporated in a Venetian building. There was also a castle on a hill not far from the shore, the ruins of which were seen by Van Bruyn in 1683 (Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 243).

<sup>2</sup> Joinville (xxx, 137) relates how the ship of the Empress of Constantinople was blown away from Paphos to Acre; and it is probably at Paphos that we should locate the miracle of St Simeon Stylites, who saved a ship which was about to leave the harbour for the west, but was caught in a storm and in danger of foundering or running ashore (Lietzmann u. Hilgenfeld, *Das Leben des h. Symeon Stylites*, 1908, pp. 152f.).

<sup>3</sup> Peristianes, Γεν. 'Ιστ. pp. 7-91. For the remains, see especially Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* (1918), pp. 306ff.; *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, New Ill. Ser. no. 4 (1933, repr. 1937) and no. 5 (1933, repr. 1936), pp. 25ff. The name of the place (Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 306n. mentions a number of variations) in the older western writers shows that the Greek initial guttural had been palatalized, for from the beginning they generally call it *Cerines* or *Cherines* and the like; the German Wilbrand of Oldenburg (ed. J. C. M. Laurent, 1859, p. 22) has *Schernis applicuimus*. But since we find this change from the beginning of the Frankish period, it was due not to Italian influence, as Beaudouin (*Étude*, p. 38, n. 2) supposes, but to the Cypriote tendency to palatalize initial *k* before *e* (Sakellarios, II, p. λα'). Leake (1800, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 338) gives *Gherne* as the Turkish name, with which compare *Gerines* in Stochove (1631) and Pococke (1738) and *Gerinia* which Kinneir (1814) says is the Turkish name. It is now *Girne*.

and, poor as the port was, it could be provisioned by sea. Whether anything of the military works of pre-Frankish date remains is doubtful.<sup>1</sup>

Lapithos, which owing to its natural advantages must always have been important, was one of the Greek sees which were suppressed in 1222. Immediately afterwards the place was paying tithes to the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia.<sup>2</sup>

Carpasia on the coast had been superseded, probably in the days of Saracen raids (Vol. I, p. 269), by the settlement at Rhizokarpaso. It was there that the Greek bishops of Famagusta had their seat fixed in the reorganization of 1222. Probably from the beginning of the Lusignan period the greater part of the Karpas was reserved to the crown.<sup>3</sup>

Of the remaining cities which had had Greek bishoprics, it is unnecessary to say much here except that the sees were suppressed in 1222. The diocese of Kythrea was absorbed in that of the Latin Archbishop of Nicosia,<sup>4</sup> who had already been granted the tithes of 'La Quercherie'. Soli or Solia was assigned to the Greek Bishop of Nicosia as his residence.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Enlart, II, p. 559, unaware, apparently, of earlier references (cp. Vol. I, p. 267) says that the castle must have been erected at the same time as the ramparts of the town, i.e. between 1192 and the visit of Wilbrand of Oldenburg in 1211. Jeffery (*Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, New Ill. Ser. no. 4, Nicosia, 1932 and 1937; and no. 5, 1933 and 1936) seems to agree.

<sup>2</sup> Bull of Celestine of 1196 and other documents in M.L., H. III, p. 601; p. 253, n. 7; p. 510. In 1307-8 the *casale* of Lapithos belonged to Échive d'Idelin, Lady of Beirut (Fl. Bustron, pp. 154, 173). In the time of James II (1460-73) it was more populous than Lemesos or Paphos or Famagusta (Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 28). At the end of the 15th century the *casale* of Lapithos with thirteen others formed a bailliage of the royal domain. Lusignan (*Chor.* f. 13 b), followed by Kyprianos (p. 39), says that under the Lusignans it had a population of 10,000. It was taken away by James II from Clarion or Charles de Lusignan, to whom it had belonged. In 1468 it belonged to Peter Bibi.

<sup>3</sup> From the 14th century onwards the chief place, Rhizokarpaso, was granted as a fief, first to the La Roche family, then for a few years (from before 1467 to 1472) to the Verna family. In 1472 it was erected into a county, the first barony in the Kingdom, in favour of the Count of Jaffa, John Perez Fabregues. But this precedence it did not retain for long. See M.L., *Comtes du Carpas*, in B.E.C. 41 (1880), pp. 375ff. and below, Ch. XIII, p. 794.

<sup>4</sup> Fl. Bustron, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Or, as Fl. Bustron puts it, the bishop of the Greeks in all the old dioceses of Lapithos, Kerynia, Tamassos, Chytri, Tremithus and Lefkosia was called Bishop of Soli and of the Greeks of the metropolis of Lefkosia (p. 52). Cp. Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 31 b; *Descr.* f. 86 b. This arrangement broke down before the Turkish conquest; and as to

Arsinoe (Polis tis Chrysochou) was in 1222 assigned as place of residence to the Greek bishops of Paphos.<sup>1</sup> When they were allowed to return to Paphos, or rather Ktima, they retained Arsinoe in their title. Kourion was superseded by Episkopi, which grew to considerable importance from the thirteenth century, as the centre of cultivation of sugar-cane.<sup>2</sup> The tithes of Tremithoussia or Tremithus were granted to the see of Nicosia in 1196, and, the Greek see having been suppressed in 1222, the place lost all importance and was practically deserted.<sup>3</sup>

The three strong points of the northern range figure in military operations from the beginning of the French occupation. St Hilarion was called by the French Deudamor, Dieu d'Amour, or the like, perhaps by a corruption of Didymus, the name which it apparently owed to the twin peaks on which it is perched.<sup>4</sup> It is by this French name that it appears in history, from 1228 when the Lord of Beirut sent the women and children of himself and his friends there for safety, to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century when, like Buffavento and Kantara, which had also been of great importance from the time of the war with the Imperialists onwards, it was dismantled by the Venetians.<sup>5</sup> Our Frontispiece indicates its romantic situation.

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the Greek bishopric of Soli itself, if it was then revived it was probably only titular, the town itself having practically disappeared. In the modern system it is included in the see of Kerynia.

<sup>1</sup> Fl. Bustron (p. 53) puts it thus: the second Latin bishop was called Bishop of Old and New Paphos, and of Arsinoe, while the Greek bishop of those cities was called Bishop of Arsinoe and of the Greeks of Paphos.

<sup>2</sup> O.C. pp. 283-6. Sugar was displaced, from the end of the 16th century, by cotton. See Ch. XIII, p. 817.

<sup>3</sup> The body of St Spyridon was removed at the time of the Moslem invasions to Constantinople, and thence in 1456 to Corfu. See Vol. I, p. 248; W. Miller, *Essays*, pp. 218-19. The see was temporarily revived in 1676, 1801, and sometime before 1859.

<sup>4</sup> This theory of the origin of the French name is due to Mas Latrie (M.L., *H.* II, p. 2n.). Iorga (*F.d.C.* p. 39) thinks Dieu d'Amour is a corruption of an Arabic word, comparing Anamur on the opposite coast, and unaware that this was the ancient Anemurion. For the legend of this 'Castle of Love', built originally for the god Cupid by Venus, Queen of Cyprus, see Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 18; *Descr.* f. 40; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 268. For the name 'hundred rooms' or 'hundred and one rooms' attaching to these northern castles, see Dawkins on Machaeras, II, pp. 59, 163, 202.

<sup>5</sup> Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 210: the Venetian Senate, seeing itself in complete command of the country, demolished the castles of St Hilarion, Buffavento, Sigouri, Cava and Potamia.

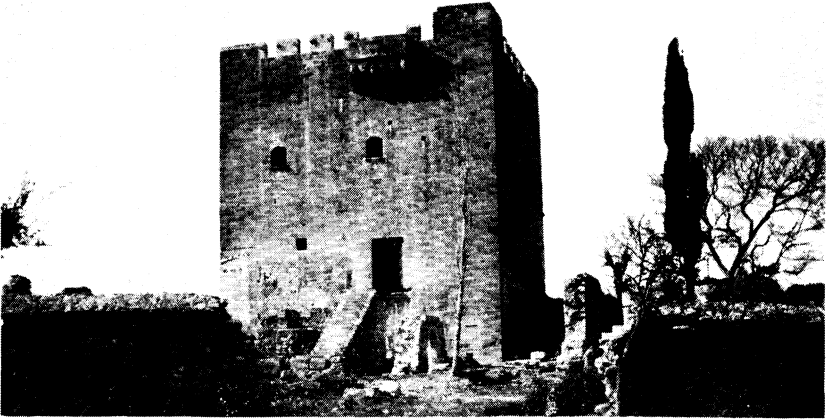
The castle of Kolossi<sup>1</sup> belongs to a different order of military construction from the strongholds already mentioned, being intended, as Enlart has observed, rather to resist a piratical raid or a local revolt, than to play a part in a real war. The place is mentioned, but merely as a *casale*, as the scene of the camp of Isaac Comnenus which was captured by Richard in 1191. There is no mention then of a fortress, but when the Grand Commandery of the Hospitallers was founded at Kolossi and endowed by Hugh I in 1210,<sup>2</sup> one was doubtless erected, traces of which remain to the south-west of the present building. In the neighbourhood was the Commandery of the Knights of the Temple, and indeed the castle and *casale* of Kolossi were included in the list of properties which were taken away from the Templars in 1307 and handed over to the Hospital, although it is difficult to understand how there can have been room for two castles belonging to rival Orders in the same place.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plate III; Mas Latrie, *Arch. des miss. scient.* 1 (1850), pp. 515-18; G. Rey, *Étude*, pp. 233-7; Enlart, II, pp. 683-95; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* pp. 373-6; *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, New Ill. Ser. no. 5 (1933, repr. 1936), pp. 1-23; no. 6 (1935, repr. 1937), pp. 21-3; Gunnis, pp. 276-80. Lusignan (*Descr. f.* 35; cp. *Chor. ff.* 17b sq.) describes the castle as so strong that it was never taken, neither by Frederick II nor by the Genoese nor by the Saracens. Kyprianos (p. 49) says it got its name from the Colossus of Rhodes, but the name occurs before the Hospitallers seized Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> S. Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* (1733), I, p. 101, no. 97; M.L., *H.* I, pp. 190-1. D.L.R. *Cartulaire*, II, no. 1354: 'Casale quod dicitur Colos in territorio Nimocii situm'. The Hospital was also given the right of grinding its corn in the mills at Kythrea without charge.

<sup>3</sup> The inventory of the confiscations is given by Fl. Bustron, pp. 171 (also in M.L., *H.* II, p. 110) and 247. The two lists differ in certain details. Writing not long before 1570, Lusignan (*Chor. f.* 19) speaks of the Commenda of the Templars as united with the Grand Commandery of the Knights of St John. The estate was of immense value to the Hospitallers, who cultivated there corn, cotton, sugar, oil and wine, and were frequently at odds with their neighbours, the Cornaro of Episkopi, over water-rights. M.L., *H.* II, pp. 455, 457, 503, cp. III, pp. 27f., 88f. The remains of the aqueduct which fed the mill still carry a fine head of water. The original castle seems to have been damaged by Genoese and Mussulmans, and had to be rebuilt by Louis de Magnac in 1454. This may be inferred from D. Jauna, II, p. 992 (for what he is worth), combined with the evidence of the coats of arms of the Grand Masters John de Lastic (1427-54) and his successor James de Milly (1454-61). We know that Louis de Magnac was Grand Commander in 1454; accordingly Jeffery identifies as his the shield (quarterly, 1 & 4 *gules*, a fleur-de-lis *argent*; 2 & 3, *argent*, a fleur-de-lis *gules*) which is found on the slab with the shields of the two Grand Masters (Fig. 2, p. 70); but this coat is not like any attributed to de Magnac that I can find. Incidentally, it may be observed that, if the armorial slab above-mentioned is, as it seems to be, rightly dated in 1454, Jeffery's





*Phot. Lt.-Col. Vivian Seymer*

(a) KOLOSSI CASTLE



*Phot. Lt.-Col. Vivian Seymer*

(b) FAMAGUSTA ENCEINTE

The scanty ruins of a tower and a vaulted hall at Khirokitia on the Maroni, the scene of the disastrous battle of 1426, are all that remains of a commandery of the Hospitallers, to whom it was given in the great confiscation of 1307. From a military point of view, it was probably in the same modest category as Kolossi. There, when the Templars were arrested, the Marshal and some of the Knights were imprisoned, the Commander and the other Knights being sent to Yermasoyia, another of the fortified *casali* of their Order.<sup>1</sup> The chapel of Panayia tou Kampou<sup>2</sup> near Khirokitia may, it is thought, have been originally built by the Templars, and restored by the Hospitallers when they took over. The tower of the commandery was destroyed by the Mamelukes in 1426 but the chapel, if then also destroyed, must have been rebuilt—possibly as a memorial of the disaster.<sup>3</sup>

Gastria, at the point which separates the bay of Famagusta from the coast of the Karpas, was another of the military posts of the Templars, but little remains except the fosse and some foundations.<sup>4</sup> The fortress is first mentioned in 1210, when Walter de Montbéliard fled thither, and again in 1232 when some Imperialist fugitives from the battle of Agridi vainly sought refuge there and were caught hiding in the fosse.

The fortress of Sigouri or Sivouri,<sup>5</sup> of which almost nothing remains, was of later origin than those just mentioned, having been built by James I in 1391 against the Genoese, who had been in occupation of

speculation (*Hist. Mon.* p. 444) about its connexion with the struggle between Charlotte de Lusignan and her bastard brother James is baseless, since that struggle did not begin until after the death of John II in 1458.

<sup>1</sup> Fl. Bustron, pp. 169–71. 'Geromassoia con la fortezza di quello...il casale Chierochitia con la stantia sua in foggia di fortezza' stand in Bustron's list of estates handed over to the Hospital; *ibid.* pp. 171 and 247. There seem to be no remains of any fortified building at Yermasoyia (Γερμασόγεια), which is about 4 miles north-east of Limassol (Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 359).

<sup>2</sup> Enlart, II, pp. 443 f.

<sup>3</sup> Kyprianos (p. 49) has a confused statement, to the effect that there was originally a castle or tower, which was destroyed, and a royal palace built out of its ruins; all has disappeared, having been totally destroyed by the 'Turks'. Lusignan (*Descr.* 1580, f. 35; not in the Italian version) says that the castle was destroyed by the Saracens and Mamelukes when they took prisoner King Janus.

<sup>4</sup> Enlart, II, pp. 654–8. It had been destroyed before the time of Fl. Bustron (p. 25).

<sup>5</sup> Enlart, II, pp. 658–61. The Genoese called it Castelfranco. The destruction of the remains must be placed to the account of the British administration in its early unregenerate days.

Famagusta since 1373. The castle was abandoned in the Venetian period; but considerable ruins remained down to the beginning of the British regime.

Nothing seems to remain of the castle which is said to have been built by the Knights of St John at Episkopi, and was still existing, though used only as a store, in the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The early religious foundations continued for the most part to exist under the Franks, despite the deprivations which they suffered in favour of the Latin Church. Of those which have been mentioned, St Nicolas of the Cats near Akrotiri (Vol. I, p. 273), the earliest existing buildings of which date from the thirteenth century, continued to be inhabited by its Basilian monks and their cats until the Turkish conquest.<sup>2</sup>

Stavrovouni (Vol. I, p. 272), possibly after the fall of Antioch in 1268, or later, after the fall of Acre,<sup>3</sup> lost its original Basilian monks and passed into the hands of the Benedictine Order.

Tokhni continued to be famous for its relic of the Cross until that was stolen in 1318, and after many adventures found its way to its home

<sup>1</sup> Lusignan, *Chor. f. 7b; Descr. f. 18.*

<sup>2</sup> The monks were then expelled: Villamont (1588-9), *Exc. Cypr.* p. 172. Kyrianos, however, in 1788, mentions the monastery as still existing (p. 393). The chapel, at any rate, was not destroyed, and continued to be used occasionally for services until recently (Hackett, p. 358; Papaïoannou, II, p. 151).

<sup>3</sup> The Latin monks of St Paul of Antioch were transferred to Cyprus, and had added to the title of their monastery the name of the True Cross; it is probable, therefore, that it was at Stavrovouni that they were settled. M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* p. 588, n. 1; Hackett, p. 451; Papaïoannou, II, p. 314. It is probable also that the mandate of Nicolas IV of 3 July 1291 (E. Langlois, *Reg. de Nic. IV*, no. 5765) to the Archdeacon of Famagusta to appoint an abbot to the monastery of St Paul of Antioch, 'quod tanto tempore jam vacavit quod ejus provisio ad sed. ap. est devoluta', refers to Stavrovouni. The abbey, on account of its famous relic, figures largely in the narratives of travellers, which may be read in Hackett, pp. 439-51; Papaïoannou, II, pp. 299-313. It was sacked by the Mamelukes in 1426 (below, p. 482). Its abbot, Simon de Saint-André, gave trouble to the authorities by his intrigues in the time of Queen Catherine (p. 697). Later, under the Venetians, the abbey was regarded as a valuable benefice, to judge by the competition for it, and the distinguished persons to whom it was from time to time assigned. See Sanudo, *Diarii*, II, 380, 397, 411, 452, 465, 478 and M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* pp. 588-90. After the Turkish conquest the church was abandoned, but before Van Bruyn's visit in 1683 the monastery had been reconstituted as an Orthodox community. That community was afterwards suppressed, and the revenues taken for the archiepiscopal see. (The article by Oberhummer in *Ausland* (1892), nos. 23-6, summarizes the accounts of visitors to the monastery down to modern times.)

in a monastery of the Stavros Phaneromenos ('revealed') at Nicosia.<sup>1</sup> The fourteenth-century church which was built alongside of the original one was burnt by the Mamelukes in the invasion of 1426.

The Orthodox monasteries<sup>2</sup> in Cyprus in the middle of the sixteenth century were 52, mostly rich and well served;<sup>3</sup> they were reckoned in 1788 by Kyprianos at 78;<sup>4</sup> in 1929 they were said to number 74.<sup>5</sup> They were doubtless even more numerous in the Middle Ages. Besides the independent Stauropegia (of which the three chief were Kykko, Machaeras and Enkleistra), and the ordinary monasteries dependent on the sees, there were five dependent on bodies outside Cyprus, two on the Holy Sepulchre (one of these being A. Chrysostomos) and three on St Catherine of Sinai. These lists do not, of course, include the Latin foundations,<sup>6</sup> which were established after the advent of the Lusignans. The only Latin Order which came to Cyprus before that time was that of the Carmelites;<sup>7</sup> but it is not known where they settled. Later, they had monasteries in Nicosia, Famagusta and Lemesos, and priories at

<sup>1</sup> Enlart, II, pp. 447-8. S. Menardos in *Λαογραφία*, II (1910), pp. 295f. regards the inscription at the 'throne of Helena' at Tokhni as a medieval magical writing connected with the theft of the Cross. He reads the name of Helena in it.

<sup>2</sup> The best account in Hackett, pp. 329-69; Papaïoannou, II, pp. 105-64.

<sup>3</sup> Attar, c. 1540; M.L., *H.* III, p. 543.

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 392-3. This includes three metochia of Kykko, which, with A. Nikolaos Stege at Solea and the Kathari at Kerynia, he counts among the stauropegia.

<sup>5</sup> *Hdb.* (1929), p. 54, where also four Maronite, three Latin and one Armenian houses are enumerated. The Census of 1931, however, gives only fifty-eight Orthodox, two Maronite, one Armenian and no Latin houses. As Hackett says (p. 330; Papaïoannou, II, p. 106), many of these Orthodox monasteries exist merely in name, their endowments having been sequestered by their diocesans.

<sup>6</sup> See M.L., *H.* I, pp. 188-9; Hackett, pp. 589ff.; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 137 ff. On the religious Orders in Cyprus generally, Enlart, I, pp. viif.

<sup>7</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 32b. Strictly speaking, the Carmelites were not organized as an Order, with a rule of their own, until about 1210. Carmelite tradition said that shortly after the death of Cyril (c. 1233-4) it was decided that members of the Order should go abroad; hinc quidam natione Cyprii Carmeli ordinem in Famagusta instituerunt. Similiter in eremo Frontana ejusdem insulae. See *Monumenta hist. Carmelitana*, I, ed. B. Zimmerman (Lérins 1907), p. 210, from Joh. Palaeonydorus, *Fasciculus trimertestus* (Mainz 1497); for the date, cf. pp. 213, 311. See also J. Trithemius, *de laudibus Carmelitanæ religionis* (Florence, 1593), f. 11; Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp 1680), I, p. 99. The name of the *eremus* is also given as Fortania. Information from Dom David Knowles and Mr F. Wormald. The latter reminds me of the icon in A. Kassianos (Talbot Rice, no. 1), where the monks sheltered by the Virgin are probably Carmelites. It is not earlier than 1287.

Polemidia and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The only other Order which arrived before the reign of Henry I seems to have been that of the Augustinian Canons, who settled at Bellapais and, in the time of Archbishop Thierry or earlier, adopted the Premonstratensian rule.<sup>2</sup> The splendid abbey, however, of which the ruins, in an incomparable situation looking over the sea towards Cilicia, are still the most beautiful example of monastic architecture in the Near East, dates (apart from the older church) from the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Possibly the Dominican buildings at Nicosia

<sup>1</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 33; *Descr.* ff. 37b, 90. Enlart, II, pp. 456ff., describes the ruins at Karmi near Polemidia.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* III, p. 632; La Monte, *Reg. C.N.* no. 35. P. A. P[almieri], 'de monasteriis ac sodalibus O.E.S.A. in ins. Cypro', in *Analecta Augustiniana*, I (1905-6), p. 93, thinks they must have come as early as 1192. In 1328 the Order of the Augustinian Eremites had only one house in Cyprus, and John XXII gave them permission to accept two others which were offered them, provided there was sufficient endowment to support the two convents, and each sufficed to maintain at least twelve brethren. *Lettres comm.*, ed. Mollat, no. 41573 (14 June 1328). On the later history of Bellapais, see Hackett, pp. 611ff. The church of the Augustinians in Nicosia became the Omerieh Mosque (Enlart, pp. 162ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Plates IV, V; Enlart, I, pp. 202-36. See pp. 1125f. The abbey, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is most commonly in the 13th century especially, but also later (Amadi, p. 293; Fl. Bustron, p. 176), called Episcopia or Piscopia. From the white habit of the canons it came, especially in the 16th century, to be called the Abbazia Bianca or de' Bianchi (*Abbatia Alba Premonstratensis* in 1587, M.L., *H.* III, p. 538). Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 33, has 'l'Abbatia bianca di Delapais'; also, f. 54b, 'Abbatia degli Humiliati detta de Lapais', although in the French edition of 1580 (*Descr.* f. 89) he has simply 'Abbaie de Lapais'. From him, evidently, Kyprianos, p. 61, takes ἡ 'Αββαΐα Πιάγκα δὲ Δελλαπαΐς, ἡτοι ἡ λευκὴ ἡγουμενία τοῦ ταπεινοῦ. Pococke (1738) has *Telebaise*, Drummond (1750) *Dela-Pays*. Mariti (I, p. 126, c. 1769): questa era un Abazia degli Umiliati detta Lapais, oggi corrottamente la Belapais, e dagl' Italiani il Belpaese. An exceptional form is *Abaie de Labay* in 1468 (M.L., *H.* III, p. 211); cp. *l'abaye du Prémontré Labaye*, M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* p. 390. Ross, *Journey to Cyprus*, p. 58, says that in his time (1845) the peasants spoke of *Baia* (for Badia) or *Alabaia*. Menardos, Τοπωνυμικόν, p. 409, says that they use Λαπαΐσιν, Δελλαπαΐσιν or even Πελλαπαΐσιν. It is generally said that 'it was known...as the Abbaye de la Pais or Abbey of Peace, which became corrupted in Venetian times into Bella Paese' (Hackett, p. 611; Papaïoannou, III, p. 159), hence the modern form Bellapais or Bella Paise. One asks, however, why the Venetians should have made *paese* feminine. The conjecture of Mas Latrîe (*Arch. des missions scient.* I, p. 545) that Lapais was derived from *Lapesia* (*Lapethia*), because it was in the province of Lapithos, seems very unlikely. Lusignan's Umiliati I cannot explain. The name Episcopia might seem to lend support to the statement of Fl. Bustron (p. 464) that the abbey was anciently *una Piscopia*, but of this there seems to be no evidence, and it is probably an inference from the name. P. Hugo (*Sacri ord. Premonstr.* Ann. I, col. 651) says that Hugh III brought Premonstratensians from Jeru-



*From the 'Cyprus Calendar'*

BELLAPAI'S ABBEY, FROM THE NORTH

may have been as fine in themselves, though not in situation. The Dominicans were indeed the most important of the religious Orders in Cyprus. They are described by Lusignan<sup>1</sup> as having had four houses, in Nicosia, Famagusta, Lemesos and the *casale* Vavla.<sup>2</sup> They are said to have settled in the island about 1226,<sup>3</sup> when Alice, Countess d'Ibelin, gave them the site (probably at Omoloyitades, outside the present Paphos Gate of Nicosia) with two gardens, which became famous. Extensive monastic buildings (largely built of marble) and a magnificent church were erected. When the province of the Holy Land was established in 1228, Nicosia was included in it. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the province was reduced to three monasteries in Cyprus.<sup>4</sup> The Nicosia church was the burial-place of many of the royal family and nobility.<sup>5</sup> The monastery was afterwards enclosed, together with the royal palace, within a fortification by James I.<sup>6</sup> It escaped when the citadel was destroyed by the Mamelukes in 1426 but was pulled down by the Venetians in 1567. Long before then the community had sunk to poverty and insignificance.<sup>7</sup>

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saalem, and placed them in the monastery which he called Episcopia, and which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Hugh may have brought members of the Order from Palestine, but the Order was at Bellapaïs and the abbey was known as Episcopia long before his time. Is it possible that the Orthodox bishops of Kerynia had a residence there, and that it got its name in the same way as the other Episkopi did from the bishops of Kourion? F. Seesselberg, *Das Praemonstratenser-Kloster Delapaïs*, ignores all these problems. His idea (p. 43), that the Premonstratensians were in Cyprus as early as 1187, and that Richard settled them in Bellapaïs in 1191, is guesswork; yet it is possible that they may have first come after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, though one doubts whether they would have been welcomed by Isaac. The statement (p. 47n.) that it is not impossible that in 1206 the Augustinians, who at the same time as or earlier than the Premonstratensians may have settled in the island, joined the latter in Bellapaïs, seems to invert the evidence, which is to the effect that the Augustinians were first at Bellapaïs and then later adopted the Premonstratensian rule (see above p. 26).

<sup>1</sup> *Chor.* f. 32b; *Descr.* f. 89; Kyprianos, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> In the upper valley of the Maroni. Enlart, II, p. 442; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 353. Enlart thinks the Dominican church survives in the 15th-century Greek monastery of A. Minas.

<sup>3</sup> Lusignan and Kyprianos, *ll.cc.*

<sup>4</sup> Mandonnet in *Cath. Enc.* XII, 368D.

<sup>5</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 15b; *Descr.* f. 32; Enlart, I, pp. 70-2; Hackett, pp. 594-5; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 141-3.

<sup>6</sup> Lusignan, *ll.cc.*

<sup>7</sup> Hackett, pp. 596-9; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 144-6. In 1518 the Venetian government made a grant to the Observant Dominicans, who were going to visit and see to the repair of their monasteries in Cyprus. Sanudo, *Diarii*, XXVI, 57 (25 Sept. 1518).

The Franciscans came about the same time as the Dominicans<sup>1</sup> or perhaps as early as 1219–20, when St Francis visited the island.<sup>2</sup> Their first house, erected probably soon after their arrival, was that of Beaulieu, in a suburb of Nicosia, also known as N. D. des Champs or St Jean de Montfort (that saint being buried there). When they founded their second house, about 1251, the first was sold to the Cistercians (see below). The second was near the site of the present Franciscan monastery in the west of the town. It contained a number of royal tombs, and was destroyed in 1567. Altogether the Franciscans had four houses, in Nicosia, Famagusta and Lemesos. There were also two convents of St Claire, one in the city, and one at La Cava (Leondari Vouno),<sup>3</sup> four miles outside it. The latter was sacked by the Mamelukes in 1426, but the nuns returned to it later. At the chapter-general of Narbonne (1260) the province of the East was divided into two *custodiae*, of Syria and Cyprus, with Acre and Nicosia as their headquarters.<sup>4</sup>

A house of Cistercian nuns was constituted as an abbey at Nicosia in 1222.<sup>5</sup> The monks of this Order had the church variously known as Beaulieu, Notre Dame des Champs, or St Jean de Montfort (see above). They had bought the place from the Franciscans in 1253<sup>6</sup> and, when the

<sup>1</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 32b; *Descr.* f. 89b; Kyprianos, p. 60. Both these say the same of the Augustinians, who, however, as we have seen, were at Bellapaïs before the time of Archbishop Thierry (1206).

<sup>2</sup> Golubovich, II, p. 372, n. 1. St Francis at Lemesos, *ibid.* On Franciscan houses in Cyprus generally, the same, pp. 522–38; Kyriazēs in Κυπρ. Χρον. VI (1929), pp. 168–88. Enlart (II, pp. 420f.; *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, 1909, p. 217) identifies Beaulieu with Stazousa, in the village of Kalokhorio near Klavdia, but this conjecture is disputed by Jeffery (*Hist. Mon.* p. 189). Enlart has also (*Florilegium*, as above, pp. 216ff.) identified the second house of the Franciscans with the monastery of which he excavated the foundations in 1901, and which in plan closely resembles Bellapaïs. Jeffery, however (in a letter of 7 July 1928, kindly communicated by Mr Van de Put), disputes this identification; the remains appeared to him to be not older than the middle of the 16th century. But as he adds that when Enlart explored the site in 1901 not one stone remained upon another, and even the foundations had been dug up, the question must remain open.

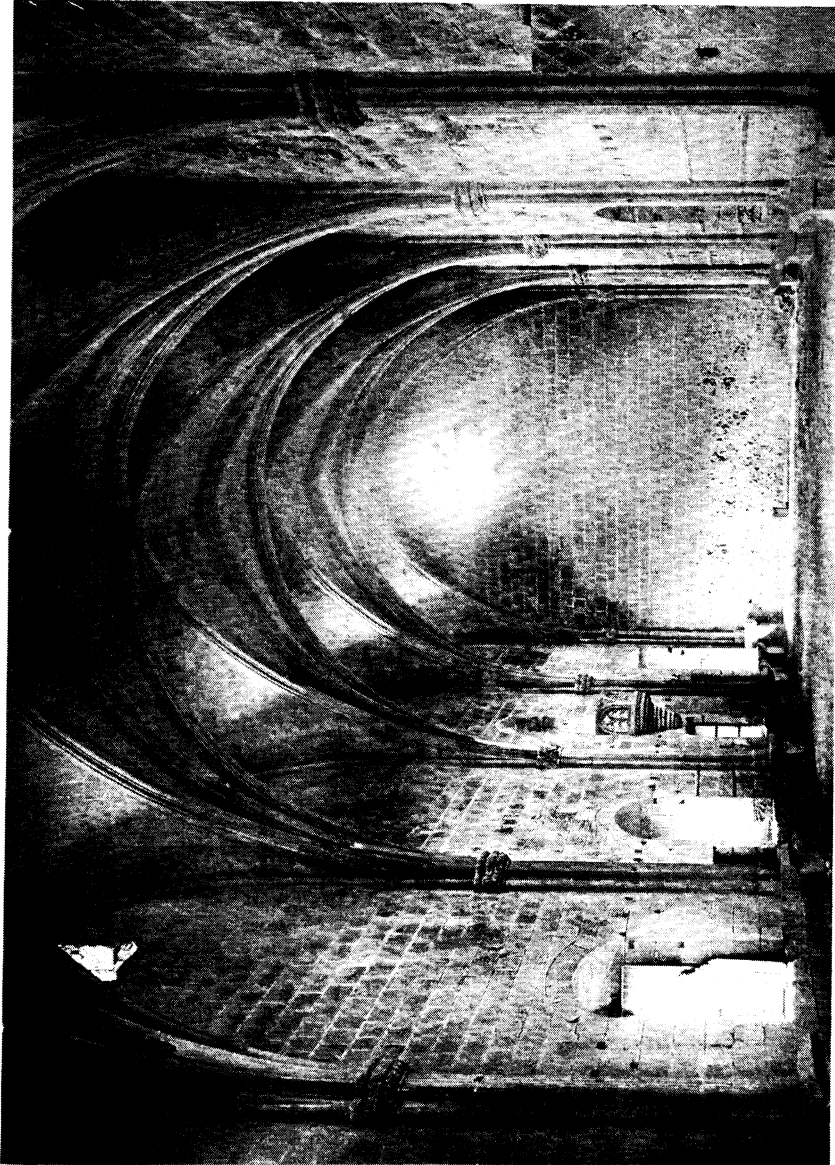
<sup>3</sup> Dawkins on Machaeras, 597, n. 1. But Golubovich, *op. cit.* pp. 535f., places it at Strovilos.

<sup>4</sup> Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, IV (Quaracchi, 1931), p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* pp. 343–4; Röhrich, *Reg.* no. 962; *Reg. C.N.* no. 25. An endowment by Alice, widow of Philip d'Ibelin, in 1244, was probably for the same convent (M.L., *H.* III, p. 644; *Reg. C.N.* no. 54). Hackett, pp. 603f.

<sup>6</sup> The rule of the Franciscan Order being that houses abandoned by them should revert to the bishop of the diocese, the archbishop claimed it. M.L., *H.* III, p. 651; Porthast, 15216; *Reg. C.N.* no. 78; Hackett, p. 602.





*From Eulart, op. cit.*

BELLAPAI'S ABBEY, REFECTORY

Cistercians left the island in the reign of James II, the house was handed over to the Observant Franciscans, and the abbey lands commended.

The church of Stavrovouni, it has already been said, was taken over at some unknown date by the Benedictines.<sup>1</sup> In the capital they had a number of houses. That of St John the Evangelist of Bibi<sup>2</sup> was taken over by the Orthodox Basilians, probably when the Benedictines left the island in 1426. It is now the Orthodox archbishopric. Of two houses for women, the better known was that of Our Lady of Tyre,<sup>3</sup> first mentioned in 1300; it has been identified with the fine church now in the hands of the Armenians (p. 3, note).

The facts about the Carthusians in Cyprus are obscure. They are supposed to have come from Jerusalem (being mentioned with the Benedictines and Cistercians) in the early days of the Kingdom.<sup>4</sup> The identification of their house or houses in Nicosia is very difficult, though there is some reason to suppose that the present Armenian church (mentioned above in connexion with the Benedictines) may at one time have been in the hands of Carthusian nuns.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hackett, pp. 605-8; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 153-5.

<sup>2</sup> Enlart (I, pp. 184-5) identifies it with the house of the Hospitallers.

<sup>3</sup> Enlart, I, pp. 142-50; Hackett, pp. 608-10; Papaïoannou, III, p. 159; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* pp. 50-5. Amadi and Fl. Bustron call this house the monastery of St Lazarus (note on Amadi, p. 349).

<sup>4</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 32b.

<sup>5</sup> Enlart, I, p. 145; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 50. Fl. Bustron (p. 255) mentions the *monastero della Certozza* under the year 1330, and adds that the procession to that church went on down to his own day. In the 17th century (Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschryving*, 1688, p. 32; *Descr. exacte*, 1703, p. 32; Piacenza, *L'Egeo redivivo*, 1688, p. 659), a church belonging to the Armenians, having many tombstones of women, was said to have been in the time of the kings a convent of Carthusian nuns. This description would apply to the present Armenian church (Enlart, I, pp. 145f.; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 50). Enlart suggests that the Tartusa of Machaeras and Strambaldi is a mistake for Certosa; one must agree with Dawkins (on Machaeras 265, n. 5) that this is very unlikely. As to the church of S. Giuliano, which Hackett (p. 611, misunderstanding a difficult passage of Lusignan) attributes to the Carthusians, it belonged to the Croisiers (Papaïoannou, III, p. 159). Lusignan (*Chor.* f. 15) has: 'Monasterij de Monaci, & Monache de San Benedetto, di San Bernardo, li Crosachieri, San Giuliano, de' Certosini, etc.' From Lusignan's *Description*, however (f. 31b), it would seem that we should here read 'Crosachieri di San Giuliano'. Enlart, I, p. 75. From Amadi (p. 292, under 1308) we learn that there was a nunnery in Nicosia known as N.D. de Tortosa. Nuns from Antioch (*monache Carpitane*) had brought from Tortosa an image of Our Lady (when, it is not stated, but it is unlikely that it was later than the fall of Ruad in

The other Latin non-military Orders were of small importance in Cyprus. Of the military Orders, the Templars, as will be related, were first seen in the island immediately after its conquest by Richard;<sup>1</sup> although that occupation was but temporary, they must have established themselves under Guy, for he is said to have carried on the work of building the church which they had begun in Nicosia, and was buried in it.<sup>2</sup> In 1198 they were asked by Innocent III to lend their services for the protection of Cyprus against enemy attacks, at the same time as he recommended Aimery to the Hospitallers and to the Prince of Antioch.<sup>3</sup> It may be supposed that the recollection of their recent experiences in Nicosia must have made them somewhat unwilling to undertake such an office. That they occupied fortresses at an early date is clear from the story of Walter de Montbéliard.

The Hospitallers, on receiving Innocent's recommendation, actually took over some of the fortresses.<sup>4</sup> They already possessed a preceptory in 1210, when King Hugh gave them special privileges, such as the right to acquire land, exemption from customs dues on their exports and imports, free milling at Kythrea, land and houses at Lemesos, and also four estates, Platanistia and Phinika in the territory of Paphos, Monagroulli in that of Lemesos, and, above all, Kolossi, which became the Grand Commandery.<sup>5</sup> Hugh favoured the Order so much that he was buried in their church of St John at Nicosia. It is a remarkable fact that the Order developed no fighting sea-force until after its expulsion from the Holy Land in 1291.<sup>6</sup> The Hospital acquired most of the possessions

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1303), and obtained from the Pope leave to change their habit, and to be called nuns of N.D. de Tortosa. This change was made on 1 June 1308. See Dawkins on Machaeras 265, n. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Apart, of course, from visits on business matters, such as that concerning the money entrusted to them by Isaac Comnenus (Vol. I, p. 313, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 49b; *Descr.* f. 123 b.

<sup>3</sup> Epist. 438 ed. Baluze; Migne, *P.L.* 214, col. 417; Potthast, 444. Hackett connects this action of Innocent with the designs of Alexius III on Cyprus (p. 629; Papaïoannou, III, p. 182).

<sup>4</sup> Bosio, I, pp. 146 f.; Hackett and Papaïoannou, as above. Bosio says in one place that the Pope's letter was addressed to the Master Le Rat, in another that the King received it and presented it to him. But Le Rat was not in office until 1206-7. D.L.R., *Hosp.* T.S. p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> D.L.R. *Cartulaire*, II, pp. 121 f.; no. 1354 (Sept. 1210); *Hosp.* T.S. p. 149; M.L., *H.* I, pp. 190-1. Kolossi had belonged to one Garinus de Colos, whom Hugh compensated.

<sup>6</sup> D.L.R. *Hosp.* T.S. p. 344.

of the Temple when that Order was suppressed, as will be described in a later chapter.<sup>1</sup>

Richard, having made arrangements, which he doubtless considered only provisional, for the government of Cyprus, no longer delayed his departure for Palestine, where he was so urgently wanted. He had already despatched to Syria in advance five ships laden, says the Arab chronicler, 'with men and women, provisions and wood, engines of war and other things, besides about forty horses'. But they were captured by Usama, Governor of Beirut, who had been ordered by Saladin to send out galleys to cruise off the Syrian coast and prevent the Franks from reaching Acre.<sup>2</sup> Richard, himself, sailed on 5 June 1191,<sup>3</sup> was off Tyre next day, and arrived at Acre on the 8th, having sunk a great dromond of the enemy on the way.<sup>4</sup> He had with him Guy de Lusignan and the other nobles who had joined him at Lemesos (Vol. I, p. 319).

From this time onwards, the history of Cyprus becomes involved with that of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, this is not a history of that Kingdom, or of the Crusades. Of what happened on the mainland, therefore, only a bare sketch can be given, and details will be avoided as far as possible except when Cyprus or its rulers may be concerned. The view that will thus be obtained of the course of events will be narrow and defective. But perhaps it will show those events all the more as they must have looked to a Cypriote of the day; and that may well be excused in a history of Cyprus. It is necessary however at this point to explain briefly the origin of the quarrel for the possession of the phantom crown of Jerusalem.

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<sup>1</sup> Statistics of the estates of the Order in Cyprus, M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* pp. 568ff. In 1304 the Bishop of Lemesos was ordered to induce the Greeks, who owned an oratory adjoining a place belonging to the Hospital, to cede it to the Order for a suitable exchange. (Benedict XI, *Registre*, no. 760).

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Athir, in *Rec. Cr. Or.* II (i), p. 42. Beha ed-Din (Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. xxxII, pp. 242-3) says the news of the capture was received in the Sultan's camp at the siege of Acre by letter from Beirut on 29 Rabi'a II, i.e. 26 May 1191. Richard is not likely to have sent the ships away before he had finished with Isaac, which was towards the end of May.

<sup>3</sup> Wednesday in Whitsun week: [Benedict of Peterborough], *Gesta Reg. Henrici II*, etc. ed. Stubbs, II, p. 168; Hoveden, III, p. 112; Brompton, col. 1200.

<sup>4</sup> See Ambroise, vv. 2141-2299, with Hubert and La Monte's notes.

In 1180,<sup>1</sup> Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem, found himself ill (he was a leper) and childless. The heir to the throne was his infant nephew, Baldwin V, the son of Sibyl, eldest daughter of King Amaury, and widow of William of Montferrat. Urged to marry again, in order to secure the succession of her son, Sibyl chose not one of the great barons, but a poor man, a brave though not too competent soldier, the good-looking, apparently stupid<sup>2</sup> Guy de Lusignan. Guy was the brother of the much better known Geoffrey, and also of Aimery, Constable of the Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> His lack of distinction made the marriage unpopular, and he was not allowed by the Haute Cour to assume the guardianship of the heir, who succeeded his uncle in 1183, but survived only to his seventh year, 1186. Sibyl was now legally Queen of Jerusalem, but the Haute Cour declined to acknowledge her husband, on whose head, however, in defiance of the barons of the party of Raymond of Tripoli, Regent of the Kingdom, she placed the second crown at the time of her own coronation (20 July 1186). The opposition proposed to confer the crown on her younger sister Isabel and her husband Humfry IV of Toron. This couple had been betrothed in 1180, when the girl was only eight years old, and married in 1183.<sup>4</sup> Humfry was a pretty, gentle creature, who, terrified at the idea of mounting the throne, hastened to do homage to Sibyl as his queen. She succeeded in quieting the opposition, who were released by Raymond from their oaths to him, and did homage to her and her husband. Immediately afterwards, however, followed the disasters of 1187, the defeat by Saladin of the crusaders on 3 April at Hattin, where Guy and his brother Aimery were made prisoners; the capture of Acre five days later, the fall of half a dozen

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the dispute, down to the final dispossession of Guy de Lusignan, see M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 19-37; R. Röhricht, chs. xx-xxvii; J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 31 ff.; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, esp. vol. III (1936), pp. 41 f., 57 ff., 94 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 'Car nus reis n'iert mielz entechiez, | Fors d'une teche qu'il aveit, | Cele que nul mal ne saveit, | Cele que l'em clame simplesce': Ambroise, vv. 9112 ff. 'Erat simplex et minus astutus... miles erat probatissimus': *Itin. Reg. Ricardi*, p. 350. 'Il ne fu ne preus ne sages': Ernoul, p. 60. Guy was the son of Hugh VIII Le Brun, lord of Lusignan in Poitou. On the genealogy of the family see Lusignan, *Les Généalogies de soixante et sept très nobles et très illustres maisons* (Paris, 1586), chs. xxix-xxxii; L. de Mas Latrie, *Généalogie*.

<sup>3</sup> Aimery (Aimericus) has until recently always (except perhaps by Du Cange) been called by modern historians Amaury II (Amalricus). See Chandon de Briailles, quoted by Longuet in *Rev. Numism.* (1935), pp. 168, 182; and below, p. 45, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Röhricht, pp. 392, 407.

other towns and, finally, the capitulation, on 2 October, of Jerusalem. Guy was released next year, in exchange for Ascalon, though only on his oath not to bear arms against Islam. An oath given under duress and to an infidel was, however, not considered binding,<sup>1</sup> and Guy was promptly in the field again. From now onwards he began to show qualities which belied the poor opinion which his contemporaries so freely expressed about him. The state of the crusaders was parlous; Saladin, it was true, was checked by the Marquess, Conrad of Montferrat, who successfully defended Tyre; but otherwise Antioch and Tripoli were the only places of importance that they retained. Guy rightly or wrongly, and in opposition to the barons' party, who held that Tyre was the key to the Kingdom of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> decided that, if Jerusalem was to be recovered, Acre must first be retaken; and in August 1189 he laid siege to it, though the enemy, it was said, outnumbered his little army by four to one. Gradually those who had taken the cross when Jerusalem fell began to arrive. Unfortunately for Guy, his wife Sibyl died in the autumn of 1190. Isabel, her sister, according to precedent, should have succeeded, with her husband Humfry of Toron, to the crown. But he, as before, was unwilling. A strong and numerous party supported the claims of Conrad of Montferrat, and Isabel was eventually constrained by her mother, Maria Comnena, to divorce her husband, to whom she was much attached, and marry Conrad (29 November 1190).<sup>3</sup> Guy, with his brother Geoffrey, and his brother-in-law Humfry, protested and appealed to the decision of the kings of France and England. We have seen that they joined Richard in Cyprus, and returned with him to Acre.

A decision as to the crown itself was deferred, but meanwhile its revenues were placed in the hands of the Temple and the Hospital. Guy was supported by Richard, Conrad by Philip Augustus. Conrad, challenged to mortal combat by Geoffrey, refused to fight, and retired in dudgeon to his stronghold of Tyre. The friction between the kings

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<sup>1</sup> M. Salloch, *Die lat. Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus* (Leipzig, 1934), lib. III, c. I, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Hubert and La Monte, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, by Ambroise, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> On this marriage, see Hubert and La Monte, *op. cit.* p. 177, n. 18. Innocent III (Epist. ed. Baluze, no. 75; Migne, *P.L.* 214, col. 611; Potthast, 716; *Corpus Iuris Canon.* ed. Richter-Friedberg, pars 2, col. 726), in a letter of 25 May 1199, says that both this marriage and the next, to Henry of Champagne, were within the prohibited degrees of affinity, and attributes the violent deaths of Conrad and Henry to divine judgement.

of France and England is illustrated by the demand that Philip Augustus made for a half-share of the booty taken in Cyprus, on the ground that the agreement made at the outset of the Crusade entitled him thereto.<sup>1</sup> Richard argued that the agreement covered only conquests within the territory of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but said that he would yield if Philip would give him half of what he had acquired by the deaths of the Count of Flanders and of William IV of St Omer. Richard was probably quite in the wrong, but eventually it was agreed that only the cities and booty to be captured from the Saracens in Palestine should be shared in this way.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the treasure, however, Richard found Cyprus an uneasy burden. Such garrisons as he may have left in towns and castles were unable to control the countryside; and for the mass of the people the new foreign domination had no attraction, once the feeling of relief at getting rid of Isaac had passed. Secretly the malcontents gathered together, and put up as Emperor of Cyprus a Greek monk, a relative of Isaac Comnenus. But Robert de Turnham (Richard de Camville had fallen ill and gone to Acre, where he died) struck suddenly and hard; he marched to the centre of the revolt, seized the 'Emperor' and hanged him.<sup>3</sup>

The revolt was crushed for the time, but Richard knew that it might at any time be revived. With the siege of Acre on his hands, hampered by the intrigues of the French and German crusaders, he was anxious to be rid of his new conquest. The Grand Master of the Temple, Robert de Sablé in Maine, was Richard's man; and the Order was easily persuaded<sup>4</sup> to buy the island from its embarrassed owner. The price was 100,000 gold dinars, which have been calculated as roughly equivalent in value to £320,000 sterling.<sup>5</sup> It was a small price, if we consider the

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, p. 320, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> [Benedict of Peterborough], *Gesta Reg. Henrici II*, etc., II, p. 171; Hoveden, III, p. 114; Brompton, col. 1202; Cartellieri, *Philipp II August*, II, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Reg. Henrici II*, etc., II, pp. 172-3; Hoveden, III, p. 116; Brompton, col. 1203.

<sup>4</sup> Ernoul, p. 273. *Eracles*, p. 170 (MSS. C and G): Richard wished to give the island to the Templars, but they refused and said they would guard it for a time. Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot, III, fasc. iii, p. 403) says that Richard gave the island to the Brethren.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Vol. I, p. 257, n. 2. *Eracles*, pp. 189, 184 (MS. D); M.L., H. II, p. 7 (misprints 9,600,000 for 7,600,000 fr.). 'Besants sarrasinois or gold dinars were in the terms of the purchase, because the Byzantine gold besant was by this time of indifferent quality, having begun to deteriorate more than a century before (Wroth, *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Imp. Byz.* p. lxxiv), whereas the dinar of the time of Saladin was of good gold.

amount of the revenue that previous rulers had been able to extract from the island. The bargain was made easier for the Temple by the arrangement for a payment of only 40,000 dinars on its conclusion, the remaining 60,000 to be paid in instalments out of the revenues. As security, Richard took occupation of one of the castles in Palestine belonging to the Temple.

On 13 July, Acre capitulated, and before the end of the month, at a congress of the lords and prelates of the Kingdom, and the commanders of the forces, agreement was apparently reached on the question of the crown. The title was to be held for life by Guy, but the revenues of the Kingdom were to be shared between him and the Marquess Conrad. The latter and his heirs were to have Tyre (with Beirut and Sidon when they should be recaptured); for these fiefs he would, according to feudal law, owe service to the King of Jerusalem. Should Guy die before Conrad, the latter, with his wife Isabel, would succeed to the crown and all its rights.<sup>1</sup> The county of Jaffa and Ascalon, which had belonged to Guy in virtue of his marriage with Sibyl, was allotted to Guy's brother Geoffrey.<sup>2</sup>

Philip Augustus went back to France, to Richard's great relief. But the decision about the crown was immediately found to be a dead letter. The great majority still pressed the claims of Conrad, and Richard was forced to yield. But, by what seemed to many more than a mere coincidence, Conrad, on the very day when Richard's message reached him, summoning him to assume the crown, was assassinated by two emissaries of the 'Old Man of the Mountain'.<sup>3</sup>

Present in Tyre at the time of the murder was Henry, Count Palatine of Champagne, nephew both of Richard and of the King of France. Richard, weary of supporting the hopeless cause of Guy, had already thought of Henry for the crown of Jerusalem. Within three days the matter was settled. All Tyre, and the French forces encamped near it, unanimously accepted him, and he was proclaimed King of Jerusalem,

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<sup>1</sup> 28 July 1191. *Itin. Reg. Ricardi*, p. 235; *Gesta Reg. Henrici II*, etc., II, pp. 183 f.; Hoveden, III, pp. 124 f.; Brompton, col. 1208; Sicard in Muratori, *R.I.S.* VII, cols. 614 f. (neither to wear the crown during the life of the other).

<sup>2</sup> Röhricht, p. 568; M.L., *Comtes de Jaffa et d'Ascalon*, in *Rev. des questions historiques*, XXVI (1879), pp. 190-1.

<sup>3</sup> For references to literature on the murder of Conrad, see Hubert and La Monte, note on Ambroise, p. 338.



although he was never actually crowned.<sup>1</sup> He immediately married Conrad's widow Isabel; and Richard ceded to him all his rights to a share in Acre and the lands in Syria to which his agreement with Philip Augustus entitled him. Guy de Lusignan was for the time left out in the cold. But Richard had not forgotten him.

The question of the possession of Cyprus had not been settled by the sale to the Templars, and was open again. The Order, indeed, had no intention of doing anything but exploit the island to the utmost. They sent thither a few knights, under the command of one Arnaut de Bouchart, fondly supposing that these would suffice to control and administer what they proposed to treat as if it were one of their ordinary estates.<sup>2</sup> Bouchart took over the island from Richard's governor, and, in order to raise the revenue necessary to pay the balance of the 100,000 besants, imposed fresh dues on the markets, in addition to the existing taxes.<sup>3</sup> A legend grew up later that the castle of Buffavento was built in the twelfth century by a noble Cypriote lady, the same who founded the church of St Chrysostomos, when she took refuge there from the Templars who, for the year, or a little more, that they held the island, tyrannized over the natives of the country.<sup>4</sup>

This time revolt was hatched, not in the country, but in Nicosia itself. It was proposed to take the opportunity of market-day, the Saturday in Holy Week, 5 April 1192,<sup>5</sup> to surprise and massacre the whole body of

<sup>1</sup> His reason for refusing to be crowned may have been that he wished to return to France (Sanudo, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, p. 201). Lusignan, *Hist.* f. 7b, gives also as his reasons the facts that Guy was still alive, and that Guy had ceded all his rights to the crown to Richard. In his charters Henry calls himself Count of Troyes, and only in one, of those extant, also *dominus* of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 184f. (MSS. D, G), 190; M.L., *H.* III, p. 593; Amadi, pp. 83f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 50. The Italians call the commander Beccardo.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 84. Fl. Bustron, p. 50: every purchaser at the Saturday and Sunday markets had to pay one bit (*carcia*) per besant; the besant in Bustron's time (p. 462) contained 26 *carats*, and the *carat* was two *carcie*.

<sup>4</sup> Mariti, I, p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> On the date, see M.L., *H.* II, p. 7, n. 3. Only one chronicler puts it on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. For the fighting, Ernoul, p. 285; *Eracles*, pp. 185-7 (MSS. D, C, G), 190f.; M.L., *H.* III, p. 593; Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot, III, fasc. III, p. 403: very summary); Amadi, p. 84; Fl. Bustron, pp. 50f. Lusignan (*Chor.* f. 49; *Descr.* f. 122) speaks of a great butchery on both sides. The evidence, so far as known to me, is misinterpreted by Iorga (*F.d.C.* p. 84) and Grousset (*Hist. des Croisades*, III, p. 97) in the sense that the Greeks were the first to attack and massacre the Latins. Lusignan is, I think, the only authority for any losses on the Latin side.

the Templars. They were, as we have already said, very few in number; fourteen Brethren, with their horses; twenty-nine other mounted men; and seventy-four foot-soldiers. The plot was betrayed to Bouchart, but all he could devise on the spur of the moment was to take refuge with his small force in the very weakly fortified castle of Nicosia; but he was without supplies, and doubted whether he could sustain a siege. An offer to give up the place and retire to Syria (were not the Latins as good Christians as the Greeks?) was rejected by the mob, which demanded the blood of the oppressors in revenge for all those who had perished at the hands of the Latins. Hearing this, Bouchart suggested that, rather than starve like cowards, the little company should make a sally and meet their death like men. On Easter Sunday morning, therefore, having heard mass, they sallied forth, completely surprising the Greeks, who never suspected so small a force of so audacious an enterprise. The Latins slew the Greeks indiscriminately like sheep; a number of Greeks who sought asylum in a church were massacred; the mounted Templars rode through the town spitting on their lances everyone they could reach; the streets ran with blood, which found its way to the water-course at the bridge of the Seneschal (Lodron), whence the water carried it to the bridge of the Pillory; there a great stone was afterwards set up in memory of the slaughter.<sup>1</sup> The Templars rode through the land, sacking the villages and spreading desolation, for the population of both cities and villages fled to the mountains.

Robert de Turnham had quelled one revolt by hanging its leader; the Templars had quenched a second in rivers of blood; but they were now masters of a city without inhabitants, and unwilling to hold this extremely restive possession.<sup>2</sup> Whether of their own motion, or on the suggestion of the dispossessed King of Jerusalem himself, Guy de Lusignan took Cyprus off their hands, reimbursing them for the 40,000 besants which they had already paid to Richard, and undertaking the

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, II, with Dawkins's note on 10.

<sup>2</sup> If Lusignan is correct (*Chor.* f. 49 b), the Templars left the island and the Cypriotes destroyed the castle, which was never rebuilt; but the chapel of S. M. Castegliotissa stood among its ruins. Cp. Kyprianos, pp. 117f. Lusignan's account in his *Descr.* (f. 122), however, is quite different, and scarcely credible: the Templars, with whom the Cypriotes were continually at war, wished to have the castle of Nicosia in their hands; after a severe battle they took and destroyed it, building on its site a chapel which they called Chastillonnette.

debt of the balance of 60,000. He did homage to Richard for the fief, which was granted to him for his lifetime.<sup>1</sup>

Guy went to take seisin of Cyprus in May 1192. Richard remained in Palestine until 9 October. When he left, taking the two queens and the wife and daughter of Isaac Comnenus with him,<sup>2</sup> he transferred his rights to Henry of Champagne, who only gave up the claim to the balance of 60,000 besants in 1197, when he took in exchange from Guy's successor, Aimery, the county of Jaffa (p. 57).

Guy and his successors were unmolested by any serious attempt from Constantinople to regain the Greek dominion over Cyprus. From the time of Richard's conquest, the Empire, under the incompetent Isaac II Angelus (1183-95) and Alexius III (1195-1203), was too feeble to do more than make a protest (as Alexius did when he appealed to the Pope in 1201); from 1204 to 1261 Latins, not Greeks, reigned in Constantinople. What is more, the danger from the side of Islam had disappeared for the time. The Third Crusade, it is well known, was characterized by interchange of courtesies between the leaders of the Crusade and Saladin, illustrating the fallacy of the prevalent idea that there was bitter hostility between Christians (whether Greeks or Franks) and Moslems,<sup>3</sup> although such friendly relations were confined to intervals between actual fighting. Before Richard left Palestine, however, a truce of three years, three months, three weeks and three days had been concluded on 10 August 1192 with Saladin, who survived only to the next year. There is reason to suppose that Guy proposed to Saladin an alliance against Byzantium, though the proposal came to nothing.<sup>4</sup> With the

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<sup>1</sup> See Note 1 at the end of this Chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Richard's reason for taking the daughter with him was doubtless to prevent any claim to Cyprus being made on her behalf, as actually happened later. Her cause was espoused by Richard's enemies; thus Leopold V of Austria, who was connected with the Comneni, claimed to keep Richard in custody as long as Isaac and his daughter were Richard's captives. Since Isaac's wife is not mentioned, she had probably died meanwhile. See *Rec. Cr. Grecs*, II, pp. 489-90. For the daughter's further adventures, see below, pp. 63 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. M.L., H. I, p. 41; Iorga, *F.d.C.* p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> The story goes that Guy sent messengers to Saladin, asking for his advice on the best way of holding Cyprus. Saladin replied that he did not like Guy, but a man whose advice is asked should give it, even though to an enemy; therefore he said 'give all, if you would keep all' (*Eracles*, p. 188, MS. D), and advised him to send for friends and good knights to hold his fiefs, and generally outlined the policy which Guy actually adopted. (Machaeras, 25, 26; Strambaldi, pp. 8-9.) Machaeras (22-4) and

Sultan's death was removed the great obstacle to a revival of the Christian power in the Holy Land. Far from any serious threat to Cyprus taking effect from the side of Palestine or Egypt, the island became the mainstay of the Christian adventure, and was able to develop itself in peace; the fall of Acre in 1291 meant that trade with the East could now pass only through Cyprus, so that from that year dates the rise of Famagusta to be the greatest emporium of the eastern Mediterranean.

Whether by the advice of Saladin, as was commonly believed, or, as is more likely, adapting the usages of the West to his circumstances, Guy pursued a sensible policy. His first step was to quiet the native population, persuading them that they had nothing to fear, in spite of their revolt against the Templars, but should return to their towns and villages. The cities and castles were re-garrisoned, and such knights as first accompanied him were granted the lands which he had at his disposal—those, presumably, which Richard had taken as his own, when he gave his charter to the land.<sup>1</sup> These fiefs, like the others granted later, were of course held on condition of military service.

At the same time, he let it be known in Palestine, in Syria and in Armenia that he would grant fiefs and lands to all those who were willing to come and settle in the island. In those countries were many knights who had been deprived of their fiefs by the Saracen conquest, as well as widows and sons and daughters of those who had been killed in the wars, and these took advantage of the invitation.<sup>2</sup>

The fiefs granted<sup>3</sup> were of different values, according to the rank of

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Strambaldi (*loc. cit.*) further relate that Guy actually proposed alliance against the Greeks; the Sultan, assuming that Guy proposed to be his subject, replied that that depended not on Guy, but on the will of God; but if Guy ever suffered any vexation from him or his successors, it would be his own fault. He could not agree to help Guy against the Emperor, since his faith forbade him to help infidels. But if Guy would accept the Muhammiadan confession, he would make firm defensive and offensive alliance with him. Guy refused to renounce his faith. It is likely enough that Guy, finding himself without resources, and fearing an attack from Constantinople, sought an alliance with Saladin; the rest of these stories is probably embroidery.

<sup>1</sup> Ernoul, pp. 286f.; *Eracles*, pp. 188 (MSS. D, C, G), 191; M.L., H. II, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> It is noticeable, however, that Guy, whatever his successors did, did not establish Pisans or other Italian merchant communities with their own quarters and administration, and other privileges such as they enjoyed in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, although he is said to have promised the Pisans *grans dons et grans franchises* (p. 42).

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs, in *Seventeen Lectures* (1887), p. 189, thinks that Guy probably had to sell the land to find the money to pay the Templars. Cp. Iorga, *F.d.C.* p. 40, who takes

the grantees; thus a knight had a fief bringing in 400 white besants; an esquire, one of 300; the same value was attached to the lands granted to the *sergents à cheval*, and to the turcoples who owned two mounts and a coat of mail.<sup>1</sup> Guy is said to have disposed of 300 fiefs to knights and 200 to *sergents à cheval*, besides making grants of land and other provisions<sup>2</sup> to the common people, such as scribes and artisans, who flocked to the island in the hope of picking up a living. He also gave dowries to the widows and orphan girls.<sup>3</sup> The mixed quality of the immigrants excited the satire of observers; but this recruitment was just what was needed to provide Guy with a counterpoise to the native Greek population, of whose sympathy with the Emperor in Constantinople he was somewhat in dread. It was remarked a little later that if Baldwin, Count of Flanders, had followed his example in Constantinople, he would not have lost his empire and his life. So many fiefs did Guy grant, that there remained for himself enough to support only a small number of knights, at the most seventy.<sup>4</sup>

In granting these fiefs, as a gift from the prince himself, a change was made from the usage prevailing in Syria. There a fief could pass from the holder to any of his heirs, direct or collateral. In Cyprus (as in the Morea in the case of fiefs *de nouveau don*, granted by the prince himself) a fief could pass only to the immediate heir, *né de femme épouse*. Failing

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the sums mentioned to be the prices paid by the feudataries. There seems to be little doubt, however, that the fiefs were not sold but granted freely. The classification given in the text, after Mas Latrie, was perhaps only developed in course of time; the original grants may have been haphazard.

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 192; M.L., H. I, p. 44. These values were comparatively low: La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 149. The turcoples were light cavalry (mounted archers), recruited from non-noble classes, largely from the native population, in countries occupied by the crusaders, and were commanded by a Frankish officer called Grand Turcopolier. See Dawkins on Machaeras, II, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 26: 'to some monthly payments, and to others rents and assignments, and judges to judge their cases... and to those of lower rank he granted freedoms and liberties of enfranchisement' (Dawkins). The urban properties thus granted were called *bourgeoisies*; and other provisions in money or natural products were drawn from the royal domain (M.L., H. I, p. 45).

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 188 (MSS. D, C, G), 191; M.L., H. II, p. 8; III, p. 594; Ernoul, pp. 286f. See Mas Latrie's comment, I, p. 43. The Syrians seem to have had special privileges, paying only half the usual dues on sales and purchases, and being exempt from those paid by natives (Machaeras, 26).

<sup>4</sup> Most texts say only twenty. See M.L., H. II, p. 9, n. I.

such issue, it reverted to the crown.<sup>1</sup> This, we may suspect, was one of the difficulties found by Henry II in meeting the claims of his brother Amaury's children.

It must also be remembered that Guy, though titular King of Jerusalem, was never King of Cyprus. On the coins which he issued, the inscription is on the obverse, *Rex Guido*, on the reverse, *de Cipro*, not *Cipri* (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> No written documents have survived from his short rule.

Such was the new social order established by the Franks. We have no details of the lands which furnished the fiefs and provisions so liberally distributed to them. That the Cypriotes had ceded to Richard the half of their possessions, we know; these naturally, but also all that had belonged to the inhabitants who fled the country, or had forfeited their possessions by rebellion, fell into the hands of Guy. Also it is clear, from the terms of the agreement of Lemesos in 1220, that the crown and barons and their men held lands which before the French occupation had belonged to Greek churches and monasteries.<sup>3</sup> It has been held that those who offered no opposition suffered no loss; nevertheless the picture drawn by more than one writer, Greek or western, of the state of servitude to which the inhabitants were reduced,<sup>4</sup> gives a different impression. If there was no resistance, it was because the spirit of the Greeks was completely crushed by their experiences in the two attempts at revolt against Richard and the Templars.

An unfortunate incident, which nearly caused a rupture with Richard, is the only event which is recorded during the rule of Guy.<sup>5</sup> The Pisans,



Fig. 1. Denier of Guy de Lusignan.

<sup>1</sup> M.L., H. I, pp. 44-5; J. Longnon, *Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen-Âge* (1929), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Schlumberger, *Numism. de l'Orient lat.* pp. 183f. One coin seems to be an exception, but the reading is uncertain. Dorothy M. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard*, pp. 34ff., attributes to Guy himself in Cyprus only the copper deniers, reading *REX GUIDO* on obverse, *DE CIPRO* on reverse and having on the obverse a star and on the reverse a cross (Schlumberger, Pl. VI, 2). The billon deniers (*REX GUIDO* Gate; *rev. DE CIPRO* Cross) she suggests were struck by Aimery in the name of Guy. With H. Longuet, *La Trouvaille de Kessab*, p. 178, I see no good reason for depriving Guy of these deniers.

<sup>3</sup> Art. 10 of the agreement (M.L., H. III, p. 614).

<sup>4</sup> Above, pp. 6f. (St Neophytus and Wilbrand of Oldenburg). M.L., H. I, pp. 47f.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., H. I, pp. 50f.; *Eracles*, pp. 193-4 (MS. D), cp. p. 199 (MS. D).

on whom with the Genoese and Venetians the crusaders chiefly depended for their transport, and who equally with their rivals were interested in the Crusades from a purely commercial point of view, had at first supported the claim of Conrad of Montferrat to the crown. Later, doubting whether they would ever recover the sums that they had lent him, they secretly offered their support to Guy.<sup>1</sup> This came to the ears of Richard, who seems to have been highly displeased, for he had by this time set his heart on seeing his nephew Henry of Champagne on the throne of Jerusalem; to him he promised that, if he came back from England, he would bring a great army and conquer Jerusalem and other lands in the possession of the Paynim. Also, he said, 'I shall give you the island of Cyprus, my conquest; for King Guy has not paid the full price; I shall send for him and not let him go until he has given me back the island'. He summoned Guy to Acre. His messenger landed in Cyprus on the same day as one from the Pisans offering to hand over to Guy the city of Tyre: a plan which came to nothing, since the news of it leaked out; nor did Guy place much trust in the Pisans. He hastened to obey Richard's summons, but Richard was not at Acre when he arrived. Guy, whom Henry, having heard of the Pisan plot, tried to detain, slipped away on a Pisan ship, ostensibly for Jaffa, to catch Richard there, but really for Cyprus. So far as Richard was concerned, the storm blew over; but it was long before Henry forgave Guy for his suspected share in the plot. As to the Pisans, Henry expelled them from his territory, though he was obliged to make peace with them and let them return in January 1195.<sup>2</sup> He also arrested Guy's brother, Aimery, Constable of the Kingdom, for protesting against the expulsion of a community of such great commercial importance, and threatened not to let him go until Guy had given up Cyprus, but released him next day on the protest of the barons at the illegal arrest. Aimery is said to have

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<sup>1</sup> On intrigues between Guy and the Pisans for handing over to him Tyre and Acre, see Röhricht, p. 618, n. 3. But it seems unlikely that the attempt to take Acre can have preceded the sale of Cyprus, which Richard would not have granted to Guy had relations between them been already strained. What consideration Guy offered on his part to the Pisans, we do not know beyond the vague statement (*Eracles*, p. 199, MS. D) that he promised them *grans dons et grans franchises en Chypre*. Röhricht (p. 663) believes that he actually gave them privileges in Cyprus. How could he have done so before he possessed the island? But he may have fulfilled his promises later (Heyd, I, p. 360).

<sup>2</sup> La Monte, *John d'Ibelin*, p. 424, n. 1.

resigned his office, and retired to Cyprus, but he retained the county of Jaffa and it appears that he returned to Palestine, and was still calling himself Constable of Jerusalem as well as King of Cyprus in 1197.<sup>1</sup>

He was in Palestine when Guy died suddenly, in April 1194, at the age of sixty-five, after a reign in Cyprus of only one year and eleven months.<sup>2</sup> Depreciated by his contemporaries, over-praised by some later writers,<sup>3</sup> Guy seems to have been a wise and practical ruler; although the full development of the constitution was only to be seen under his successors, the foundations seem to have been well laid by him, or at least in his time; for it has been observed that the transplantation into Cyprus of a society of feudal customs and Christian faith inevitably meant that those customs, laws and cults were carried with them into their new land.<sup>4</sup> The Haute Cour or assembly of the knights, competent in all matters concerning the nobles, and the Basse Cour, consisting of bourgeois notables, similarly competent for the non-nobles, were directly transplanted from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. There was at the time no written code of law, and probably never had been, for the tale that a code had been compiled and deposited in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that these so-called 'Letters of the Holy Sepulchre' perished when Jerusalem fell in 1187, is no longer generally credited.<sup>5</sup> The decisions of the courts had to be taken on the basis of customs and precedents, for which the only authority was the experience and memory of the lawyers. It was not until the reign of Guy's successor that the oldest surviving portion of the great law-book of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus began to be written down; and the remainder of the *Assises de Jérusalem* belongs to the thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup> One cannot therefore take the *Assises* as evidence in detail for the law of Cyprus at the time of the establishment of Guy. The character of the constitution as established in Cyprus will be described under

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<sup>1</sup> Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 737 (grant of the village of Livadia to the Archbishop of Tyre, 22 Nov. 1197); M.L., *H.* i, p. 52; *Eracles*, pp. 202f. (MS. D); M.L., *H.* iii, p. 595. According to *Eracles*, p. 208, Henry arrested Aimery not at this time but later, when he heard of the death of Guy.

<sup>2</sup> He was buried at Nicosia in the church which the Templars had begun and which he continued (Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 49b, 50; *Descr.* f. 123 b).

<sup>3</sup> 'Grand Capitain et grand Roi', says Loredano (Giblet, i, p. 15).

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* i, pp. 54ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. D. C. Munro, *Kingdom of the Crusaders*, pp. 179-80.

<sup>6</sup> See Note on the Authorities, p. 1143.



the reign of Aimery, although it must be admitted that his elevation from 'seigneur' to 'king' made little difference to his position in relation to his vassals.

Cyprus had been granted to Guy only for his lifetime, and as vassal of Richard, who on leaving Palestine had transferred his rights in the kingdom of Jerusalem to Henry of Champagne. Neither Richard nor Henry claimed the reversion on the death of Guy, who had already designated as his successor his elder brother Geoffrey.<sup>1</sup> But Geoffrey had gone back to France and declined the succession. The next in order, according to feudal custom, was Guy's other brother, Aimery, Constable of Jerusalem, as he continued to call himself in spite of the refusal of Henry to acknowledge him as such.<sup>2</sup> Guy had made him, according to some late authorities, Constable of Cyprus,<sup>3</sup> but he was resident at Jaffa. The county of Jaffa had been held by Geoffrey, in accordance with the agreement of July 1191 (p. 35),<sup>4</sup> but Geoffrey, being interested only in his lands in Poitou, had passed it on to Aimery. The nobles of Cyprus elected Aimery as their seigneur, and he accepted the offer. With his succession we may regard the Lusignan dynasty as definitely settled on what was in a couple of years to become the throne of Cyprus.<sup>5</sup>

### AIMERY (1194-1205)

On arriving in Cyprus, Aimery's first step was to bring some order into the finances of the island.<sup>6</sup> Guy's generous donations of land had reduced him to poverty. We have seen that he had kept very little for

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 192, 203 (MS. D); M.L., *H.* I, pp. 120f. This fact is sometimes ignored, but is clear from the MS. authority cited by M.L., *H.* III, p. 595 and n. 5. On Geoffrey's career, see M.L., *H.* II, p. 22. He was not on very good terms with Guy, and is even accused of having fomented discontent among Guy's Greek subjects (Loredano, (Giblet), I, p. 13); but as he seems to have gone back to France in 1192 this is improbable.

<sup>2</sup> Henry was not in a position legally to deprive Aimery of his office, although in effect he gave the charge to John d'Íbelin, brother of Queen Isabel, towards the end of 1194. M.L., *H.* I, p. 121, III, p. 596; La Monte, *John d'Íbelin*, p. 424, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Lusignan, *Hist.* f. 69b. Cp. Kyprianos, p. 121. The supposition that Aimery had been made Count of Paphos is due to a MS. error of *Baffe* for *Jaffe*. M.L., *Comtes de Jaffa*, p. 191, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> A donation by Guy to the Hospital in Jerusalem, 31 Jan. 1191 (1192), is signed by Geoffrey as Count of Jaffa and Aimery as Constable (Pauli, *Cod. Dipl.* t. I, no. 79, p. 86; D.L.R. *Cartulaire*, I, p. 582, no. 917; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 698).

<sup>5</sup> For the arms of the Lusignan Kings of Cyprus, see Note 2 at end of this Chapter.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., *H.* I, pp. 121f.; II, pp. 8-9; Ernoul, pp. 287f.; *Eracles*, pp. 189f. (MSS. C and G).

himself; now, as the land available for distribution had become exhausted, the values of the fiefs had risen so that they were worth twice as much as the sum at which they had originally been estimated. The impoverishment of the suzerain made it impossible for him to fulfil his obligations of protection and assistance towards his vassals. Aimery succeeded in persuading most, and forcing the rest, of his vassals to restore to him a proportion of their lands, and was thus able to place his finances on a satisfactory footing. When he died, his annual revenue from lands in Cyprus was estimated at 300,000 white besants.<sup>1</sup>

Equally important for the new foundation was the establishment of the Latin Church.<sup>2</sup> The first immigrants under Guy may have included a few ecclesiastics, and in his time, perhaps even before his time, the Templars had their church in the capital (above, p. 43, n. 2). There exists a grant by Aimery, dated 29 September 1195, to the abbot and canons of the Temple, of some land in Nicosia containing a chapel of the Virgin Mary.<sup>3</sup> But anything like a regular establishment to balance, or over-balance, the Greek Church, there was not, until Aimery took steps to inaugurate it. The election of the first Latin Archbishop was entrusted to the chapter of Nicosia, but we do not know how long that chapter had been in existence.

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<sup>1</sup> Ernoul, p. 288; *Eracles*, p. 191 (MS. C): however, p. 190 (MS. G) has only two-thirds of that sum. In any case, a sum comparing favourably with the 300 white besants at which the revenue of a knight's fief had been fixed by Guy (M.L., *H.* 1, p. 169, n. 3). In view of the importance of Aimery's reign, it is remarkable that no coins are extant, either for Cyprus or for Jerusalem, bearing his name, which, on the evidence of documents, should be *Aimericus*. The evidence of the hoards of Tripoli and Kessab (Dorothy Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard*, 1933, and H. Longuet, *La Trouvaille de Kessab*, 1935) makes it probable that the degenerate imitations of coins of Amaury I for Jerusalem, which cannot be attributed to the reign of that king, were issued in Aimery's time. They read *Amalricus Rex de Ierusalem*. The two names were evidently near enough for one to be accepted for the other by the people who handled the coins; and if the money of Amaury I had enjoyed a good reputation, it was quite in keeping with the practice of the time to copy it. The numismatist will remember the 'short-cross' pennies in the name of Henry II issued by Richard I and John. How prevalent the confusion between *Amalricus* and *Aimericus* was even among literates, we may see from the fact that Sanudo (*Secreta*, pp. 242-3) uses the same form *Almericus* for Amaury and Aimery, the two brothers of Henry II.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 122ff.; *Arch.* pp. 207f.; Hackett, pp. 467ff.; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 1ff.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* III, pp. 598f.; Röhrich, *Reg.* no. 723; La Monte, *Reg.* C.N. no. 1.

A bull addressed by Pope Celestine III on 20 February 1196<sup>1</sup> to the clergy, magnates and people of Cyprus shows that recently Aimery had sent to Rome the Archdeacon B. of Laodicea, saying that he wished to bring the schismatic Greeks back to the true fold, and thus sounding the challenge for the struggle which was to last for centuries. The Pope very sensibly declined to establish the Church unless proper provision was first made for its financial support. Aimery's undertaking to pay bishops and priests a monthly stipend was rejected, on the ground that it would be revocable at the will of the crown.<sup>2</sup> Lands and tithes were accordingly assigned to the new foundation, at the expense of the old.

The Pope appointed the said Archdeacon, as well as Alan, Archdeacon of Lydda and Chancellor of Cyprus, as his representatives, with full powers to regulate the establishment of the Church, its tithes and endowments. The two commissioners organized the Latin Church in Cyprus in an archdiocese with three suffragan dioceses.<sup>3</sup> The archdiocese of Nicosia covered the whole of the middle part of the island from north to south, including the territories of the Greek dioceses of Lefkosia, Kition, Kerynia, Kythrea, Lapithos, Soli (or Solia), Tamassos (probably) and Tremithus. It was at first endowed with two estates near Nicosia.<sup>4</sup> It also drew the tithes from sixteen more or less important places besides Nicosia.<sup>5</sup>

The three suffragan bishoprics were established at Paphos, Lemesos and Famagusta. In the diocese of Paphos, which covered all the western part of the island, was included Arsinoe (Polis tis Chrysochou). The diocese of Famagusta embraced the present district of Famagusta, that is the Mesarea proper and the Karpass, so that it took in the see of Carpasia. The diocese of Lemesos or Nimocium covered so much of the southern part of the island as was left after the archdiocese and the

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* III, pp. 599f.; *Reg. C.N.* no. 2. The attribution of the initiative in the organization of the Latin Church to Alice, Queen of Hugh I, and to the year 1215 (as described by Lusignan and Loredano; see Hackett, p. 468) must of course be given up.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 28; Strambaldi, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* I, pp. 123f.

<sup>4</sup> These were Ornithi and Aphenidia or Afandia. Additions were made from time to time; a document of the early 16th century (M.L., *H.* III, p. 502) adds seven other *casali*.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *H.* III, p. 601; *Reg. C.N.* nos. 3 and 8. These were, to mention only those of which the identification is most certain, Kiti, Kerynia, Kythrea, Lapithos, Sigouri, Solia, Sinda, Tremithus. The fact that these places are specified shows that there was no attempt at this time to deprive the Greek Church of all its tithes.

diocese of Paphos had been marked out; it included Kourion and Amathus. The source of the endowments of these suffragan sees is not specified, but they must have been established on the same principle as those of the archiepiscopal see, that is, by the appropriation of lands and tithes.

That the endowment of these four sees involved the diminution of the property of the Greek Church is certain, although it may be that at first the new establishment was partly provided from the public domain or from lands whose owners had abandoned them.<sup>1</sup> The tithes assigned to the new sees must have been lost to the Greek bishops.<sup>2</sup> It does not appear that the appointment of the four Latin bishops involved the immediate expulsion of the Greek bishops. That was not to come until 1222.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* I, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras (29; Hackett, p. 479, n. 1; Papaïoannou, III, p. 16, n. 31), speaking generally, says that the kings took away the tithes and the villages which had belonged to the Greek dioceses, and gave them to the Latins. There follows an obscure statement about concessions of villages and revenues made by the βασιλεὺς (Emperor?) when he saw the poverty of the bishops who had no tithes. 'Thus the kings took away the property of the Greek Church on various pretexts, and hold it to the present day, and give it to the knights and clerics as they please.' Cp. Strambaldi, p. 11. It must not be supposed that this spoliation was effected at one blow, though eventually, as Machaeras says, it must have come about that whatever was in the hands of the Greek bishops passed into those of the Latins.

<sup>3</sup> The bull of 20 Feb. 1196 says nothing about the suppression of Greek sees. It is true that in the *Constitutio Cypria* of 1260 (Raynaldus, 1260, p. 65, § 39) Alexander IV says: 'praeterea cum auctoritate... Caelestini, qui insulam Cypri p(ropt)er inobedientiam et perfidiam Graecorum habitantium tunc in illa, exposuit Latinis catholicis occupandam, fuerint ibi, ejectis exinde Graecorum sedibus, quattuor pontificales Latinorum sedes erectae.' But this reduction did not take place until 1222. In 1211 Wilbrand of Oldenburg found thirteen Greek sees, one of which was the archbishopric, in existence. An Orthodox Archbishop, Simeon, is mentioned in 1218. (Hackett, pp. 84, 309; Papaïoannou, I, p. 116; II, p. 74; Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 31, followed by Kyprianos, p. 58, says that he was living at the time of the reduction of the Greek sees to four.) He was succeeded by Esaias, who, having been forced to promise obedience to the Pope, recanted, and, having left the island, was forbidden to return. The same fate befel his successor, Neophytus, in 1222. Letters, surviving unfortunately only in index references, show that, at the end of 1221 or beginning of 1222, the Pope ordered that the Greek bishops should be expelled from Cyprus (M.L., *H.* II, p. 45 and n. 1). The word in the letter dated 3 Jan. 1222 is *compescant*, which may mean *repress* or *suppress*; they are to obey the Latin Church, in accordance with the agreement between the Queen of Cyprus and the Latin prelates.

The chapter of Nicosia elected Alan the Chancellor to be the first Archbishop. He and his successors were granted the right to wear the pall on Christmas Day and various other occasions, and the cross was to be carried before him when on visitation.<sup>1</sup> The Archdeacon of Laodicea was elected to the see of Paphos. It is not recorded who were the first bishops of the other two Latin sees.

A bull of 13 December 1196<sup>2</sup> laid down various provisions forbidding or controlling, with due penalties, the acquisition of hereditary rights in cemeteries or benefices, the alienation or renting out by incumbents of estates in which they had only a life-interest, the erection of churches or oratories within the bounds of the diocese without the bishop's consent, encroachment on the property of bishops, or disturbance in any way of the peace of the diocese.<sup>3</sup>

By the same bull, the members of religious Orders, with the object of protecting the rights of the seculars, were forbidden to hold any office of priest or chaplain, or any benefice without permission of the Pope. These religious communities must have been endowed with landed property, since they could not enjoy tithes.<sup>4</sup>

Such were the first measures which were taken to recall the island of Cyprus, in Celestine's words, to the bosom of the Roman Church, from which it had so long been alienated. Worse, from the point of view of the Greek Church, was to come in a few years, as will be described in the special chapter on the two Churches (XVI).

While Aimery understood the importance of good relations with the see of Rome, to which he submitted himself and his subjects in matters ecclesiastical, he showed no less intelligence in his relations with the highest secular power. His position would be greatly strengthened if Cyprus were erected into a Kingdom. To do homage to the Emperor of Byzantium was out of the question; accordingly, by the advice of his nobles, he decided to ask for the crown of Cyprus from the German Emperor. Henry VI, now at the height of his power, and engaged in planning a new Crusade, was only too willing to see the ruler of Cyprus his vassal. In October 1195, Renier de Giblet, Aimery's representative,

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* III, pp. 605 f.; La Monte, *Reg. C.N.* nos. 4, 5, 6. For these and other privileges conferred later, see Hackett, p. 476; Papaïoannou, III, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* III, pp. 601-5; La Monte, *Reg. C.N.* no. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hackett, p. 475; Papaïoannou, III, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* I, p. 124. But this is not laid down in the bull.

did homage to the Emperor, who promised that the coronation should take place when he came to Syria.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile he sent the royal sceptre to Aimery by the hands of the Archbishops of Trani<sup>2</sup> and Brindisi; and, when illness prevented him from taking part in the Crusade, he entrusted the coronation to the Imperial Chancellor, the Bishop of Hildesheim, who was put in charge of the expedition.<sup>3</sup> The Chancellor, with Adolf, Count of Holstein, and a part of the fleet, arrived in Cyprus (the rest went direct to Acre, arriving 22 September 1197); he was met by Aimery and taken to Nicosia. There Aimery did homage to the Chancellor, and was crowned and invested with sceptre and sword. Many presents were exchanged, and the Chancellor went on to Palestine.<sup>4</sup>

It may be true that the acknowledgment of the German Emperor as his suzerain was little more than a formality at the time, and of nothing like so great importance as the acquisition of the crown of Jerusalem which was to follow. But forms counted for much in prestige in the feudal era, and Frederick II was to prove that the suzerainty was no empty show, without influence on the history of the Kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

The feudal system of the Middle Ages is, by common consent, most perfectly exemplified in the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus. The

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 209; M.L., *H. II*, p. 10. This and other writers (e.g. Fl. Bustron, p. 54) say that Renier de Giblet did homage to the Emperor in Apulia. But the *Annales Marbacenses* (in *M.G.H. Scr.* xvii, p. 167) make it clear that it was at Gelnhausen near Frankfurt in the Rhenish Palatinate, where Henry had assembled a parliament to make arrangements for the Crusade.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the Archbishop of Trani (Samaro) on this occasion obtained from Aimery commercial privileges for the merchants of his city, although the text of the charter as preserved is full of grave corruptions and errors, doubtless due to later copyists. M.L., *H. II*, pp. 30f. with 1, p. 127, n. 3; Heyd, tr. Raynaud, I (1885), p. 361; Röhrich, *Reg.* no. 729.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H. I*, p. 127; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chron. Slav.*, *M.G.H. Scr.* xxi, p. 204; Ernoul, p. 302; *Eracles*, p. 211; M.L., *H. II*, pp. 11 and 31.

<sup>4</sup> Ernoul, p. 303; *Eracles*, p. 212; M.L., *H. II*, pp. 11 and 31; *Chron. Halberstad.* ed. Schatz, p. 65; Arnold of Lübeck, *loc. cit.*; Wilbrand of Oldenburg, in Cobham, *Exc. Cypri.* p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> The value set upon a royal crown is illustrated by the contemporary history of Little Armenia. Leo, if the varying accounts could all be believed, would seem to have sought for the crown in all possible quarters: the Pope, the German Emperor, and the Byzantine Emperor Alexius III, all of whom conceded his request. Sanudo's story (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, p. 201), that it was granted by Henry, Count of Champagne, may be due to a confusion with the Emperor Henry. Leo was actually crowned in Jan. 1198: Röhrich, p. 679.

island, with that conservatism which seems to characterize it throughout all periods of its history, preserved the system long after it had crumbled elsewhere. 'The Assizes of Jerusalem lay like a crystal block, a model of usages, incapable of enforcement and incapable of growth', but not, let us add, of decay.<sup>1</sup> It is characteristic that just at the time when new ideas of monarchy, tending to absolutism, were developing elsewhere, the barons, after the death of Peter I, took the occasion to try and re-establish the old feudal customs.<sup>2</sup>

A brief sketch of the elements of this constitution is all that can be attempted here.<sup>3</sup>

The government lay in the hands of the Haute Cour, or whole body of barons, presided over by the King or his representative. The King was at first purely elective and merely *primus inter pares*, but, by the time Cyprus was erected into a Kingdom, the succession had become in practice hereditary,<sup>4</sup> although still formally requiring the approval of the Haute Cour; and although the King remained subject to the control of the barons, certain encroachments had been made on their power, notably by the *Assise sur la ligèce*. This was issued by Amaury in 1162, and made all the holders of fiefs direct liegemen of the King and peers of each other, thus diminishing the power of tenants-in-chief, against whom the *arrière* vassals had appeal to the King's court.<sup>5</sup> Of the usual

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures* (1887), p. 193. Cp. H. Mitteis, *Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt* (1933), p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Iorga, *F.d.C.* p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy* (1932), is the clearest recent account of the subject, and what follows is little more than a series of extracts from it. Brief analysis by Stubbs, *op. cit.* pp. 193-5.

<sup>4</sup> To see how completely the control of the Haute Cour had disappeared by the end of the Lusignan period, it is only necessary to read the will of James II (p. 652) disposing at his pleasure of the succession to the throne and appointing a body of Governors.

<sup>5</sup> 'According to the Assizes of Jerusalem, every vassal who, whether immediately dependent on the king or on a mesne lord, had done homage to the king as chief lord, was a member of the royal court; a usage which in so small a state must have crushed out every tendency to representative government' (Stubbs, *op. cit.* p. 194). Hence nothing like the parliaments of the West ever developed in Cyprus. As to liege homage, see Attar, c. 1540 (M.L., H. III, p. 532): 'all feudataries...are liegemen and do liege homage. Liege homage means that which they do, without respect or reservation of any other person, save the lord of Cyprus, neither to the Emperor nor to any other; so it is ordained and declared by the Assizes. The barons used to grant fiefs and receive homage, but not the *ligèce*, because the homage which was done of fealty to the barons was done with reservation of liege homage to the chief lord.'

prerogatives of royalty, that of coinage was never breached in Cyprus by baronial coinages, as it was in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The striking of coin by one of the King's lieges involved confiscation of his fief, according to the *Livre au Roi*, which dates from the reign of Aimery of Cyprus. All legitimately born noble holders of fiefs, whether in land or money, of twenty-five years of age or more, were members of the Haute Cour, including ecclesiastics in right of their holdings. Privileges granted by the Kings gradually broke down many of these restrictions. The court could be attended, but only upon invitation, by important persons who were not members, and it was sometimes actually presided over by crusading leaders, such as St Louis, Frederick II and Richard Lion Heart. A foreigner, citizen and representative of Montpellier, Raymond de Conches, took part (on the King's side) in the discussion on the arrears of pay due to the army after the expulsion of the Imperialists. On the other hand two knights presided over by the King or his lieutenant formed a quorum. Its powers were executive, legislative, and judicial. It decided all questions of policy, domestic and foreign. It elected not only the King, but the Regent of the Kingdom, when one was necessary; even after the succession to such office had become hereditary, the candidates were sorted out by the court. Thus, when Frederick II called John d'Ibelin to account for the revenues of his regency, John was able to say that he was accountable only to the Haute Cour. The nobles were subject to its jurisdiction in all matters except religion, marriage and testament, which came before the Church courts,<sup>2</sup> and their relations with their inferiors, which were reserved for the Cour des Bourgeois. The King could not punish one of his lieges save by judgement of the court, as Henry of Champagne found when he arrested Aimery, and tried to deprive him of his office as Constable of the Kingdom; although Aimery himself successfully violated the provision in the case of Ralph of Tiberias, and Hugh I in that of Walter de Montbeliard. In 1264 the Regent excused himself from helping the Latin Archbishop to punish recalcitrant Greeks; he could not touch his vassals without the consent of the Haute Cour. Thus, generally, the Haute Cour controlled the policy of the King and the direction of the affairs of the state; it interpreted the old laws and, albeit unconsciously, made new ones; and

<sup>1</sup> Mas Latrie in *B.E.C.*, sér. I, t. v (1843-4), p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Aimilianides in *Κυπρ. Σπ.* II, pp. 200 f.



finally, it defended its members against any attack on, or diminution of, their rights.<sup>1</sup>

The Cour des Bourgeois or Basse Cour, composed of jurats selected by the King, was independent of the Haute Cour, and there was no appeal from the former to the latter. It was competent in all cases, criminal and other, concerning the non-noble Franks. Cases in which both noble and bourgeois were involved were also judged by it.<sup>2</sup> It was presided over by the Viscount (see below).

We have seen that the Syrians in Cyprus at first had special privileges (p. 2, n. 1); among these were their own courts and laws, the courts being presided over by a Syrian *reis*; but they were limited to minor cases. Indeed, it would appear that, though the *Assizes of Jerusalem* describe the law of Cyprus so far as concerns the Franks, there existed, side by side with that, laws and customs of the native Greek population, such as Richard Lion Heart had confirmed when he conquered the island, and which were not abrogated, except in so far as they clashed with the interests of the new regime.<sup>3</sup>

The grand serjeanties of the Kingdom of Cyprus were, at least in the thirteenth century, the offices of the Seneschal, the Constable, the Marshal, the Chamberlain and the Chancellor.<sup>4</sup> These offices were not hereditary, until the very last days of the Kingdom, although the great families naturally filled the most part of them. Appointments to them were made at the coronation and were normally held for life. But other officers, who were not appointed at the coronation, could be removed at the King's pleasure. The officers of the first kind were called 'officers of the Kingdom', while the others, such as admiral, auditor, collector, turcopolier, were called 'officers of Cyprus'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> La Monte, *op. cit.* p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> It 'was an organization of tribunals of justice and local government, not a legislative constitutional organization: its assizes are therefore a book of procedure rather than a code of laws, and, like the Assizes of the High Court, rather a record of customs than a body of statutes'. (Stubbs, *op. cit.* p. 195; cp. Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 31.) As an example of the legal business which came before it, we may mention the sale in 1292, by a canon of Nicosia, of a house to the Archbishop, which was carried through 'according to the assises and customs of the Kingdom of Cyprus, before the viscount and jurors of the city of Nicosia, summoned especially as a court for this purpose': M.L., H. III, pp. 675-7; *Reg. C.N.* no. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Stubbs, *op. cit.* p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> See Du Cange, *Familles d'Outremer*, ed. Rey, pp. 663-95.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 88: 'I remember the sheriff (viscount), the collector (praktor), and the other offices, that they were never changed. But after the death of King Peter,

The Seneschal was master of the court ceremonies, and head of the financial administration with its central treasury office known as the *Secrète*;<sup>1</sup> he also had general supervision of the fortresses (though without power over their governors); in judicial matters (as in convening and presiding over the Haute Cour) and in military he represented the King in his absence. But though he attended the King in battle or, in the King's absence, commanded the King's company, he was not in supreme command of the army.

That office belonged to the Constable, unless the King or the Regent took command. The Constable acted as military judge, and was in especial charge of the mercenaries (*sodées, sordatoi, sordierides*), dealing with such matters as their claims for pay.

Under the Constable was his lieutenant, the Marshal. He was in direct command of the mercenaries, carried the royal banner in battle, distributed the spoils after a victory, replaced horses killed in battle.

The Chamberlain, besides being in personal attendance on the King at ceremonies, acted as steward of the royal household.<sup>2</sup> He administered the oath when lieges did homage to the King.

The office of Chancellor, with the chancery, never developed in Jerusalem and Cyprus to anything like the importance which it attained in the West. It seems to have been concerned with little more than the drawing up of charters.<sup>3</sup> The earlier Chancellors of Cyprus were all ecclesiastics, but later laymen, like the physician Hugh Ognibono in 1360, and the knight Philip de Mézières, filled the post.

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changes used to be made in all of them.' The office of admiral first appears in Cyprus towards the end of the 13th century (Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 151). Machaeras includes the office of butler among those which were filled at the coronation and held for life. It is generally supposed to have been purely ceremonial (cp. La Monte, *op. cit.* p. 122). In 1328 Peter de Montolif, who held that office (but not necessarily because he held it), was sent on a mission to negotiate a marriage between Guy, the King's eldest son, and Mary de Bourbon (M.L., *H.* II, p. 140). That the King's butler had actual duties is shown for the 15th century by the *Livre des remembrances de la Secrète* for 1468-9; he had to present a daily record of the kitchen, cellar and stable to the clerk of the accounts (M.L., *H.* III, p. 190).

<sup>1</sup> The immediate head of this bureau in Cyprus was the *bailli de la Secrète*.

<sup>2</sup> Rey, quoted by Chamberlayne, *Lacr. Nicos.* p. 14, n. 1, distinguishes between Chamberlain and *Camerarius*, but the two titles were so often confused that it is usually impossible in any particular case to say which is really meant. Originally the Chamberlain had charge of the King's bed-chamber and acted as usher; the *Camerarius* had to maintain the chamber, the palace and the private treasury of the King.

<sup>3</sup> On the diplomatic of the chancery see especially La Monte, *op. cit.* pp. 125-35.

The Viscount was a local official, corresponding, though very roughly, to the English sheriff. He was chosen and appointed by the King from among the knights,<sup>1</sup> and presided in the Cour des Bourgeois. The only Viscount in the earlier period of the Lusignans was that of Nicosia, first magistrate, head of the police, and collector of dues paid by the bourgeois. His lieutenant in police matters was known as the *mathesep* or *mactasib*, a name of Arabic origin.<sup>2</sup> The district around Nicosia came to be known as the Vicomté.<sup>3</sup> Later, a Viscount and *mathesep* are also found at Famagusta, their authority extending for two leagues outside the city; and lieutenants with the same title of *mathesep* served under the magistrates who governed other towns and districts, such as the Captains of Lemesos and Paphos, Kerynia and Salines, and the Chevetains of Avdimou, Mazotos, Pendayia and Chrysochou.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the fighting men, knights and serjeants, provided by the holders of fiefs, the army included the *arrière ban*, or all citizens capable of bearing arms, and also the mercenaries, paid auxiliaries, for the most part natives. These included the light horsemen or turcoples such as those already mentioned as having received grants of land from Guy (p. 40). There might also be Frankish mercenaries, and in the fourteenth century much is heard of Bulgarians.

A very important part was played in the wars by the fighting Orders, notably the Templars and the Hospitallers, and, in a minor degree, by the Knights of St Thomas of Acre.<sup>5</sup> They possessed castles of their own,

<sup>1</sup> Iorga, *F.d.C.* p. 127, cites a bourgeois Viscount under James II, but John de Raš, if that is the man he means, seems to have been a knight; and by the law the Viscount had to be a knight and a liegeman of the King (Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 80b; *Descr.* f. 215b; La Monte, *op. cit.* pp. 106n., 135). After the end of the Lusignans, the Viscount was appointed by the Venetian government.

<sup>2</sup> Arabic *muhtasib*. Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 80b, 81; *Descr.* f. 216; M.L., *H.* I, p. 134; III, p. 853. Rey, *Colonies franques*, pp. 63 ff., after whom, C. R. Conder, *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1897), p. 173. Dawkins on Machaeras, 685, n. 8. The *mathesep* was inspector of weights and measures, streets and bazaars, all kinds of trades and professions. He could punish with the lash, with his wand, and with the strapado, and fine up to one ducat.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 110; III, p. 495, etc.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* III, pp. 206 (*mathesep* nominated for Lemesos in 1468), 852 ff.; Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 81, 81b; *Descr.* f. 217b.

<sup>5</sup> As to these, see Stubbs, *op. cit.* pp. 209–12. The documents relating to their possessions in Cyprus in the British Museum MS. Cotton Tib. C.V. have been published by Mas Latrie in *Doc. Nouv.* pp. 357–63. Also, M.L., *H.* II, p. 82, the appeal

as at Kolossi, or held royal castles; and at first their fleets (though the Hospitallers had none until after 1291), with those supplied by the western trading communes, such as Genoa, Pisa, Venice, formed the only naval arm of the Kingdom, which had normally none of its own. But from the beginning of the fourteenth century, the King found it necessary to maintain his own fleet.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the all but total loss of the registers of the *Secrète*<sup>2</sup> and the

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of the Knights (15 Sept. 1279) to Edward I, describing the unhappy state of Cyprus and the Holy Land; and p. 81, Edward III (not Edward II or I) recommending the Master Ralph de Combe and the Knights to King Hugh. Now in the Public Record Office, Special Collections, Ancient Correspondence (S.C. 1), vol. 20, no. 99, and vol. 32, no. 111. I note here two occasions in the time of John XXII on which the Order, which had its house or hospital at Lemesos, appears in the records. On 1 July 1320 there was a dispute with John, Archbishop of Nicosia, about the exemption of the Order from the Archbishop's jurisdiction and from payment of tithes. The case was referred to the Bishop of Famagusta and the Archdeacon and Treasurer of Nicosia (Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* no. 11732). On 1 July 1325, Henry of Bedford, acting Master, having been found guilty of various criminal acts, was deprived of his authority (*ibid.* no. 22712). Ludolf of Sudheim mentions the Order as occupying their house at Lemesos in 1350.

<sup>1</sup> See the proposals for a Crusade, 1311-12, M.L., *H.* II, pp. 119f.

<sup>2</sup> The *Secrète Royale* was the central office of the Treasury (above, p. 53) and had charge of the registers of the fiefs and all payments connected therewith. The institution and its name were of Byzantine origin: La Monte, pp. 167-8. The *Livre des remembrances* of the *Secrète* for the year 1468-9 is preserved and printed nearly in full by M.L., *H.* III, pp. 184-306. A first section records the *Commandements du roi* on matters concerning him personally—administration of the royal domain and sale of its produce, payment of grants and wages, nomination to public offices. Some matters concerning fiefs have also strayed into this section, but should be in the second, or *Livre des choses qui se font par la haulte cour*, in which also are some nominations, grants, etc. which would have gone better in the first section. Section the third is the *Livre des apaus* (leases); the fourth, the *Livre des paies et des quittances*, records rents, etc. paid by persons or communities in possession of landed property; the fifth and last, *Livre des ventes, dons et guagières et autres*, registers contracts between private persons recorded before the *Secrète*—matters which in earlier times had been the affair of the *Cour des Bourgeois*. It also records certificates of nationality, which enabled the holder to claim exemption from taxes paid by Cypriote subjects. This book throws much light on the functions of the minor administrative officials of the Kingdom at this period; see the analysis in M.L., *H.* III, pp. 810-14. But in the 13th century the system was much less elaborate; and even under Hugh IV four bailies, in addition to the grand officers of the crown and the magistrates at Nicosia, sufficed for the government of the Kingdom, compared with the ten bailies, captains or *chevetains* of 1468-9. For a study of the light thrown on taxation and social conditions by this book, see Zametos, I, pp. 932-6.

lack of any accounts, information concerning the financial administration of the Kingdom of Cyprus is so scanty and obscure that a description of it will not be attempted here.<sup>1</sup> Some of the taxes levied on the people and on trade<sup>2</sup> (such as the economically fatal sales-tax) have been mentioned incidentally. The mischievous custom of farming out the revenues was practised; thus the whole revenues of the Kingdom were sold in 1229 for three years by the Emperor Frederick II to a syndicate consisting of Aimery Barlais and four other barons, for 10,000 marks of silver.<sup>3</sup> In May 1199, King Aimery sold the rights of the customs at Lemesos for two years to Peter Muntol and others for 28,050 white besants.<sup>4</sup> In 1236, King Henry sold a revenue of 2000 white besants a year to Archbishop Eustorge for a lump sum of 24,000 white besants.<sup>5</sup> The prerogative of coinage, as already stated, must have been a considerable source of revenue.<sup>6</sup> These were regular methods of filling the exchequer; in emergencies exceptional measures were taken. Thus a special tax was levied by Frederick's bailies on all the people in 1229; and after the fall of Acre in 1291, a poll-tax (*testagium*) was imposed on all inhabitants, without distinction, in order to finance the defence of the island against the invasion which threatened it.<sup>7</sup> In 1310 the Lord of Tyre extorted 100,000 besants from the Jews of Nicosia, Famagusta and other places, and 300,000 white besants, in the form of a loan, from the bourgeois of Nicosia, Famagusta, Lemesos and Paphos.<sup>8</sup> In 1373, in

<sup>1</sup> For the administration in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, see La Monte, *op. cit.* pp. 166-83.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the privileges granted to the Genoese by Henry in 1232 (M.L., *H.* II, p. 53) and to the Venetians by the Governor in 1306 (*ibid.* II, p. 104). The Genoese and Venetians escaped customs duties; perhaps also the Marseillais (below, p. 62); the merchants of Trani (above, p. 49, n. 2); and the Syrians also were favoured with exemptions from various dues (above, p. 40, n. 3).

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes des Chiprois*, par. 139 (La Monte, *Nov.* p. 92); *Eracles*, p. 375. The silver mark was a money of account worth 24 white besants.

<sup>4</sup> Röhricht, *Reg. Supp.* no. 755a.

<sup>5</sup> La Monte, *Reg. C.N.* no. 43 and pp. 495-8.

<sup>6</sup> On the coins supposed to have been issued by Aimery, see above, p. 45, n. 1. Otherwise, the regal Cypriote coinage begins with Hugh I (Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient. lat.* p. 184).

<sup>7</sup> M.L., *Arch.* p. 249. The extension of this tax to the clergy and Orders was a matter of dispute. See Ch. IV, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> Amadi, p. 327; Fl. Bustron, p. 194. Amadi gives the sums mentioned in the text; Bustron says 100,000 ducati and 200,000 ducati saracineschi, respectively. The ducat and the dinar were about equivalent in 1310; but if Machaeras is right, the ducat in

order to pay the Genoese, an attempt was made to force a huge loan, viz. 300,000 ducats on the royal villages, 300,000 on the knights and their families and all the King's lieges, 100,000 on the bourgeois of Nicosia, 200,000 on those of Famagusta, 70,000 on the Jews of Nicosia and 30,000 on those of Famagusta.<sup>1</sup>

We return to the events of Aimery's reign. A curious exploit of a Greek malcontent, whom the French chronicler<sup>2</sup> calls Cannaqui, illustrates the unprotected state of the island. Hearing that he was to be arrested, he took refuge on the Cilician coast, at Antioch (*Antiochia ad Cragum*), where a Greek lord named Isaac lent him a ship, which he used for raids on the coast of Cyprus. In one of these he captured the Queen, Échive d'Ibelin, who was convalescing from an illness with her children at Paradisi,<sup>3</sup> and carried her off in triumph to Antioch. Leo II the Great, Lord of Armenia, who was very friendly to Aimery,<sup>4</sup> and to the Queen's father Baldwin d'Ibelin of Rama, was furious, and demanded that Isaac should send him the captives, which was done. He took them to Gorhigos (Corycus), whence Aimery brought them home again. The ailing Queen died soon afterwards.

Henry of Champagne had continued to nurse his grudge against Aimery. But his barons constantly urged him to be reconciled. The opportunity came in 1197. Henry had gone to Sis, the capital of Little Armenia, to obtain the release of Bohemund III of Antioch, whom Leo had taken prisoner. He was persuaded to land in Cyprus on his way home, and was honourably received by Aimery. Peace was made; Aimery gave up all claims to the county of Jaffa and the office of Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; and Henry acquitted him of the debt of 60,000 besants due on the purchase of Cyprus from Richard

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1306 was worth 10 white besants and not 1½ as one would gather from Amadi and Bustron here. But later writers translate into the values prevailing in their own time. See Dawkins on Machaeras, II, p. 47.

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 397; Strambaldi, p. 161; Amadi, p. 469; Fl. Bustron, p. 327. I have followed Amadi's figures. Those of Machaeras and Strambaldi, who omit the bourgeois of Famagusta, are 200,000 short. Bustron makes the charge on the Famagusta Jews 100,000, thus raising the total to 1,070,000.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 205-7 (MS. D); M.L., H. I, pp. 140-1; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 377, 397.

<sup>3</sup> The present village of this name is about 2 km. north of Limnia and some 8 km. from the shore of Famagusta Bay.

<sup>4</sup> Leo married Aimery's daughter Sibyl, but this was later (1210).

Lion Heart. Further, it was agreed that the three sons of Aimery, Guy, John and Hugh, as they came of age, should marry the three daughters of Henry by Queen Isabel, who were called Mary, Alice and Philippa or Philippina. The county of Jaffa was to be the dowry of whichever of the daughters should marry the eldest son of Aimery. When the time came Guy and John were dead, and so was Mary, so that in 1208 Hugh married Alice,<sup>1</sup> although by that time only Cyprus was left for them to rule over.

One of the consequences of the agreement between Henry and Aimery was that the latter was allowed to occupy Jaffa, though but for a moment. The place had been attacked by al-Malik al-Adil, Saladin's brother, the Saphadin (Saif ad-Din) of the western writers, who took the town and laid siege to the castle. Henry was unwilling to employ the German knights, who seem to have behaved badly and been generally unpopular.<sup>2</sup> So he offered Jaffa to Aimery, on condition that he should defend it with his own resources. Aimery sent one of his lords, Renaud Barlais, who took with him his wife, forty knights and a corps of *sergents d'armes*, with provisions. The besieging force was estimated at 60,000 men. Barlais seems to have been inefficient and, in any case, unable to defend the fortress. Contrary to the agreement, therefore, he had to appeal to Henry for help. It came too late and Jaffa fell, with all its defenders.<sup>3</sup>

It was while on his way to the rescue of Barlais that, on 10 September 1197, Henry met his death at Acre, falling by accident from a window and breaking his neck.<sup>4</sup> Isabel thus found herself, at the age of twenty-six at the most, a widow for the third time, and the crown of Jerusalem, of which she was the carrier, although it had not yet been actually placed on her head, was, so to speak, in the market again. A husband

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* i, pp. 142-3; *Eracles*, pp. 207ff., 212ff. (MS. D); M.L., *H.* ii, pp. 10, 34; iii, p. 597; Martène et Durand, *Thes. Anecd.* i, col. 806 (letter of the Archbishop of Tyre, 5 Dec. 1207); Reinhard, i, Beyl. no. 6, p. 7. *Eracles*, p. 208, attributes the agreement about the marriage to 1194, when, after arresting Aimery, Henry let him go; but the unlikeliness of this is shown by M.L., *H.* i, p. 143, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Röhrich, p. 669; Grousset, iii, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 218f. (one MS. wrongly has Guillaume Barlais); *Assises*, ii, p. 428; Amadi, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Ernoul, p. 307; *Eracles*, pp. 219f.; Chronicle of Reims, c. x (tr. Stone, *Three Old French Chronicles*, p. 272); Amadi, pp. 90f.; Coggeshall, ed. Stevenson, 1875, p. 72; Röhrich, p. 671. Grousset (iii, p. 151) has a perhaps exaggerated estimate of Henry's qualities.

of substantial resources, able to support the financial burden of the Kingdom, was required, not such a poor lord as Ralph of Tiberias, who was at first suggested.<sup>1</sup> The High Court offered the crown to Aimery, whose administration had already set Cyprus well on the way to prosperity. He accepted, married Isabel, and was crowned King of Jerusalem with her (October 1198).<sup>2</sup>

The election was strongly approved by Innocent III, for he recognized in Aimery a prudent and strong administrator. His leadership would be of the greatest value in the war against the Saracen, which the great Pope so passionately desired to promote; he impressed upon the Hospitallers and other crusading Powers for their part the desirability of securing Cyprus against hostile interference. Nevertheless, although Cyprus might now be regarded as a forward point for the West against the East, it had its disadvantages.<sup>3</sup> It was a sure refuge for the Franks, and its comparative security tempted those who had hitherto held lands precariously in Syria to exchange them for the much less harassing conditions of the island. Thus Cyprus became the main interest of the Franks, and the few points still held on the Syrian coast were regarded as a burden. It is surprising that that burden was not actually shaken off for a century.

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* 1, p. 145. On Ralph of Tiberias see Hubert and La Monte, *Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart by Ambroise*, p. 129, n. 23.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* 1, p. 146; Ernoul, p. 310; *Eracles*, p. 223; Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 201. Innocent III's letters recommending Aimery to the Hospitallers (20 Nov. 1198, Potthast, no. 428; D.L.R. *Cartulaire*, 1, p. 655, no. 1044; Röhricht, *Reg. Supp.* no. 747d); to the Count of Tripoli (2 Dec. 1198, Baluze, no. 438; Potthast, no. 444; Raynaldus, 1198, p. 32, § 80; Migne, *P.L.* 214, col. 417, no. 438); cp. his letter, no. 437 (Baluze), to Aimery and the Queen, 2 Dec. 1198, in Reinhard, 1, Beyl. no. 2; Migne, *P.L.* 214, col. 417, no. 437; Potthast, no. 443. Hoveden (ed. Stubbs, iv, p. 29), who wrongly calls the Queen Milisent, says that the ceremony took place in Beirut, and that it was performed by Conrad, Archbishop of Mainz; if so, it must have followed the capture of that port. M.L., *H.* (1, p. 146) accepts the statement of Innocent III that it was the Patriarch of Jerusalem who crowned the pair, and supposes that he did so at Tyre, which was the proper place, according to the *Assises*, when Jerusalem was not in Christian hands. The Christians took Beirut on 23 Oct. 1197; Röhricht, p. 673. Innocent, in a letter of 23 Dec. 1198 (Baluze, 1, p. 297, no. 518; Migne, *P.L.* 214, p. 477; Potthast, no. 501; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 748), reproves the Patriarch of Jerusalem for having first objected to the marriage on the ground of affinity and then changed his mind and crowned the pair.

<sup>3</sup> Grousset, iii, pp. 138-9. He describes the Cypriotes, at the time of the death of Henry of Champagne, as 'créoles déjà indifférents au sort de la Syrie' (p. 152).



On receiving the crown of Jerusalem, Aimery made it clear that, although he was ready to use the resources of Cyprus for the prosecution of the Crusade or for the assistance of the Church in Syria,<sup>1</sup> he could not undertake to maintain from his own treasury the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He could not be expected to mortgage the resources of his island Kingdom, which was to be hereditary in his family, and sovereign, in favour of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which he only held by grace of the High Court.<sup>2</sup> Two of the knights of Acre were appointed, with the King's own bailies, to collect the revenues of the Kingdom of Jerusalem for the pay of the army. At the same time he sent to Cyprus for a well-equipped force,<sup>3</sup> and henceforward his court was more often at Acre than at Nicosia. Conditions, however, for a successful campaign were not quite so favourable as they had been for a few years previously; for the disputes between the various claimants for the succession to Saladin had been settled by the summer of 1196, when al-Malik al-Adil became the effective master of the Empire.

Either immediately before or soon after the coronation of Aimery, the German forces, under Duke Henry of Lorraine, and supported by the fleet, marched through abandoned Sidon and, beating off an attack by al-Malik al-Adil, occupied Beirut without opposition (23 October 1197). The city was refortified and soon afterwards granted by Aimery to his brother-in-law John d'Ibelin.<sup>4</sup> This was the man who had been made Constable of the Kingdom by Henry of Champagne when he dispossessed Aimery, and who was to become so famous as the Old Lord of Beirut and leader of the opposition to Frederick II. About the same time as the occupation of Beirut, Bohemund III of Antioch, on his way home, occupied the ports of Gabala (Gibel) and Laodicea,<sup>5</sup> though they were soon recovered by the enemy.

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<sup>1</sup> On 22 Nov. 1197 (M.L., *H.* III, p. 606; *Reg. C.N.* no. 7) he gave to Joscius, Archbishop of Tyre, the village of Livadi in Cyprus, and exempted from export dues the produce of this village and all other produce of Cyprus destined for the church of Tyre. On 12 Aug. 1203, Innocent III again appealed to him on behalf of the same church, whose finances were in a lamentable state (M.L., *H.* II, p. 32; Potthast, no. 1984). Not long afterwards, in 1222, Archbishop Simon sold Livadi for 2200 besants sarrasinois to Esturge of Nicosia (M.L., *H.* III, p. 617; *Reg. C.N.* nos. 21, 22).

<sup>2</sup> Grousset, III, pp. 154-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ernoul, p. 311; *Eracles*, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> *Lignages d'Outremer (Assises)*, II, p. 458).

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. Regia Colon.* ed. Waitz, p. 161 (letter of the Duke of Lorraine to the Archbishop of Cologne); Arnold of Lübeck, *Chron. Slav.*, M.G.H. Scr. XXI, p. 207; Hoveden, IV, p. 28.

The Christians now once more held all the seaboard from Tripoli to Acre. But the news that the Emperor Henry VI had died on 28 September arrived and took all heart out of the Germans; on 2 February 1198 they raised the siege of Toron, which they had begun on 28 November preceding, and retreated to Tyre and Acre. Thus ended this German Crusade. But it left one mark on history, although it is hardly possible without a sense of irony to observe that it was just this occasion that was taken to erect the brotherhood of the German knights into the afterwards so powerful Teutonic Order.<sup>1</sup> Aimery made peace with al-Malik al-Adil, as from 1 July 1198, for at least five years and eight months.<sup>2</sup> Beirut and Giblet (Byblus) were recognized as possessions of the Franks. Aimery was now able to devote himself to regulating the affairs and relations of his two Kingdoms.

Nevertheless he was not free from domestic difficulties. A nearly successful attempt to assassinate him in March 1198, as he was riding from Acre to Tyre, was traced to Ralph of Tiberias, who, it will be remembered, had been the unsuccessful candidate for the crown of Jerusalem. Aimery seized him and pronounced him deprived of his fiefs and banished from the Kingdom. But this was a violation of the *Assises*, as Ralph, the leading jurist of his day, was quick to point out, for a baron could only be condemned after trial by his peers. He was supported by the Haute Cour, led by John d'Ibelin; but Aimery was firm, and finally the Court yielded and Ralph was persuaded to go into exile and eventually left Syria, not to return until after the death of his enemy.<sup>3</sup>

Aimery had shown that he was strong enough to defy the law when it suited him. Nevertheless it is to his time that internal evidence dates the compilation of the earliest portion of the *Assises*, the *Livre au Roi*.<sup>4</sup> He had attempted to enlist the services of Ralph of Tiberias for the codification of the laws of the Kingdom, but that

<sup>1</sup> 5 March 1198; Röhrich, p. 678; *Reg.* no. 740.

<sup>2</sup> Röhrich, p. 679. Other statements of the duration are 3 years; 6 years; 6 years, 6 months, 6 days; and 7 years.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 151-2; Röhrich, p. 678, n. 4; La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 44; Ernoul, pp. 310-11; *Eracles*, pp. 230-1; *Assises*, 1, pp. 327-8 (John d'Ibelin), 518, 543 (Novare). The Old Lord of Beirut told his nephew John that the members of the Haute Cour *gagèrent* the King, i.e. threatened not to do him service for their fiefs, if Ralph was not judged by his peers.

<sup>4</sup> Grandclaude, p. 50.

difficult and jealous person refused to act.<sup>1</sup> The *Livre au Roi* is thus anonymous.

Aimery sought to strengthen his economic position by cultivating good relations with the great trading communities of the West. We have seen (p. 49, n. 2) that at the time of his coronation he may have granted certain privileges to the merchants of Trani. The Commune of Marseilles also, in October 1198, seems to have obtained exclusive exemption from customs charges on imports and exports.<sup>2</sup> The village of Flacia (perhaps Flassou in the Solia valley) was granted in perpetuity to the Commune. The diploma confirmed previous grants to it; but these would have been in Syria and not in Cyprus. These favours are stated to be a reward for the sum of 2800 besants sarrasinois which the Commune had contributed towards the defence of Jaffa.

Meanwhile preparations were in course for the Crusade which was to end so scandalously in the capture of Constantinople by the Latins. Innocent III, who succeeded Celestine III on 8 January 1198, announced himself without delay as ready to forward the war for the liberation of Jerusalem, and even before he heard of the collapse of the German effort he was promoting a new Crusade. Owing to the diversion of its main forces to Constantinople, this expedition affected Cyprus only in a minor degree. Some incidents concerning the Kingdom, however, are recorded.

In the first place, Alexius III thought it a good opportunity to appeal to the Pope for his help in recovering Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> He did not wish to provoke a war between Christian princes, and he was ready to help the crusaders if his right to Cyprus was recognized. Innocent replied that when Richard took Cyprus it had already been lost to Byzantium; that it was now a most important factor in the Christian effort to recover

<sup>1</sup> Novare, *Assises*, I, pp. 522-3; Ibelin, *ibid.* p. 430. The King had proposed a commission (the numbers variously given as two or ten), but Ralph declined to advise them, on the ground that he did not wish to make his knowledge available to any *bourgeois* or *bas home letré*.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 24-32; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 747. In its present form the diploma, like that for Trani, is full of impossibilities, but it is now generally admitted that it is based on an authentic document: Heyd, tr. Raynaud, I, pp. 364f. The privileges granted in 1198 were, with some modifications, confirmed and extended to other Provençal communes in 1236: Heyd, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> In March or April 1201. *Gesta Innoc. III* in Baluze, *Epist. Innoc.* I, p. 30; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 4; Raynaldus, 1199, p. 68, § 70; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 782; M.L., *H.* I, pp. 154-5; Portheast, no. 1332.

Jerusalem, and that it would be most undesirable to divert the forces of the King of Cyprus from the Crusade to the defence of his Kingdom. In any case he could not grant the Emperor's request without consulting the other Christian princes. Alexius doubtless took the hint, for we hear no more of his claim. As a matter of fact he only made it because the affairs of the Empire were in a desperate condition, and he hoped, by agreement with the Pope, to be able to ward off the western attack on Constantinople which he knew was threatening.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time the Pope wrote to the Kings of France and England, mentioning the designs of Alexius, and urging them to send help to Cyprus and the Holy Land.<sup>2</sup>

Another claimant to Aimery's Kingdom, who made himself known, cut a rather absurd figure. It was not, however, Isaac Comnenus, who appears to have been released from confinement about 1195, but did not apparently give Aimery any trouble. The Emperor Alexius III invited him to Constantinople, but he refused to go there as anything less than Emperor. His attempts to obtain Turkish support were fruitless, and he died, perhaps poisoned, in 1195.<sup>3</sup>

But Isaac had a daughter, who with her mother, as we have seen, left Syria at the same time as Richard. Richard went into captivity, but the women reached Poitou safely. The girl's subsequent adventures were various and picturesque.<sup>4</sup> The fact that she and her father were being kept captive by Richard was given as a reason by Leopold V of Austria for not releasing Richard himself. After Richard's death she seems to

<sup>1</sup> Cp. L. Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient au Moyen Âge* (1907), p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Letters of Innocent III: Baluze, ep. 251; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 5; Migne, *P.L.* 214, cols. 809-10; Bouquet, XIX, p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> Nicetas, pp. 611f.; Hoveden, III, p. 306; *Rec. Cr. Grecs*, II, pp. 489f.

<sup>4</sup> See M.L., *H.* I, pp. 156-60. Add to his references, Ernoul, pp. 352-3. The whole story is also told in *Rec. Cr. Grecs*, *loc. cit.* A curious sidelight is thrown on this episode by the legend of the Provençal troubadour Peire Vidal, who is said to have married in Cyprus a woman whom he understood to be the niece of the Emperor of Constantinople, in virtue of which union he claimed the throne. See C. Chabaneau, *Biogr. des troubadours* (1885), p. 64; G. Bertoni, 'Come fu che Peire Vidal divenne imperatore', in *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.* LXV (1915), pp. 45-50; C. Enlart, *Villes mortes du Moyen Âge* (1920), pp. 112-13 (seems to go much beyond the evidence); A. Smirnov, 'Contrib. à l'étude de la vie provençale de Pierre Vidal' in *Romania*, LIV (1928), pp. 261-6; A. Jeanroy, *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours* (1934), I, pp. 113-14: references which I owe to Prof. Brandin. This legend, for it is probably nothing more, seems to echo the adventure of the Flemish knight.

have been free. For a time she was married to, or was the mistress of, Raymond de Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who, however, seems to have tired of her, and to have got rid of her in order to marry Eleanor of Aragon. At the time with which we are concerned she was living at Marseilles. Towards the end of 1202 a large party of Flemings, under the leadership of John de Nesle, Châtelain of Bruges, arrived there to winter before proceeding to the Holy Land. Among them was a knight, Baldwin, related to Baldwin of Flanders. He conceived the idea that, by marrying the derelict princess, he could, with the help of Baldwin and the Flemings, make a successful claim to Cyprus, which had once belonged to her father. It is not surprising to learn that when, on arriving in the island, he went with his friends before the King, and suggested that the Kingdom should be handed over, Aimery, regarding him as crazy, advised him to leave the country. His friends recommended him to take the hint, and he went to Armenia (probably with the rest of John de Nesle's forces) and we hear no more of him or his wife. The episode is of no importance, except as another illustration of the part which women were made to play as pawns in the political game.<sup>1</sup>

In the diversion of the main body of the crusaders to the conquest of Constantinople, the commercial instincts of the Venetians, the traditional anti-Byzantine policy of the Germans, and the attraction to the crusading leaders presented by the prospect of an easy conquest, played parts which it is difficult to assess. In any case, even if Villehardouin is right<sup>2</sup> in saying that those who went to Syria outnumbered those who went to Constantinople, there remained but a shadow of the enterprise in Palestine itself. There were some 300 knights who arrived direct at Acre; the Flemish force under John de Nesle; and others who had declined to be diverted to the Constantinople adventure.<sup>3</sup> At the time of their arrival, the truce with the enemy had not expired; but Aimery was

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<sup>1</sup> Ernoul, *loc. cit.*; *Eracles*, p. 257; Martène, *Ampl. Coll.* v, col. 659; Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 203. There seems to be no good reason to agree with Rohricht (p. 688, n. 3) that this story is a mere anecdote. Its very absurdity in our eyes recommends it. It would not have seemed absurd at a time when claims to kingdoms or estates were constantly preferred by the husbands of heiresses.

<sup>2</sup> C. cxvi, ed. Bouchet.

<sup>3</sup> Villehardouin, cc. lII-lV, ed. Bouchet (he regards them all as deserters); Ernoul, p. 340; *Eracles*, p. 246; Röhrich, pp. 688-9; Grousset, III, p. 177. Cp. E. Faral on Villehardouin, pp. xxiii and 53.

unable to restrain the ardour of the foolhardy Renaud de Dampierre, who, prohibited from attacking the Saracens, departed with some eighty knights to interfere on the side of Bohemund IV in the dispute with Leo II of Armenia for the succession in Antioch. His little force was wiped out on the way.<sup>1</sup> John de Nesle and his Flemings, on the other hand, joined Leo II, and helped him to lay siege to Antioch. As long as there was fighting to be done, these crusaders did not mind to which side they lent their services.<sup>2</sup> There was also no lack of fighting, in 1203 and 1204, especially by the Hospitallers of the fortresses of Margat and Krak, who on more than one occasion made successful raids as far as Hama.<sup>3</sup> Aimery, meanwhile, was determined not to undertake serious operations against al-Malik al-Adil. It is true that when the latter professed himself unable to restrain an Egyptian emir, who had a castle at Sidon, and was playing the pirate, Aimery seized an Egyptian fleet which was carrying a valuable cargo to Syria;<sup>4</sup> also that he raided Galilee, while al-Malik al-Adil's son al-Malik al-Muazzam raided towards Acre.<sup>5</sup> More serious was Aimery's naval attack on the Delta in May 1204, when a fleet of twenty ships sailed into the Nile, raiding the towns for five days, after which it returned with much booty to Acre.<sup>6</sup>

But the Latins had entered Constantinople on 12 April 1204. Although the Saracens feared that the conquerors would now proceed in force to Syria,<sup>7</sup> what really happened was that Syria was deserted by large numbers of Franks, hastening to join in the plunder of the Imperial city, and to accept the fiefs which the new Emperor, Baldwin,

<sup>1</sup> Villehardouin, c. cxvii, ed. Bouchet; Ernoul, p. 341; *Eracles*, pp. 247-9.

<sup>2</sup> Aimery of course saw the damage which this war did to the Christian cause. In 1203 he was one of those who urged the Legate Soffred, Cardinal of St Praxed's, to go to Antioch to mediate. It is not certain from Soffred's letter (Migne, *P.L.* 214, cols. cli, clii) whether Aimery was among those who actually went. Anyhow the mission failed, Leo's offer to accept the decision of the crusading leaders and the Legate being rejected by the barons on the ground that the dispute was a purely feudal question in which the representative of the Church had no standing: Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 604.

<sup>3</sup> Grousset, III, pp. 182-3.

<sup>4</sup> Ernoul, p. 355; *Eracles*, pp. 258 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ernoul, pp. 357-9; *Eracles*, p. 261-2.

<sup>6</sup> Ernoul, pp. 359-60; *Eracles*, p. 263; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 61; Makrizi, *Hist. d'Égypte*, tr. Blochet (1908), p. 283; Ibn al-Athir (*Rec. Cr. Or.* II, p. 96); *Book of the Two Gardens* in *Rec. Cr. Or.* V, p. 158; Röhricht, p. 693; Grousset, III, p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Röhricht, p. 692, n. 8.

was offering to all and sundry. They were to find that he had no will or ability to fulfil his promises.<sup>1</sup>

Thus weakened, Aimery was glad to come to terms with al-Malik al-Adil. In September 1204 he arranged a truce for six years, covering Damascus and that portion of Syria and Palestine which the Sultan held. The terms were favourable for the Franks, who recovered the half of the revenues of Sidon, Ramleh and Lydda, obtained facilities for pilgrims to Nazareth, and entered again into possession of Jaffa.<sup>2</sup>

Aimery did not live to enjoy the fruits of the peace. He died at Acre on 1 April 1205, of a surfeit of fish.<sup>3</sup> An able administrator, he had brought the Kingdom of Cyprus well on the way to the prosperity which it was to enjoy under his successors, while he had handled the precarious situation in Palestine with the caution that it required. Had the Fourth Crusade not been diverted from its legitimate object, he had every prospect of achieving important results in the struggle for Jerusalem. In Cyprus he is said to have continued the work which had been begun by his brother on the fortresses, and to have proceeded with the building of the Latin cathedral which had already been founded.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Villehardouin, c. CLXIX, ed. Bouchet; Baluze, *Gesta Innoc. III*, c. 95; Ernoul, p. 378; *Eracles*, p. 278; Röhricht, p. 693; Grousset, III, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Baluze, *ibid.*: 'facta...sex annorum treuga cum Saracenis'; Ernoul, p. 360 (p. 409, in contradiction, he says the truce was made with the bailie, John d'Ibelin); *Eracles*, p. 263; Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 205. (Sanudo's chronology is inconsistent; he says that the truce expired about the time of the return of John and Philip d'Ibelin from Cyprus after the marriage of Alice, which would give it a bare four years, from 1204 to 1208. On the other hand, he says that John de Brienne, when he accepted the offer of the crown, which was in 1208, promised to appear in Palestine 'usque ad duos annos quibus treugua interim perdurabat', which points to 1210 and a duration of six years.) Abulfeda (*Rec. Cr. Or.* I, p. 83); Ibn al-Athir (*Rec. Cr. Or.* II, p. 96). Makrizi, tr. Blochet, seems to mention the truce twice, under A.H. 600 (p. 279) and 601 (p. 284). Röhricht, p. 694; Grousset, III, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 305; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 62; Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 205. For the date, Röhricht, p. 696, n. 2; *Reg.* no. 803 (the Archbishop of Caesarea reports his death on 1 April). Aimery's body was brought to Cyprus and buried in the new cathedral of Santa Sophia (Lusignan, *Hist.* f. 15; *Chor.* f. 50b).

<sup>4</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 50.

NOTE I. THE SALE OF CYPRUS

Analysis of the authorities completely justifies the conclusion of Mas Latrie (M.L., *H.* II, p. 21) that Richard sold the island, and did not give it *gratis*, to Guy. The story that it was a gift is supported by Nicetas Choniates (Vol. I, p. 315, n. 2; not mentioned by Mas Latrie); *Itin. Reg. Ricardi*, p. 351 ('*gratis... Templariorum emptionis commutata condicione*'); Brompton, col. 1250 ('*liberalitate mera*' to Guy and Henry of Champagne); Hoveden, III, p. 181: '*rex Angl. dedit in excambium*' (for the Kingdom of Jerusalem) '*regi Gwidoni insulam de Cypro, in vita sua tenendam*'; Coggeshall, ed. Stevenson, p. 36: '*insulam... Cypri, quam ab imperatore obtinuerat, regi Guidoni concessit, accepto eius homagio*'. Cp. also William of Newbury (ed. Howlett, p. 378: '*mera liberalitate donavit*') and Walter of Hemingburgh, cited by Mas Latrie, *loc. cit.* Ambroise, vv. 9124 f., says simply that Guy was made 'emperor and lord' of Cyprus. The other evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of a transfer by Richard to Guy of the agreement with the Templars. The history of the whole transaction seems to be as follows. After the fight in Nicosia the Templars found they could make nothing of the island, and asked Richard to relieve them of their engagement, and to return the castle which they had given as security. Richard took back the island, but refused to return the castle, for he had accepted it at two or three times its value (*Eracles*, p. 187 (MS. D); M.L., *H.* III, p. 593). Guy then proposed to Richard to buy the island, and Richard agreed, giving him two months in which to pay. Guy borrowed from certain bourgeois of Tripoli (*Eracles*, *loc. cit.*) or from the Genoese (Machaeras, 20; Strambaldi, p. 8) a sum of 40,000 besants. This was paid to the Templars (through Richard?) and Guy assumed responsibility for the balance of 60,000 (*Eracles* in M.L., *H.* II, p. 8; Amadi, p. 85; Fl. Bustron, p. 52). Strambaldi's statement (p. 8) that Guy paid the Templars 100,000 besants is wrong, and that of Machaeras (20) that he bought it from Richard for 100,000 besants is misleading, since he paid only 40,000 besants and owed the rest. The figures 60,000 and 40,000 have been confused in some accounts; but since 40,000 was what the Templars originally paid Richard, that must be what Guy paid them. Ernoul (p. 286), the *Annales de Terre Sainte* (p. 434), and the *Gestes des Chiprois* (p. 14) merely say there was a sale but do not mention the price. So, too, the *Assises de Jérusalem (Lignages d'Outremer*, ch. II, in *Rec. Cr. Lois*, II, p. 443). Either before or after Guy went to Cyprus, Richard asked for the balance. According to the Continuator of William of Tyre, Guy said he was too poor to pay, and Richard was kind and let him off (*Eracles*, p. 188 (MS. D); M.L., *H.* III, p. 594). But Richard



does not seem to have renounced his claim altogether, for Guy's successor, Aimery, only settled it later when he was reconciled to Henry of Champagne, in 1197.

As a curiosity, although it does not concern Cyprus directly, it may be observed that some older writers believe that Richard, having acquired from Guy his rights to the crown of Jerusalem, handed down the title of King of Jerusalem to his successors on the English throne. I have not traced this back further than Polydore Vergil, who says in book xiv of his *Anglica Historia* (1534, p. 246; 1546, p. 250): 'Ricardus vero Guidonem Lusinianum comiter appellando, Cyprumque insulam offerendo, eò pellexit, ut ille ei Hierosolymitani regni iure cesserit. Quo factum est, ut cæteri deinceps Angliæ reges huius regni titulum aliquandiu usurparint.' This is repeated by Lusignan in 1573 in his *Chorographia* (f. 49b) and in 1580 in his *Description* (f. 122b), and by Cotovicus in 1599 in his *Itinerarium* (p. 103; Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 194). So, too, H. Pantaleon (1581, p. 62) has: 'Angliæ regibus inde titulus regni Hierosol. cessit quem etiam longo tempore usurparunt.' Reinhard (1, pp. 126-7) accepts the statement from Polydore Vergil and Cotovicus. It is true that Mary Tudor, as wife of Philip II of Spain, used the title; but the occurrence of the statement in Polydore Vergil before her time shows that it cannot be based on some document of her reign. The error perhaps arose from hasty reading of such a passage as this, in Aeneas Sylvius, *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* (Venice, 1477, sig. K<sup>10</sup>): 'nec diu postea Guidoni lusimano (*sic*) genere Gallico: qui de Hierosolimitano regno contendebat: eam permisit: quam ille ab Anglico accepta(m) sibi & posteris suis usq(ue) i(n) hec t(em)p(or)a obtinuit.'

That the English regarded the cession of Cyprus as an exchange for the Kingdom of Jerusalem was made clear by Edward III to Peter I when he said that Peter, if he recovered Jerusalem, would be expected to return Cyprus to Edward. See Ch. vi, p. 326. What is more, the English long continued to consider Cyprus as by right belonging to them. On 1 April 1516 Sebastian Giustinian reported from London to the Council of Ten a conversation with two lay lords, great persons, who had been very abusive, calling the Venetians a lot of fishermen and robbers, and asking by what right Venice held Cyprus, which ought to belong to their King. (*Cal. of State Papers, Venetian*, II, p. 292, no. 707.) On 7 June 1522, Gaspar Contarini reports Wolsey as saying that although the Signory held Cyprus, which belonged to the King, friendly relations had never been disturbed (*ibid.* III, p. 237, no. 467). But no definite claim was ever put forward; and later, when the Duke of Savoy assumed the royal title on the strength of his right to Cyprus, the English claim was not pressed. It was left to

an English popular writer in 1878 to suggest to Sir Garnet Wolseley that England has never recognized the transfer of her fief, and that "our policy should connect our ancient occupation with the new" (W. Hepworth Dixon, *British Cyprus*, 1879, p. 139). It the suggestion ever found its way to the authorities, it is doubtful whether it was taken seriously.

However this may be, as Mr John Prestwich writes (1 July 1943), from the legal point of view it would probably have been held that Richard's rights over Cyprus lapsed when he failed to claim the reversion on Guy's death, and that consequently Aimery was perfectly free to place the island under Henry VI; and that, even had the case been argued formally, Richard's party would not have brought so strong a charge as that of treachery against Aimery, particularly in view of Richard's inability to afford any immediate protection to Cyprus.

## NOTE 2. THE LUSIGNAN ARMS IN CYPRUS

On this subject, see Lusignan, *Description*, ff. 209 b, 210; Reinhard, I, p. 289; Dawkins on Machaeras, II, p. 130; above all, Gerola, 'Lo stemma di Cipro' in *Atti Reg. Ist. Veneto*, LXXXII, 1922-3, pp. 743-54. Mr G. K. Congreve has kindly placed at my disposal a manuscript list of, and notes on, the badges and achievements of arms of the sovereigns of the Lusignan dynasty of Cyprus, from which I have obtained some useful information.

Lusignan of Poitou bore barruly *argent* and *azure*. In Cyprus the Lusignan kings bore a lion *gules* charged on the barruly field. There is great variation in the rendering of the field (Gerola says the number of bars varies from five to twenty!); but such lack of systematization of the bars is not surprising. The field is most commonly shown as barry of six or eight, and sometimes as *argent*, three bars *azure*. The coat on a door at Larnaka, illustrated by Jeffery,<sup>1</sup> has the correct field (barruly of ten).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the shield in the Franciscan church at Nicosia<sup>3</sup> shows three bars. Pietrasanta<sup>4</sup> gives the Lusignan quarter of the shield of Cardinal Frederick Cornaro with a lion *gules* on barry of eight *argent* and *azure*, while in his shield of Cardinal Maurice of Savoy<sup>5</sup> the bars are six. The origin of the lion is presumably to be found in the arms of Cyprus (see below).

The arms used by Peter I are shown by a stone slab at Adalia, described by Hasluck,<sup>6</sup> as quarterly, 1 and 4 Jerusalem, 2 and 3 barruly (*arg.* and *az.*),

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. of Ant.* XXXII (1920), p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> So too Pietrasanta, *Tesserae gentilitiae*, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffery, *loc. cit.* no. 206, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> P. 667.

<sup>5</sup> P. 671.

<sup>6</sup> *B.S.A.* xv, p. 271.

a lion (*gu.*) armed and crowned (*or*), for Lusignan. This agrees perfectly with the arms of Peter on the Palazzo Cornaro at Venice, where the King once lodged, and in various places in Cyprus, as at Bellapais.<sup>1</sup>

The complete Cyprus coat,<sup>2</sup> after the union of the three crowns of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia in 1393, is usually blazoned as follows: Quarterly:

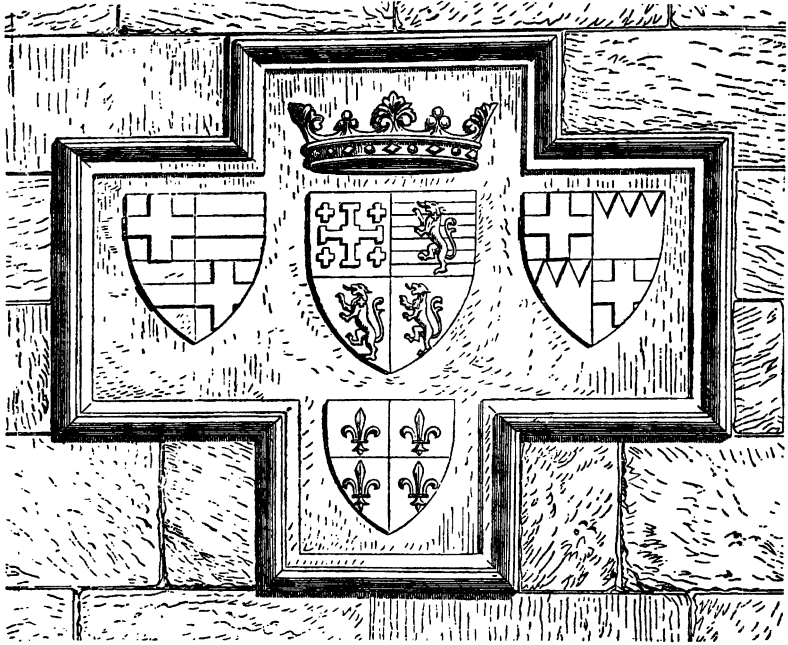


Fig. 2. Armorial slab on Kolossi Castle (after Rey).

1 *argent* a cross potent between four crosslets *or* (Jerusalem); 2 *barry or barruly argent* and *azure*, a lion *gules* (Lusignan); 3 *argent* a lion *gules* (Cyprus); 4 *or* a lion *gules* (Armenia). This is the coat shown on the plaque at Kolossi, except that<sup>3</sup> the Lusignan quarter shows the lion on three bars (Fig. 2). The fact that the lions are occasionally shown counter-rampant is without significance.

<sup>1</sup> B.S.A. xvi, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> According to Gerola, the earliest occurrence is on the coins of Janus; next comes the marble slab on the façade of St John of the Hospital in Nicosia; and then the slab at Kolossi.

<sup>3</sup> If the engraving in G. Rey, p. 236, is correct.

Gerola blazons the complete coat with *or* a lion *gules* in the third, and *argent* a lion *gules* in the fourth quarter; and so for instance it is shown in the coat which Charlotte caused to be added to the manuscript which she presented to Innocent VIII.<sup>1</sup> This coat also shows the shield of Savoy as an escutcheon of pretence.

So far as I know, the identification of the red lion on a golden field with Armenia, and of the red lion on a silver field with Cyprus, has been accepted by all modern writers. As Gerola says, all are agreed on this point. This is, however, an instance of all being mistaken. Lusignan, in his *Description* (1580), seems to be the only old source for these interpretations:<sup>2</sup> 'Le troisieme, qui est en bas, a le champ d'or, dans lequel est vn Lion de gueules, couronné, qui sont les Armes des Roys d'Armenie. Et le quatrieme a le champ d'argent, avec vn Lion de gueules, couronné, qui sont les Armes du Royaume de Cypre.'

Unfortunately for this view there is an authority about a century older than Lusignan whom modern writers seem to have overlooked, and that is no other than Queen Catherine Cornaro. In the privilege granted by her to Hans Rindfleisch on 25 August 1481, allowing him to bear the arms of the Kingdom of Cyprus, we find it very precisely stated that those arms are a red lion on a golden or yellow field: 'li hauemo concesso & libramente condonato dele qvatro Insegne nostre consvete la Insegna ouer Arma nostra del Regno de Cypri laqual é un leon rosso in campo doro, ouer in campo Zialo coronato'<sup>3</sup>

It is difficult to believe that the Queen and her heralds made a mistake in an official document such as this, and we must, in spite of Lusignan, accept the red lion on a golden field for Cyprus, and his fellow on a silver field for Armenia. Cyprus thus, as we should expect, takes the third quarter in the complete achievement, preceding Armenia.

<sup>1</sup> Vatican Gr. 1208. See below, Ch. x, p. 613 n.

<sup>2</sup> F. 210. Reinhard thinks that the lion of Cyprus may be derived from Richard I, which is unlikely. V. Langlois (*Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen-Âge*, 1855, p. 39) seems to imply that it was borrowed from Armenia, where it was the *type parlant* of Leo I. That is no more probable; for the lion is used as the emblem of Cyprus on coins of Henry II and of Amaury, Lord of Tyre, before the Kings of Cyprus had any claim to Armenia. The lion on the gold field is said by some old writers to be sometimes charged with a cross on his shoulder; as Gerola remarks (p. 749), there seems to be no warrant for this in Cyprus. I mention here, as a curiosity, the coat assigned to Armenia in an English armorial of c. 1445 belonging to Mr Bradfer Lawrence: *gules*, a lion *or*, between three ermines *arg.* 2 and 1.

<sup>3</sup> Röhrich und Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 317, after J. Chr. Kundmann, *Silesii in nummis* (Breslau u. Leipzig, 1738), p. 230.

Mr Theo. Mogabgab has kindly examined the painting in the Carmelite church at Famagusta, engraved by Enlart<sup>1</sup> and described by Jeffery.<sup>2</sup> Both engraving and description are completely misleading. A layer of later wall-painting which covered the original lingers here and there and has obscured it. For instance the gold which Jeffery saw in the Lusignan bars is merely the yellow of the later painting staining the original silver. As deciphered by Mogabgab the arms are correct enough. (1) and (4): quarterly 1 and 4 Jerusalem; *arg.* a cross potent between four crosslets *or.* 2 and 3 Lusignan-Cyprus: barry of eight *arg.* and *az.* a lion *gu.* (2) *arg.* a lion *gu.* (3) *or* a lion *gu.* The eighth bar is omitted in Enlart's engraving; and the traces of the red lion charged on this barry field are very faint. The apparent blackness of these bars is due to the blue having faded and the black under-painting survived. In the Jerusalem quarters the supposed red of the cross and crosslets is due to the over-painting. Perhaps (2) and (3) should be interchanged.

On the quartering of the arms of the Kingdom of Cyprus in the shield of Savoy, reference should be made to the chapter in Monod's *Trattato del Titolo Regio* of 1633.<sup>3</sup> When Victor Amadeus, in that year, decided to use the royal title, the arms were surmounted by a royal crown with only four points, to distinguish it from other royal crowns of greater kingdoms.<sup>4</sup> In place of the orb with the cross pommée, which closed the crown of Cyprus, was put the cross of St Maurice.

Elizabeth Wydville, wife of Edward IV of England, claimed descent from Hugh I, (as Mr Anthony Wagner informs me) and the arms of Cyprus appear in her shield on Queen Elizabeth's tomb in Westminster Abbey. See F. Sandford, *Gen. Hist. of the Kings and Queens of England*, ed. Stebbing (1707), p. 407.

<sup>1</sup> I, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Mon.* p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 77-83. Reprinted in Reinhard, II, Beyl. pp. 111-15.

<sup>4</sup> 'Con quattro sole verghe, o vettucce, che la chiudono, per differenziarla dalla Corona di Francia, ed altre simili, le quali di più rami composte dimostrano e dignità e potenza maggiore, come sanno gl' intendenti.' The Dukes of Savoy, from the time of Charles I, who was the first of them to call himself King of Cyprus, had used a royal, but not a closed, crown. Guichenon, III (1778), p. 26; Reinhard, II, p. 188, n. 1.

## CHAPTER II

### HUGH I (1205-1218)

### HENRY I (1218-1243)

## TO THE END OF THE LONGOBARD WAR

### HUGH I

The death of Aimery brought about the separation of the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem, which were not to be reunited until the reign of Hugh III, in 1268. For the latter Kingdom the Haute Cour selected, as Regent for Isabel and her daughter Mary by Conrad of Montferrat, John d'Ibelin, the 'Old Lord of Beirut', half-brother of the Queen. But Isabel died very soon after, before May 1206, and John continued as Regent for Mary, until the princess was married to John de Brienne in 1210.<sup>1</sup>

But, for Cyprus, Aimery's heir was his son by Échive d'Ibelin, a boy of ten years.<sup>2</sup> For the five years which would have to pass before he would reach his majority,<sup>3</sup> it was necessary to appoint a Regent to administer the realm; and this Regent, according to the law, must be the prince's nearest relation on that side of the family through which the throne escheated. The actual custody of the minor's person should, on the other hand, fall to the nearest relation on the other side of the family, lest the Regent should be tempted to make away with his charge, who stood between him and the throne.<sup>4</sup> On this occasion, there was a

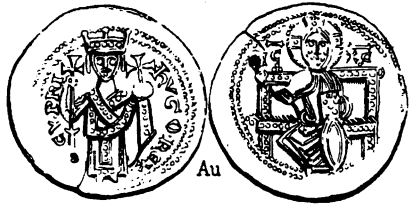


Fig. 3. White besant of Hugh I.

<sup>1</sup> Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 803; Ernoul, p. 407; *Eracles*, p. 305; La Monte, *Johnd' Ibelin*, p. 425.

<sup>2</sup> His son Amaury by Isabel died very young, just before Aimery himself. *Eracles*, it is true, says that he survived his father (*M.L., Gén.* p. 3); but the Archbishop of Caesarea, in announcing the death of Aimery, reports that the boy had died in the preceding February (Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 803).

<sup>3</sup> *M.L., H. I*, p. 171; La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *M.L., H. I*, p. 172; La Monte, *op. cit.* p. 52.

breach of the latter rule. The Regent, Walter de Montbéliard (Mümpelgard), Constable of Jerusalem, and husband of Hugh's elder sister Bourgogne, demanded, in addition to the regency of the Kingdom, the guardianship of the prince, which the Haute Cour weakly assigned to him.<sup>1</sup>

While it was the Regent's duty to bring up his ward suitably to his rank and prospects, and to administer the realm for the best, he drew all the revenues, and was thus in a position, if he were dishonest, to use them to his own advantage. We shall see that, when Hugh attained his majority, he accused Walter of grave dereliction of these duties. The fact that Walter did not answer the charge, but took to flight, does not prove that it was justified.

That Walter's administration should be scrutinized on the King's coming of age was in accordance with the constitution; the acts of a Regent ceased to be valid with the termination of his office, unless they were confirmed by the King.<sup>2</sup>

Walter's first undertaking as Regent seems to have been an unsuccessful and costly expedition to Adalia (Satalia), the most flourishing of the ports on the mainland across the Cilician channel. This place at the time was in the possession of one Aldobrandino ('Aldebrantinus'), a man of Italian origin but Greek up-bringing.<sup>3</sup> He was attacked by Ghiyas ad-Din Kaikhusrau, Sultan of Iconium, who laid siege to the town. When he appealed to the Cypriotes, Walter himself led a force of 200 men which compelled the Sultan to raise the siege.<sup>4</sup> But the supplies of the town were cut off, and soon mutual suspicion caused Greeks and Cypriotes to fall out. The Greeks called in the Turks to

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Other limitations of the Regent's power may be mentioned in passing: he received only the homage of the lieges, the oath of fealty being reserved for the King; he did not control the fortresses, which were held by the barons on behalf of the King; and he could not put his name on the coinage, though he drew the royalties on coinage issued in the King's name, like any other revenue: M.L., *H.* I, pp. 171 f.; M.L., in *B.E.C.* sér. I, t. V (1843-4), p. 137. The coinage of Hugh I for Cyprus consists, in addition to white besants (Fig. 3), of deniers of two kinds, but with the same types (castle-gateway and cross). On one kind, which is of cruder workmanship, the inscription is *Ugonis Re(gis) de Cipro*. The other has *Rex Hugo* (or *Hugo Rex*) *Cypri*. It has been suggested with some plausibility that the former were issued by Walter de Montbéliard in the King's name, the others by Hugh himself after he came of age. Dorothy M. Cox, *The Tripolis Hoard*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Nicetas Chon. *Urbs capta* (ed. Bonn), p. 842.

<sup>4</sup> Nicetas Chon. p. 843.

their aid; and the Cypriotes, besieged in the citadel, capitulated on 5 March 1207. Walter must have escaped or been ransomed, for before the year was out he was back in Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

In 1208 Hugh came of marriageable age, that is to say, he entered on his fourteenth year (though he could not be knighted until he was fifteen). Already by 1206 the Regent had begun negotiations for a marriage, showing that in this respect at least he could not be accused of neglecting the interests of his ward. It will be remembered that in 1197 agreement had been reached between Aimery and Henry of Champagne for a marriage alliance between their two families (p. 58). Walter now requested the support of the Pope for the fulfilment of this agreement. Of the three sons of Aimery, only Hugh was left; of the three daughters of Henry, Mary had died; Alice and Philippina remained. The negotiations were successfully concluded, meeting indeed with no opposition.<sup>2</sup> John and Philip d'Ibelin, uncles of the girls, were in favour of the union, and undertook, if Alice died before it could take place, that Hugh should have the hand of Philippina. Maria Comnena, mother of the two Ibelins, added her support; and the Countess Blanche of Champagne loaded the scales with gold.<sup>3</sup> As soon as Hugh completed his thirteenth year Alice was conducted by the brothers Ibelin to Cyprus and the marriage took place.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 13; Röhricht, p. 696, n. 5; *Eracles*, p. 316 and the Paris MS., M.L., *H. loc. cit.*: 'fist moult grant despens quant il ala prendre Satalie'; Nicetas Chon. *loc. cit.*; Guillaume de Nangis, ed. Geraud, I, p. 126; Ibn al-Athir in *Rec. Cr. Or.* II, p. 103; Abulfeda, *Rec. Cr. Or.* I, p. 84; Abulfaraj, ed. Bruns-Kirsch, p. 460; *Seldjouk Nameh*, ed. Schefer, 1889, pp. 53-7; Robert Autissiodorensis, *Chron.*, *M.G.H. Scr.* XXVI, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> See M.L., *H.* I, pp. 175-7, for the interests involved. Henry's brother, Thibaut III, had died; his widow, Blanche of Navarre, Regent for her infant son, Thibaut IV, feared that her nieces might claim the counties of Champagne and Brie, which Henry had ceded to his brother in case he himself should not return from Palestine. So she was anxious that these nieces should be safely married off in the East, and therefore she sent an agent to promote the marriage of one of them to King Hugh. As a matter of fact, her fears were realized when Erard de Brienne married Philippina and put in a claim for the county of Champagne.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* I, p. 177, points out that the payment of 150 marks of gold to the Ibelins was not in the nature of a bribe in contemporary eyes.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *P.L.* 215, col. 829; M.L., *H.* II, p. 34; Potthast, no. 2731: letter of Innocent III to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, 30 March 1206, ordering him to forward the fulfilment of the engagement between Aimery and Henry (cp. Raynaldus, 1206, § 8). *Eracles*, pp. 308-9; M.L., *H.* II, p. 12; Ernoul, p. 409; Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 205. The agreement of 5 Dec. 1207, between John and Philip d'Ibelin, William de Pierre and



In the same year the crown of Jerusalem was offered, in the hand of Mary, heiress to the Kingdom, daughter of Conrad of Montferrat and Isabel, to John de Brienne. John was a poor knight, and no longer young (sixty to the bride's seventeen) but a distinguished soldier. He was recommended for the position by the King of France. The barons had expected Philip to suggest a person of greater wealth and distinction, and it was whispered that his motive for the recommendation was not disinterested. However, John accepted, but asked for a delay of two years, which he occupied in making arrangements and raising a company of 300 knights. The marriage was celebrated at Acre on 14 September and the pair were crowned at Tyre on 3 October 1210.<sup>1</sup>

Another marriage, which brought Cyprus into closer relations with Armenia, took place in the same year 1210, when Leo II came and fetched away as his bride Hugh's half-sister Sibyl, daughter of Aimery by Isabel.<sup>2</sup> If this was arranged before the fall of the Regent, it cannot have been without his consent. At the same time it is difficult to understand how he can have been in sympathy with the King of Armenia at this, one of the acutest stages of the struggle with Bohemund IV for the possession of Antioch. Very soon he was to be an exile from Cyprus, sheltered by King John of Jerusalem; and in this conflict John, at the orders of the Pope, was to be supporting the Templars against the excommunicate Leo (May 1211).<sup>3</sup>

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the Countess Blanche's agent, Garnier de Légny, in Martène et Durand, *Thes. Anecd.* 1 (1717), col. 806, and J. Dumont, *Corps diplom.* 1, i (1726), p. 383. Iorga, when he says (*F.d.C.* p. 87) that Alice was a leper, confuses her with Alice the sister of Hugh (*Eracles*, p. 208).

<sup>1</sup> Ernoul, pp. 408-9; *Eracles*, pp. 306-8, 310-12; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 67; other references in Röhricht, p. 701 (*Eracles* is wrong in the date). Grousset, III, pp. 192-3; La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* pp. 45-6.

<sup>2</sup> Sempad (*Rec. Cr. Arm.* 1, p. 643). Leo II was sixty years old at the time, and Sibyl (Zabelle) only twelve. The ill-matched pair in 1215 had a daughter who was called after her mother: Ormanian, *Azgapatoum*, § 1088. Another sister of Hugh, Héloïse, was married to Eudes de Dampierre, but was carried off by Rupin of Armenia, Prince of Antioch. On 24 September 1211, Innocent III instructed the Patriarch of Antioch to enquire into this scandal and, if it had been perpetrated by the will of the parties, to decide canonically (Baluze, *Ep. Innoc. III*, ep. 105; Reinhard, 1, Beyl. no. 8; Migne, *P.L.* 216, col. 466; Potthast, no. 4307).

<sup>3</sup> Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 616f. Instructions from Innocent III to the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch to publish the ban on Leo, and to John de Brienne to go to the aid of the Templars (Epp. 64-6 (18 and 19 May 1211); Baluze, II, pp. 534-6; Migne, *P.L.* 216, cols. 430-2; Potthast, nos. 4247-9).

When in 1210 Hugh reached his majority, at the age of fifteen, Walter resigned his position as Regent. But the young King at once demanded that he should account for his administration, repay the treasure which Aimery had left, amounting to 200,000 gold besants, and in addition 60,000 white besants which Hugh had been obliged to borrow, owing to his having been denied by the Regent the funds proper to his royal estate.<sup>1</sup> Walter, promising to render an account to the Haute Cour<sup>2</sup> next day, decamped in the night with his wife and household and such valuables as he could carry and, after taking refuge with the Templars in their castle at Gastria, crossed, in a ship provided from Tripoli by the Prince of Antioch, to Acre, where he was made welcome by his cousin, the King of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> It is not possible now to estimate the degree of Walter's guilt; if he was dishonest, Hugh seems to have been vindictive. Apart from what Walter had from his office, he was a poor man; he seems to have had little but the 5000 besants in consideration of which he resigned to King John the office of Constable when he married Aimery's daughter Bourgogne. Yet he kept up great state after his flight from Cyprus, maintaining forty knights in his service, and equipping expeditions to Egypt and Adalia, where he had failed some years before. It was probably on the latter adventure, in 1212, that he was killed.<sup>4</sup> In his favour may be cited a

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<sup>1</sup> The figures in the text are from Amadi; *Eracles* (p. 315) says 200,000 white besants and 40,000 besants respectively (see references below). Amadi's figure of 200,000 gold besants is probably right, since it squares with what both writers say Walter had when he fled.

<sup>2</sup> Such an account Hugh was legally entitled to demand, and could justifiably argue that Walter, by taking flight, allowed judgement to go against him by default, although that does not prove that he was really guilty.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 315-16; M.L., *H.* II, p. 13; Amadi, pp. 98-9; Fl. Bustron, p. 56. Walter is said to have had in his hands at least 200,000 gold besants as well as objects of value; to have spent much on an expedition to Adalia; and to have maintained forty knights for a year.

<sup>4</sup> The facts as to Walter's career after he left Cyprus are difficult to disentangle. That he did his best to annoy King Hugh may be conjectured from the case of Archbishop Durand in 1211 (below). It is certain that he fitted out a small fleet (five galleys and two busses) and made a successful raid up the Nile as far as Bourah. This was apparently in 1211 (*Eracles*, 316; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 68; *Book of the Two Gardens* (*Rec. Cr. Or.* v, p. 158); Röhrich, p. 703, n. 5; Grousset, III, p. 194). The date given by the *Two Gardens* is between 5 and 14 June 1211; the author is however wrong in speaking of the leader as still Regent of Cyprus. The author goes on to say (p. 159) that in A.H. 609 (3 June 1212-22 May 1213) a Regent of Cyprus, the same man who went to Bourah, was defeated and killed by Turcomans in the neighbourhood of Antioch. The author of the

more or less contemporary testimony,<sup>1</sup> to the effect that he did many good deeds and was a most prudent man; and also the sympathetic reception by Innocent III of the complaint that Walter laid before him.<sup>2</sup> From Innocent's letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem we learn that Walter's case was that King Hugh had illegally banished him and confiscated his land without sentence of the Haute Cour; that he was able to recover his rights by force, but, in the interest of Christendom, preferred to do so by the peaceful intervention of the Pope. Innocent advised Walter to remain loyal to the King, while urging the Patriarch to press for the restoration of his rights. Apparently, without result; for Hugh made no sign of conciliation. He showed his annoyance with King John for his friendly treatment of Walter by imprisoning and maltreating a relation of his, and other vassals, who fell into his hands; for which conduct the Pope had to reprove him, early in 1213.<sup>3</sup>

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*Hist. Orient.* III, which goes under the name of James de Vitry (in Martène et Durand, *Thes. anecd.* III, col. 287), after mentioning the Nile expedition, and the fact that Walter was dead, goes on to say 'then came John de Brienne and married the daughter of the marquess of Montferrat', etc. Since this last event was in 1210, this sequence cannot be regarded as chronologically accurate. As to the expedition to Adalia, both the *Gestes des Chiprois* (69), the *Annales de T.S.* (p. 436), and Amadi (p. 100) date it in 1212, and say that Walter was killed there; the *Gestes* even gives the detail that he was killed by an arrow. It is difficult to discount these statements entirely, though possibly, in view of the Arab historian's account, Adalia may be a mistake for Antioch. Confusion between the Arabic names of the two places (Anraliya and Anṣākiya) must have been only too easy; but this possibility favours neither version more than the other. We must in any case reject Sanudo's date (*Secreta*, p. 206, where after mentioning the raid on Egypt he goes on 'eodem anno MCC[x]iv', etc.). And the references to the costliness of the expedition to Adalia in *Eracles* (p. 316; cp. M.L., *H.* II, p. 13), which imply that he returned thence ('et puis meismes que il l'ot eue'), just as does Amadi (p. 99: 'quando fo andato a prender Satalia'), must concern the expedition of 1207. It may be noted that the statement in *Eracles* that he maintained forty knights for a year would square with the assumption that he did not survive after 1212. Hammer, *Gesch.* I (1827), p. 25, says that in 1214 Afeddin (*sic*; 'Izz ad-Din) Kaikaus recovered Adalia from the Franks from Cyprus who had seized it; what relation this has to the present question I do not know.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Orient.* III, *loc. cit.*, quoted by M.L., *H.* I, p. 180, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Innoc. III, ep. 104 (24 Sept. 1211); Baluze, II, p. 555; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 7; Migne, *P.L.* 216, col. 466; Potthast, no. 4306.

<sup>3</sup> Innoc. III, ep. 208 (7 Jan. 1213); Baluze, II, p. 707; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 12; Migne, *P.L.* 216, col. 736; Potthast, nos. 4638-9. Innocent reproaches Hugh with having imprisoned and maltreated a relation and other vassals of the King of Jerusalem, who had taken refuge from Saracens in Cyprus; cp. letter 209.

Apart from such petty affairs, Hugh seems to have had no relations with Syria-Palestine until the Fifth Crusade in 1217.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the expiration of the truce with al-Malik al-Adil in September 1210, John de Brienne (about July 1211) renewed it for six years.<sup>2</sup>

In Cyprus, however, the course of the affairs of the newly established Latin Church did not run smoothly, quite apart from any trouble that might arise from the dispossession of the Greeks. In the first place, the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, Thomas Morosini, made an attack on its privileges, presumably reviving the old claims which the Cypriote Greek Church had successfully rebutted in the time of Zeno.<sup>3</sup> A letter of 2 August 1206,<sup>4</sup> addressed by the Pope to the Patriarch, refuses to admit the latter's claim, on the ground that, at the time when the Latin clergy came to Cyprus, Constantinople no longer belonged to the Roman Communion. At the same time<sup>5</sup> the Archbishop of Nicosia was ordered to Rome to defend himself against the Patriarch's claim. The outcome of the dispute is not recorded, but must have been in the Archbishop's favour.<sup>6</sup>

The whole episode, however, illustrates the policy of the Pope, who, in conformity with his express claim to be supreme over Church and State alike, was determined that Cyprus should be under the immediate authority of the Holy See, and that there should be no interference with its Church either by Patriarchs from outside the island, or, as we shall immediately see, by the King within it.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Cypriote troops employed by Bohemund IV in 1214 against Az-Zahir of Aleppo (Kemal ad-Din, *Hist. of Aleppo*, tr. Blochet, 1900, p. 148; Makrizi, *Hist. of Egypt*, tr. Blochet, 1908, p. 305) may have been mercenaries or volunteers, not officially sent from Cyprus.

<sup>2</sup> Grousset, III, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 274 ff. M.L., H. I, p. 192, speaks also of the attack by the Emperor Alexius III, but that was rather a demand for a return of Cyprus to the Byzantine Empire, not of its Church to the Latin Communion. Morosini may have argued that even if the old Church of Cyprus had won its autonomy, the establishment of a Latin hierarchy in the island had altered the case, and the new Church should be subordinate to Constantinople. But it was not until the Lateran Council of 1215 that Constantinople was recognized as the senior Patriarchate of the East.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Innoc. III*, ed. Baluze, § 102. Migne, P.L. 215, col. 959, no. 140; Potthast, no. 2860; Santifaller, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Lat. Patr. v. Kpl.* (Weimar, 1938), p. 173, no. 43.

<sup>5</sup> 5 Aug. 1206. M.L., H. II, p. 35; Migne, P.L. 215, col. 966; Potthast, no. 2865; Santifaller, *op. cit.* no. 44.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 192, notes that later, in 1267, the Church of Cyprus was subject to visitation by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. *Eracles*, p. 456; Amadi, p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. A. Luchaire, *Innocent III et la question d'Orient* (Paris, 1907), pp. 54 f., 157 f.

For a serious question, allied to the investiture dispute in the West, arose in 1211, owing to the interference of the King in an election to the archbishopric.<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable that it was stirred up by Walter de Montbéliard; certainly it was information laid by him that caused the Pope to take action. We have seen that the election of Alan to the archbishopric of Nicosia had been in the hands of the chapter (p. 48). Celestine III, by his bull of 13 December 1196, directed that, after the death of Alan, his successors should not be elected<sup>2</sup> unless proposed by the canons of Nicosia consulting with the suffragans. Now, especially in the West, it had long been customary for many sovereigns to appoint bishops, or at least to exercise a controlling influence in the election, the fact that the bishops were temporal rulers, holding great fiefs, making such an arrangement reasonable. But only recently Otto IV, in 1209, was forced to promise complete freedom in ecclesiastical elections. It appears that the canons of Nicosia submitted two candidates to the King, agreeing to elect whichever he should prefer. In this way Durand, treasurer of the Church, had been elected, and one of the canons went to Rome to obtain confirmation from the Pope. Meanwhile Walter de Montbéliard had denounced Durand at Rome as unfit for the position (according to Durand, simply out of spite against King Hugh) and the Pope (giving as his reason the fact that he was not adequately informed of the case by the single canon who had come to Rome) suspended confirmation until Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, should look into the matter.<sup>3</sup> The Patriarch found no fault in Durand, but declared his election invalid on the technical ground of interference by the lay power. The investigation seems to have taken a long time, for it was not until January 1213 that the next move was made by the Pope. The King, as we learn from the Pope's letter, had sent the Archdeacon of Famagusta to Rome to protest against what he regarded as capricious condemnation by the Patriarch of the well-established customary procedure. The Pope rebuked and threatened the King in his most haughty style, and directed the chapter to elect another Archbishop, submitting their recommendation to the Patriarch,

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* i, pp. 183-6; *Arch.* pp. 211 f.; Hackett, pp. 472-4.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* iii, p. 603. The phrasing indicates that it was necessary to provide against intrigue and violence: 'nullus ibi qualibet subreptionis astutia seu violentia preponatur.'

<sup>3</sup> Innoc. III, ep. lib. xiv, no. 134, Baluze (30 Dec. 1211); Reinhard, i, Beyl. 9; Migne, *P.L.* 216, col. 494; Potthast, no. 4350. The pallium was sent to the Patriarch with this letter, to be given to Durand if he should be found to be duly elected.

the Archbishop of Caesarea and the Bishop of Acre.<sup>1</sup> There is unfortunately no record of the issue of this dispute; but it would appear, and that need not surprise us, that the papal thunders were without effect; for nomination by the King certainly continued to be customary.<sup>2</sup> No subsequent mention is made of Durand, it is true, and we do not know the circumstances of the election of Eustorge de Montaigu of Auvergne, who was raised to the see, perhaps in 1215, certainly before 23 July 1217,<sup>3</sup> and reigned until 1250.

The Fifth, or 'Hungarian' Crusade,<sup>4</sup> which was intended to repair the scandal of the Fourth, was already in prospect when the Lateran Council opened in November 1215. Frederick II had already taken the Cross on 25 July.<sup>5</sup> From the first the Crusade was doomed to failure, owing to French dislike of the Germans, with whom they did not desire to serve, so that they postponed their departure for two years, and to the abstention of the Venetians. The original plan was for the forces to assemble in Cyprus, and Pope Honorius III, addressing a special message

<sup>1</sup> Letters of Innocent III: (a) 13 Jan. 1213, no. 204 (Baluze, II, p. 705; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 10; Migne, P.L. 216, col. 733; Pothast, no. 4646), replying to the King's protest. (b) 15 Jan. 1213, no. 206 (Baluze, II, p. 706; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 11; Migne, P.L. 216, col. 734; Pothast, no. 4649) to the chapter of Nicosia.

<sup>2</sup> That interference from the secular side was going on in 1255 is shown by the letter of Alexander IV to the chapters of the cathedrals in Cyprus saying that they are free to elect their bishops without hindrance, and such interference is punishable by full ecclesiastical penalties (*Reg. C.N.* no. 86).

<sup>3</sup> On the question whether Durand was re-elected, and on the succession of Archbishops in this period, see M.L., *Arch.* pp. 208-14; Hackett, pp. 538-9; Papaïoannou, III, pp. 83-4. The order seems to have been: Alan († before 1205), Albert (about 1209), Thierry († before end of 1211), Durand (1211, not confirmed by the Pope), Eustorge (about 1215). But the date 1209 given by Amadi and Fl. Bustron for the foundation of Santa Sophia by Albert (Amadi, p. 97; Fl. Bustron, p. 56) will not do if they are right in calling him the third Archbishop. If he was the third, it may be that Durand did not count, and that Albert was elected in his stead, and was followed by Eustorge.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* I, pp. 193-5. Röhricht, *Quinti Belli Sacri Scriptores minores* (1879) and *Testimonia minora de Quinto Bello Sacro* (1882). I have not given references to the innumerable minor sources, which may be found in these collections, unless they seem to offer something new. Röhricht, *Gesch. Kön. Jer.* pp. 717ff.; Grousset, III, pp. 200ff.

<sup>5</sup> An undated letter from the King of Cyprus to Frederick (M.L., *H.* II, p. 37) expressing great loyalty, vows for his prosperity, and begging him to come in person to succour Jerusalem, probably dates from the time when it was first hoped that he would come out. Röhricht, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, I (1874), p. 59, n. 54, would date it in 1221. F. v. Löher's arguments for a later date (p. 139, n. 2) will not stand; there is no mention of actual military successes in Italy, only of hopes for them.

to the King, taking him and his family and Kingdom under the apostolic protection,<sup>1</sup> at the same time instructed the Archbishop of Genoa to direct the fleet to Cyprus, and the King of Jerusalem to meet it there.<sup>2</sup> The Hospitallers, the Templars, and Ralph, Patriarch of Jerusalem, were also ordered to the same rendezvous.<sup>3</sup> But this plan, which possibly envisaged an attack on Egypt, was not followed. The first to reach Syria, by mid-September 1217, was Leopold VI, Duke of Austria, who had arrived in Cyprus by the 8th of the month;<sup>4</sup> not long afterwards came King Andrew II of Hungary. Meanwhile, the Cypriote contingent arrived, led by the young King Hugh himself; he was accompanied by the Archbishop Eustorge, by Walter of Caesarea, Constable of Cyprus, by his uncles John and Philip d'Ibelin, and by Walter and Gremont de Bethsan.<sup>5</sup> But Hugh's share in the Crusade in Syria, such as it was, soon came to an end. After an unsuccessful attack on Mount Tabor,<sup>6</sup> and one or two other futile expeditions, the King of Hungary, sick and out of heart, decided to return home. Hugh saw him on his way as far as Tripoli. There was celebrated the marriage of Hugh's sister Melissenda to Bohemund IV.<sup>7</sup> But immediately afterwards the young King (he was only twenty-three) suddenly fell ill and died (10 January 1218).<sup>8</sup> His body, after being first buried in the church of the Hospitallers at Tripoli, was brought home to Cyprus to lie in the church of the same Order at Nicosia.<sup>9</sup> Hugh left as his heir Henry, who was

<sup>1</sup> 27 July 1217. Potthast, no. 5589; M.L., *H. II*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> 25 July 1217. Potthast, no. 5587; M.L., *H. II*, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> D.L.R. *Cartulaire*, II, p. 227, no. 1580 (24 July 1217), p. 228, no. 1582 (25 July 1217). The Grand Master of the Hospital, Garin de Montaigu, had apparently anticipated the order, for he seems to have been at Nicosia on 23 July (*ibid.* p. 226, no. 1579).

<sup>4</sup> See A. W. A. Leeper, *Hist. of Medieval Austria*, p. 300.

<sup>5</sup> *Eracles*, p. 322.

<sup>6</sup> The King of Cyprus among others was blamed for the division of counsels which led to the failure of the siege: [Jac. de Vitry], *Hist. Or.* III, ed. Gretser, p. 8; Vinc. Bellov. *Speculum hist.* I. xxx, c. 80 (in Röhricht, *Test. min.* p. 98).

<sup>7</sup> Bohemund's wife Plaisance de Giblet had recently died, leaving him four sons, one of whom became the father of Hugh III, founder of the second French dynasty of Cyprus.

<sup>8</sup> Ernoul, p. 412; *Eracles*, pp. 325, 360 and M.L., *H. II*, pp. 14 and 33, n. 2. On the evidence of the *Eracles* Mas Latrie dates the death of Hugh soon after Candlemas (2 Feb. 1218). But the *Gestes des Chiprois*, 98 (La Monte, *Nov.* p. 61), gives the exact date 10 Jan. 1218. Other references in Röhricht, p. 727, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Amadi, p. 104; Lusignan, *Chor. f.* 52; in *Descr. f.* 127b he gives the date as 1223!

born on 3 May 1217,<sup>1</sup> and was therefore little more than eight months old.

Hugh's character has partly emerged from the preceding account of his reign. We have, fortunately, a description of his person, from the pen of the Continuator of William of Tyre:<sup>2</sup> 'He was of middle stature, neither tall nor short, of goodly limbs and figure, but stooping slightly. His expression was coldly reserved; his complexion pale, his hair blond. He was very ready to undertake anything which concerned him<sup>3</sup> and might turn to his honour. He was very fond of the company of knights and all kinds of men of arms. He was irascible and violent, but his anger soon passed.' The fault of harshness, which seems to come out in his relations with his guardian, may have been due to his shabby treatment during his minority.<sup>4</sup>

## HENRY I TO THE END OF THE LONGOBARD WAR (1218-1243)

The first fifteen years of the reign of Henry I were especially eventful and significant for the history not only of Cyprus but of the whole Latin East. But the King played during this period (as indeed throughout his long reign) a minor part, for which his extreme youth at his accession does not wholly account. Possibly the corpulence, which won for him the nickname of 'the Fat', may have been connected with mental lethargy. Next to Frederick II, the chief political figure of the time is the Old Lord of Beirut, the fearless and blameless champion of the rights of the barons against the overbearing claims of the Emperor. He lived to see in 1233 the end, so far as Cyprus was concerned, of Imperial suzerainty, although the war with the Imperialists lingered on for another ten years in Syria.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 33, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 360 and M.L., *H.* II, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* I, p. 182, translates 'd'apprendre les choses qui devaient lui être utiles', which seems doubly to mistake the sense.

<sup>4</sup> The statement in Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, pp. 192, 197, that Hugh was learned enough in law to be consulted in 1214 by Louis of France on the subject appears to be an error (information from Mr John Prestwich).

<sup>5</sup> After Mas Latrie, and apart from general histories, or biographies of Frederick II, the chief modern studies of the Longobard War are: F. v. Löher, 'Kaiser Friedrich II.



Throughout the thirteenth century, and indeed during the whole of the Latin occupation, there is a surly accompaniment to the course of secular affairs, in the never-ending disputes between the Latin Church, the Greek Church and the nobility. So far as it is possible to separate affairs of Church and State—they are naturally much involved with each other—it seems convenient to deal first with the political history, and to reserve the history of the Churches for separate treatment (Ch. xvi).

Henry's mother, Alice of Champagne, was recognized as Regent of the Kingdom and guardian of her infant son,<sup>1</sup> to hold these charges until his majority, more than fourteen years distant. The barons at once did homage to her as Regent.<sup>2</sup> But the prospect of administration of the Kingdom by an inexperienced (and, as time was to show, somewhat tactless) woman was viewed with alarm by many. One of the threats to the rights of the infant King seems to have come from Leopold VI, Duke of Austria, whose attempt to disinherit Henry was however defeated by the barons.<sup>3</sup> The Pope Honorius III wrote to the Queen, taking her and her family under his protection; to his Legate Pelagius, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, who was being sent to the East; and to the Grand Master of the Temple, that they were to defend the Kingdom of Cyprus and put down those who, as the Pope had been informed, were seeking to molest the Queen and her children.<sup>4</sup> Whether of her own motion, or, more likely, on the advice of her friends,<sup>5</sup> she agreed to the association in the administration of her uncle Philip d'Ibelin,<sup>6</sup> younger brother of the Old Lord of Beirut with whom he was to work in com-

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Kampf um Cypem' (*Abh. Bayer. Akad.* III Cl., xiv, 1879); H. Müller, *Der Longobardenkrieg auf Cypem*, Halle a. S. Diss. 1890; G. del Giudice, 'Riccardo Filangieri al tempo di Federico II' (*Arch. stor. prov. Napol.* xv-xvii, 1890-2); J. L. La Monte, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, by Philip de Novare (see the Note on Authorities); La Monte, 'John d'Ibelin' (*Byzantion*, xii, 1937).

<sup>1</sup> The former charge she held as his mother and not as possible heir to the throne; and, as there was no danger of the child's death making her succeed to the throne, she also had his custody. La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 52, end of n. 2; *Nov.* p. 62, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 360.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 160 (lxxxiii).

<sup>4</sup> 12 July 1218. M.L., H. III, p. 610. Raynaldus, 1218, pp. 436-7, §§ 18-19; Potthast, nos. 5870-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Eracles*, p. 360, gives the initiative to Alice; Novare, 98 (iii), to the Haute Cour.

<sup>6</sup> Alice was the daughter of Isabel, who was daughter of Mary of Byzantium by her first husband Amaury I. John and Philip d'Ibelin were sons of Mary by her second husband Balian d'Ibelin of Neapolis, and thus uncles of Alice. The Ibelin coat was *or*, a cross pattée *gules*.

plete harmony and who was to succeed him in the office. These two lords between them governed Cyprus during this critical period; rarely does history record a more fortunate choice. The Queen retained the guardianship, and the whole of the royal revenue, which she spent liberally,<sup>1</sup> giving a tithe to the Latin Church. She spent much of her time in Acre, Tyre and Beirut.

One of the first acts—indeed the first recorded act—of the Queen was in July 1218, with the advice of the Regent Philip and her lieges, to grant extensive commercial privileges to the Commune of the Genoese.<sup>2</sup> These included exemption from all dues on sales or purchases, imports or exports; free jurisdiction (*consulatus*) in all cases concerning their nationals, excepting treason, rape and homicide; two pieces of land, in Lemesos and Famagusta respectively, with the right to build on them; and finally, protection of property and life in the case of wrecked vessels.<sup>3</sup>

This was the beginning of the relations with Genoa which were to culminate disastrously in the seizure of Famagusta in 1373. The explanation of the concession is twofold: Cyprus, on the one hand, had no fleet of its own, and the Regent was doubtless glad of an arrangement which, although there was no formal engagement, made it easy

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<sup>1</sup> Novare 98 (iii); Amadi, p. 117 (who adds that she gave the government of Acre and Syria to the Lord of Beirut, 'qual teniva per nome del nepote Corado'; Conrad, of course, was not born until ten years later); Fl. Bustron, p. 57. When Frederick II demanded an account of the revenues from John d'Ibelin, he was able to reply that he had never enjoyed them. The Ibelins are evidently alluded to in the statement of the *Breve Chron. de rebus Siculis* (Huillard-Bréholles, I, p. 900) that while the King was a child 'quidam de terra sua consumpserant omnia bona sua'. Löher (p. 123) attributes to this spoliation the fact that after the siege of Kerynia the King was much in debt, and owed much to his men, both from his own time and from his mother's (*Assises*, I, p. 383).

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* I, p. 198; II, p. 39 (July 1218; the text of the diploma from the *Liber jurium reip. Gen.*); Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 912; Heyd, I, p. 362. Cp. the later grant (in 1232), M.L., *H.* II, pp. 51–6; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1037; Heyd, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See on this last point, M.L., *H.* II, p. 39, n. 4. The fate of the Englishmen wrecked at Lemesos in 1191 was probably not forgotten at this time (Vol. I, p. 317). On the right of *naufragium*, which was waived in most of the privileges granted to Italian trading cities, see La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 236. In 1460 the Venetian Senate authorized the seizure of Cypriote merchandise to indemnify the owner of a Venetian ship which had been wrecked near Kerynia; the Admiral of Cyprus had seized the tackle and yards, and the owner, although an arbitration had gone in his favour, had been unable to obtain payment of the damages awarded: M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* p. 392.

for him to obtain the assistance of the Genoese ships; on the other, the Genoese welcomed the opportunity offered by the weak state of the island to establish themselves securely.<sup>1</sup> The grant of privileges in Cyprus was followed in November 1221 in Beirut by a grant from John d'Ibelin to the Genoese of freedom from dues on imports and exports, and from various other dues, of a court of their own for their nationals, of the use of the bath before the castle once a week, and many other liberties.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the Crusade continued; but King John of Jerusalem decided to transfer the operations to the Nile Delta. Eustorge, Archbishop of Nicosia, sailed with him.<sup>3</sup> The Cypriote knight Peter Chappe was also present before Damietta, as Philip de Novare, who was then in his service as a young man, records.<sup>4</sup> Probably the most effective assistance given by Cyprus to the attack on Egypt was in the supply of provisions rather than men for the army.<sup>5</sup> Immediately before the capture of Damietta, a company of a hundred knights, with their *sergents d'armes*, arrived from Cyprus under the command of the Constable of Cyprus, Walter of Caesarea; but they did not distinguish themselves.<sup>6</sup> When the dispute arose between those who, with the Cardinal Pelagius, proposed to advance on Cairo, and those who, with

<sup>1</sup> So Aimilianides in *Κυπρ. Σπ.* I (1937), p. 15, as against the theory of Mas Latrie, that the concession was a reward to the nation which had been among the first to help the establishment of the French in the island. Evidence of such early help from the Genoese is lacking; they had indeed supported Conrad of Montferrat against Guy (Cartellieri, *Philipp II August*, II, pp. 175, 198). If any people had given it, it was the Pisans (above, p. 42). The Venetians already had certain commercial privileges, since the middle of the twelfth century (Vol. I, p. 306). The article of Aimilianides referred to is a useful account of privileges and capitulations accorded to foreigners in Cyprus down to modern times.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 43-4; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 950.

<sup>3</sup> Oliver Scholasticus (c. 10, p. 176, ed. Hoogeweg); Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* ed. Luard, III, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Assises*, I, p. 525.

<sup>5</sup> There seems to be no statement in the authorities to this effect. Some writers seem to have taken the statement of Oliver Scholasticus (c. 53, p. 255, Hoogeweg: *Cyprenses vero militum ac sumptuum magnam adduxerunt copiam*) to refer to the expedition to Egypt, instead of to the defence of Athlit as it actually does.

<sup>6</sup> *Eracles*, p. 339. Oliv. Schol. (c. 29, p. 214, Hoogeweg) says the Cypriote horse on the right wing 'Sarracenis...timiditatem suam ostenderunt'. Cp. Cadagnellus, *Gesta Crucig. Rhenan.* ed. Röhricht, *Quinti Belli Sacri scr. min.* p. 51; [Jac. de Vitry], *Hist. Orient. lib.* III, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, p. 1139.

King John de Brienne, held that it was unsafe to leave the coast before the arrival of the reinforcements expected from the Emperor Frederick, the Cypriote knights retired from the adventure with King John, on 29 March 1220.<sup>1</sup> On his way back, however, to Damietta (which he reached on 7 July 1221) the King, having come by way of Cyprus,<sup>2</sup> brought back with him a large force, which may have included Cypriotes.<sup>3</sup>

The obstinacy of the Legate Pelagius was responsible, according to the French chroniclers, for a disaster which befell the Christians during the absence of the King of Jerusalem. The enemy, finding that the Christians were not guarding the sea-communications between Acre and Damietta, armed ten galleys to attack the traffic between these places. The Legate, who was warned, declined to believe his spies, even when they reported that the enemy was actually at sea, and took no steps to meet the danger until it was too late. As a result, the Saracen fleet raided the port of Lemesos, where they burnt a large number of ships, and took prisoner or killed, it was said, more than 13,000 Christians.<sup>4</sup>

The Crusade came to its melancholy end with the evacuation of Damietta in September 1221. A peace of eight years was agreed with the Sultan al-Malik al-Kamil. King John de Brienne and the Franks of Syria returned to Acre, the Cypriote contingent to Cyprus. Even the earth, says the pious chronicler, was miraculously saddened by this disaster; in 1222 Cyprus was shaken by earthquake at Nicosia, Lemesos, and especially Paphos where the castle and city were destroyed, the harbour dried up, and many killed. In one place a church fell, burying the bishop who was saying mass and all his congregation.<sup>5</sup>

The relations between Queen Alice and her uncle Philip d'Ibelin were

<sup>1</sup> James de Vitry, letter to Honorius III in D'Achéry, *Spicil.* III, p. 590 (Octave of Easter 1220): 'omnes autem qui de Cypro erant nos reliquerunt'.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> Oliv. Schol. (c. 54, p. 257, Hoogeweg): 'comitatum adducens copiosum'.

<sup>4</sup> Ernoul, pp. 429f.; Oliv. Schol. c. 49, p. 253, Hoogeweg; Anon. *Chron.* (Prisonnier au Châtelet), ed. Röhricht, *Test. min.* p. 133; *Eracles*, p. 345 (MSS. C, D, G).

<sup>5</sup> Ogerius Panis and Marchisius Scriba (*Ann. Gen.* ed. Röhricht, *Test. min.* pp. ix, 240; ed. Belgrano ed Imperiale, II, p. 179). Cp. Coggeshall, *Chron. Angl.* ed. Stevenson, p. 194; Oliv. Schol. 1450 (c. 86, p. 279, Hoogeweg); Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. mirac.* ed. Strange, lib. x, c. 48.

almost from the first unhappy.<sup>1</sup> The quarrel came to a head about 1223<sup>2</sup> as a consequence of the decision at Lemesos in 1220 by which the tithes which used to be payable to the Greeks were appropriated to the Latin Church. Before this decision, Philip had purchased exemption from the payment. He now found that he would have to pay over again. The Queen refused to listen to his grievance; he complained to the Haute Cour, saying that the Greek priests should not be fleeced to satisfy the greed of the Latin priests, whom he described as hated by the people, seditious to the realm, and accustomed to sell the Eucharist for money, and so on. He and a number of other barons flatly refused payment. The Queen, after an exchange of high words with Philip, suddenly left Cyprus for Syria, where she soon afterwards married Bohemund, heir of Antioch-Tripoli, the future Bohemund V.<sup>3</sup>

The Ibelin brothers were not supported by all the barons, and the first signs of the cleavage which threw Aimery Barlais and four other barons on to the Imperialist side appear about this time. John d'Ibelin

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<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 361: 'elle ne pot souffrir moult de leidenges et de despis que l'en li faisoit'.

<sup>2</sup> Loredano (Giblet, I, pp. 46f.). This author is thoroughly untrustworthy; and the fact that there was a quarrel is perhaps all that can be taken for certain.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the rupture of Alice with her uncle and of her marriage with Bohemund is difficult to fix. The only certainty is that the marriage was shortly before 11 Aug. 1225, when Honorius wrote condemning the union on the ground of affinity in the fourth degree (M.L., *H.* II, p. 47; Potthast, no. 7458; cp. Pressutti, *Reg. Hon.* III, no. 6272 (5 March 1227); Gregory IX, 5 April 1227, Potthast, no. 7873; Auvray, *Reg. de Grég.* IX, no. 10). Most of the authorities mention the quarrel with the barons and the marriage in the same sentence; but there may have been a year or two of interval. Novare, 114 (viii), says 'in this year (1224) a little afterwards' she quarrelled with her uncles and her other men and went to Tripoli and married, etc. (But La Monte corrects the date in Novare to 1225.) The *Annales de Terre Sainte* (p. 438) give the marriage in 1224, mentioning it *after* the marriage of Isabel by proxy (which was Aug.-Sept. 1225). *Eracles* (p. 361) must be wrong in placing the marriage after the coronation of Isabel (Yolande), which was in Sept. 1225. Sanudo (*Secreta*, p. 211) dates the marriage in the same year in which Isabel of Armenia was married to Hayton of Armenia; this was in 1225 or 1226. We cannot depend on the later writers, such as Amadi (p. 117, the marriage, under 1224; p. 120, the quarrel and marriage, under 1226!) and Fl. Bustron (p. 60, under 1226). It seems most reasonable to assume that the final rupture with the barons and the flight to Syria took place some time after the convention of Famagusta, when the decisions of Lemesos were confirmed (Sept. 1222), say in 1223, and the marriage with Bohemund in the spring or summer of 1225. On the question see also M.L., *H.* I, p. 219; Röhrich, pp. 770-1; Grousset, III, p. 187, n. 1; and La Monte, *John d'Ibelin*, p. 427.

had five sons, of which the elder two were Balian and Baldwin. In 1224 (probably) he knighted them with great ceremony and celebration—‘the greatest celebration and the longest which was ever held this side of the sea to anyone’s knowledge’.<sup>1</sup> In one of the games there was some rough play, in the course of which Aimery resented what he regarded as a foul blow from a knight named Toringuel, of the house of the Regent, Philip d’Ibelin. Next day (accompanied by Amaury de Bethsan, Gauvain de Chenichy, William de Rivet and Hugh de Giblet) he attacked and severely wounded Toringuel, who was crippled for life. John d’Ibelin had to intervene forcibly between the indignant Philip and Aimery, who retired to Tripoli. Next year John fetched Aimery back and patched up a reconciliation with the Regent. Toringuel, however, declined to forgive his assailant. John’s settled policy was to preserve peace among the barons. Aimery Barlais at this time had not broken with him, and was associating closely with his son Sir Balian.

We now approach the events which were to culminate in the Longobard War. The violent partisanship of those who provide the sources for the history of that struggle has made it very difficult for the modern historian to be impartial. If Philip de Novare, the brilliant anti-Imperialist, is used at all, it is impossible to dim his colours. On the other hand, to dismiss the whole affair of Frederick’s intervention in Cyprus in a page, as his latest panegyrist has done, is to shirk the problem of why he did not succeed, why this was only one more of the series of splendid failures of which his career was made up. In any case, the historian of Cyprus has no choice; the story must be told at length, and Philip’s narrative reproduced without stint, though not without critical examination.

Negotiations had been on foot for some time for the marriage of the Emperor Frederick to Isabel (Yolande), the daughter of John de Brienne, and heiress of the crown of Jerusalem; the project had been made public in 1223. The Pope hoped, by giving Frederick this new interest in Jerusalem, to induce him to undertake a Crusade; Frederick on the other hand seized every excuse to evade his obligation. But in 1225, by which time Yolande was of age to be married, there was every expectation that Frederick would appear in the East. He still delayed, however, and indeed, so far as war against the Saracens was concerned,

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<sup>1</sup> Novare, 112 (vi); Amadi, p. 119; Fl. Bustron, p. 59.

there was little point in his arriving before 1229, seeing that at the evacuation of Damietta a truce had been agreed which would not expire until that year. Eventually Yolande was married by proxy, and crowned Empress at Tyre, in August–September 1225. Afterwards she left for Italy, accompanied as far as Cyprus by the brothers Ibelin, and was duly married to Frederick at Brindisi on 9 November 1225.<sup>1</sup>

That the fear of Frederick's interference in the affairs of Cyprus was real, the barons knew from the claim which the Emperor had made to the regency of the Kingdom, on the ground that the infant King Henry was his vassal.<sup>2</sup> This claim was founded on the fact that Henry's grandfather Aimery had received the crown of Cyprus from the Emperor Henry VI, and done homage to him. Pope Honorius III was also anxious, as is seen from a series of letters of the year 1226, taking the King under his protection, recommending him to the care of the Master and Brethren of the Temple, of the Archbishop of Nicosia, and the Emperor Frederick, and reminding Philip d'Ibelin of his responsibility as Regent.<sup>3</sup>

To meet the threat of a regency of Cyprus by the German Emperor, the Ibelins hurried on the coronation of the little King.<sup>4</sup> In the year when he was crowned, 1225, he was only eight.<sup>5</sup> The effect was that, though he would not attain his majority for another seven years, there would then be no possibility of keeping him any longer under control by delaying his coronation. The ceremony was performed by Archbishop Eustorge in Santa Sophia at Nicosia. The Emperor, on hearing

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* I, pp. 216–19; Röhricht, pp. 761–2; Grousset, III, pp. 272–4. As is well known, Frederick, who had given King John to understand that he (John) should keep the crown of Jerusalem during his lifetime, now, on the very day of the marriage, declared that, by virtue of the marriage to Yolande, he (Frederick) assumed the crown and all the rights of his wife. Report said that Frederick treated Yolande with shameless brutality during her few remaining years; his latest admiring biographer, Kantorowicz (*Frederick the Second*, Eng. tr. p. 140), rejects the report as a lie. Yolande died on 4 May 1228, at the age of sixteen, ten days after giving birth to Conrad.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 110 (iv): 'aucune fois manda l'empereor a la reyne Alis de Chipre qu'elle li laissast tenir le baillage de grace, tant com il li plairoit'. This is an impossible reading, and must be corrected to mean that the Emperor told the Queen that he allowed her to hold it as long as he pleased: 'that he let her' for 'that she let him'.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 47f.; Potthast, nos. 7526, 7527, 7530, 7534, 7538. Cp. Raynaldus, 1226, p. 582, § 58.

<sup>4</sup> Novare, 110 (iv); Amadi, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> *Eracles* (p. 367) says that in 1228 he was eleven, and had already worn the crown three years.

of the coronation, protested strongly, though to no effect; but he still preserved the language of courtesy in his communications with the brothers Ibelin, whom he called his uncles because they were the uncles of his wife.<sup>1</sup>

Alice, on retiring to Syria and marrying Bohemund, by no means renounced her claim to rule directly or indirectly in Cyprus. The suggestion that her husband should take the place of Philip d'Ibelin as Regent of the Kingdom met with such frank and unanimous disapproval among the knights, Aimery Barlais being among the loudest, that it was dropped.<sup>2</sup> It would mean, they said, death and destruction to their little King and to all of them.

Soon afterwards, however, Philip resigned the regency, much against the wishes of his brother and the rest of the barons. It is possible that the mortal sickness which was to carry him off in 1227 was already upon him. Immediately, the Queen offered the regency to Aimery Barlais, who, whatever had been his feeling when it was offered to Bohemund, had no scruple in agreeing to accept it himself. But, as the appointment had been made without reference to the Haute Cour, it was rejected as null and void. All but one of the barons affirmed that they desired no Regent but Philip. The one dissentient, Baldwin de Belleyme, who had the courage to say that he recognized no Regent but the Queen, was set upon by the rest and nearly killed.<sup>3</sup> Philip accordingly resumed his office and held it until his death late in 1227.<sup>4</sup> His successor was his elder

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<sup>1</sup> Great-uncles, as being half-brothers of her maternal grandmother, Isabel: La Monte, *Nov.* p. 64, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 114 (viii); Amadi, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> According to *Eracles* (pp. 361-2) the Queen proposed Barlais before Philip had resigned, and Philip left the decision to the barons who, with the exception of Baldwin, refused to have anything to do with the proposal. Novare (115, ix) says that Philip had already resigned when the Queen proposed Barlais. Amadi (p. 120) also says that he had ceased to be Regent.

<sup>4</sup> Novare, 123 (xvii); *Ann. de Terre Sainte*, p. 438; Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 211; Amadi, p. 123; Fl. Bustron, p. 63. All these date his death in 1227. *Eracles* (p. 365) puts it in the summer of 1228. He was certainly dead by 4 Aug. 1228 (M.L., H. III, p. 625; Potthast, no. 8250; *Reg. C.N.* no. 29). The date given by *Eracles* is accepted by Röhrich (p. 770, n. 1, though on p. 771, n. 6, he seems to prefer 1227) and Grousset (III, p. 277). We do not know how long Philip was ill, but he is said to have been in danger at the time of the duel between Anseau de Brie and Aimery Barlais. Now Barlais had made his challenge in the hope that Frederick would arrive before the statutory forty days, which must elapse between challenge and duel, were over. He supposed that



brother John, the Old Lord of Beirut, although none of the authorities seems to state definitely that he was elected to the regency.

The insult offered to the Haute Cour by Aimery Barlais, who had accepted the regency without consulting it, finally opened the breach with the Ibelins. The brilliant young knight, Anseau de Brie, a passionate adherent of the Ibelins, to whom he was related, denounced Barlais as a coward and a traitor, and offered to prove it on his body if he were there. Apparently, though not present on this occasion, Barlais was in Cyprus; but he immediately went away to Tripoli, to await the arrival of the Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

Another member of the anti-Ibelin party was Sir Gauvain de Chenichy,<sup>2</sup> who was accused by a knight, William de la Tour, of having assaulted him by night and wounded him.<sup>3</sup> Recovered from his wounds, William challenged Gauvain, and they appeared in the lists. Peace was made<sup>4</sup> between them, but Gauvain resented the challenge having been made at all, believing that the house of Ibelin was behind it. He left Cyprus and joined Frederick in Italy, explaining that because he and his four friends were known to be on the side of the Emperor they were hated by the Ibelins. Frederick took him into his favour.

He returned to the East towards the end of 1227, with Gerold, the

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Frederick had started or was about to start; he did not know that the Emperor had delayed his passage, having put to sea on 8 Sept. 1227, and then turned back; and within the forty days the galleys sent on in advance under Henry IV, Count of Limburg, and the Patriarch Gerold arrived with the news that the Emperor had not come after all. The duel, however, took place on the day fixed. It is clear from this that the duel was late in 1227; for it cannot have been before the second half of September of that year that the advance galleys sailed from Italy. The duel therefore probably took place in October or November. After the duel—but how soon we cannot say—the Regent died. It is difficult to accept the date of *Eracles* in the face of the other evidence for 1227. But it is to be noted that John d'Ibelin and his friends were still wearing mourning when they met the Emperor at Lemesos. This was after 28 July 1228. How long was it customary to wear mourning in such circumstances?

<sup>1</sup> Novare, 116 (x); Amadi, pp. 120–1.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 111 (v) and 117 (xi); Amadi, p. 121; Fl. Bustron, p. 61. Loredano (Giblet, I, p. 50) calls him Gavan de Rossi. On his career, see E. Bertaux in *Revue historique*, 85 (1904), pp. 226–7. On the case, as one of treason, see La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the affair of Toringuel. The text of the *Gestes* (113) actually has *Tor* for the latter; possibly there was some confusion between the victims.

<sup>4</sup> Before they actually fought, according to Fl. Bustron; but Novare says the duel was fought; Amadi has 'confermata la battaglia'.

new Patriarch of Jerusalem;<sup>1</sup> Frederick had despatched a few ships with the message that he was to be expected soon; he himself had started in September but had been compelled by illness to return.<sup>2</sup> Aimery Barlais now thought it opportune to defy Anseau de Brie, who had charged him with cowardice and treachery; before the date fixed for the duel (forty days must pass after the challenge) the Emperor would be in Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> In this expectation he was disappointed, and the duel took place; it is described in detail by the chroniclers, and is interesting for the use by Barlais of a horse trained to defend his rider should he be dismounted, as happened on this occasion.<sup>4</sup> Anseau pressed his opponent hard, and would probably have killed him, but John d'Ibelin and the Constable of Cyprus (Walter of Caesarea) intervened. Philip the Regent, who lay on his death-bed, also sent praying Anseau to make peace. This was done, on terms humiliating to Aimery.<sup>5</sup> He, with his associates, left the field, and, as the chroniclers of the other party report, wrote many letters to the Emperor making libellous complaints against the house of Ibelin.

Eagerly they awaited Frederick's arrival, hoping with his help to gain the upper hand. As to the Queen Alice, her union with Prince Bohemund, never approved by the Pope, did not last long, being annulled about 1228.<sup>6</sup> She returned to Cyprus, but probably not for long, for in 1229 or 1230 she seems to have been at Acre.<sup>7</sup> She played no part in the coming struggle, and was absent in France in 1233 and 1234.

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<sup>1</sup> Gerold's opinion of Frederick II is worth reading as a specimen of partisan invective (in Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* III, pp. 179-84; tr. in D. C. Munro, *Letters of the Crusaders*, pp. 27-31).

<sup>2</sup> The reason he gave seems to have been true, but his enemies disbelieved it and the Pope excommunicated him.

<sup>3</sup> Novare 122 (xiii): 'et son fait prendroit bien'; Amadi, p. 122: 'il fatto suo andasse meglio'; Fl. Bustron, p. 62: 'l'imperatore, dal quale fosse favorito al campo'. It is true that Barlais was no coward; but it is difficult to infer from these statements, as M.L., H. I, p. 234 does, that he did not want Frederick's support, but hoped that he would be able to welcome the Emperor with the sword of his enemy dead or vanquished.

<sup>4</sup> For the full account, see Novare, 122 (xiii-xv); Amadi, pp. 122-3; Fl. Bustron, pp. 62-3.

<sup>5</sup> Novare, *loc. cit.*: 'car il y ot raenson moitié & autres covenances griés & fors'. Amadi speaks only of shame and dishonour.

<sup>6</sup> Amadi, pp. 123-4; Fl. Bustron, p. 63; M.L., H. I, p. 305, n. 5; Grousset, III, p. 402.

<sup>7</sup> In 1229 or 1230 she made a claim to the throne of Jerusalem; but it came to nothing: Röhrich, p. 798. See below, p. 107.

The unfortunate Empress Yolande died on 4 May 1228, ten days after giving birth to the future Conrad IV, on 26 April.<sup>1</sup> Frederick had already deprived her father of the crown of Jerusalem; now that she was dead, he was, though no longer King himself, legally entitled to administer the Kingdom as Regent in the infant's name. At last, still under the ban of the Church (which sought to forbid his departure before he had obtained absolution) he sailed from Brindisi, on 28 June 1228, reaching Lemesos on 21 July.<sup>2</sup>

Barlais and his four associates, with a number of their followers, had gone in armed vessels to meet Frederick in Romania, where they impressed upon him the necessity of crushing Ibelin and securing Cyprus for himself.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor, however, was too cautious to show his hand at first; and, on arriving in Cyprus, addressed an apparently friendly letter to Ibelin, desiring to see him and his children at Lemesos without delay, and to have his advice concerning the conduct of the campaign for the recovery of the Holy Land;<sup>4</sup> the urgency of his affairs prevents him from making a long stay. A second message, to the effect that Ibelin and his friends should be enriched and honoured by the Emperor's coming, was, as Novare says, in the nature of a prophecy, which was fulfilled in time, but not as Frederick intended.

The messenger was welcomed with honour at Nicosia, but Ibelin's friends, in view of Frederick's bad reputation, all regarded the invitation as a device for getting the King and Ibelin into his power.<sup>5</sup> They advised Ibelin to excuse himself and pretend that he was making active preparations to lead all the forces of Cyprus to serve the Emperor in Syria. Ibelin characteristically rejected this advice, preferring, as he said, the

<sup>1</sup> *Breve Chron. de rebus Sic.* in Huillard-Bréholles, I (ii), p. 898.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 239, rejecting the statement of Amadi (p. 124) and Fl. Bustron (p. 63) that he arrived on 1 June, since he was in Italy in that month: the exact date of his sailing from Brindisi (28 June) is given by the *Breve Chron. de rebus Sic.*, loc. cit., and the date of his arrival by the same, p. 900. On the various estimates of the numbers accompanying the Emperor, see Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, II, p. 20, n. 3; they were probably exaggerated by Frederick himself and depreciated by his enemies.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 126 (xviii); Sanudo, *Secreta*, pp. 211-12; Amadi, p. 124; Fl. Bustron, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> The letter, as given by Jauna, *Hist. de Chypre*, I, p. 517 (tr. by La Monte, *Nov.* p. 74, n. 2; a slightly shorter version in Giblet, I, p. 55), bears the impossible date 17 Sept. 1228; Frederick had already left Cyprus on 3 Sept. See below, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> The same view was taken by the Patriarch Gerold (Huillard-Bréholles, III, p. 136). Winkelmann (II, p. 87) thinks it not improbable.

risk of imprisonment or death rather than the reproach of failing to support the Emperor in the war for the recovery of the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup>

So it was that John d'Ibelin<sup>2</sup> with two of his sons and all the strength of Cyprus, both knights and sergeants, took the little King, went to the Emperor at Lemesos, and placed themselves in his power. They were still wearing black in mourning for the Regent Philip. Frederick received them with cordiality, in a house which Philip d'Ibelin had built, and begged them to doff their mourning, for the joy of his coming, which should be greater than their grief, even for so noble a man as Philip. And he sent them scarlet robes and jewels, and invited them to a magnificent feast. But into the house and precincts he introduced secretly some three thousand armed men; and, at the last course of the feast, a number of these filed into the hall and stood behind the guests, with their hands on the hilts of their weapons. The guests affected not to notice them. The Emperor then openly demanded of Ibelin, first that he should surrender the city of Beirut; second that he should render up all the profits of the revenues of Cyprus since the death of King Hugh — 'for this is my right, according to the usage of Germany'. When Ibelin tried to laugh the matter off, saying that the Emperor must be jesting, Frederick swore that he was serious, and threatened imprisonment. Then Ibelin rose and said, in a loud, clear voice, and with a fine presence, that, as to Beirut, it was his rightful fief, having been given him by his sister, Queen Isabel Plantagenet, and her husband, King Aimery; he would prove his right thereto in the Haute Cour of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. As to the revenues of the regency of Cyprus, neither his brother Philip nor he himself had ever had any of them; they had all been enjoyed by Queen Alice. Proof of this also he would furnish before the Haute Cour of Cyprus. 'And be ye certain that for fear of death or prison I will do no more, unless judgement of good court and lawful make me so do.'

<sup>1</sup> Novare, 126 (xx, xxi); Sanudo, p. 212. Amadi, p. 125: the excuse was to be that Ibelin and his sons and the little King were for some reason prevented from going, but that the knights were at his service. Fl. Bustron, p. 64. *Eracles*, p. 367, says nothing about this hesitation, and even makes Ibelin and his party welcome Frederick on his arrival at Lemesos.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the meeting is told with vivid detail by Novare, 127, 128 (xxii-xxxi); Amadi, pp. 125-9; Fl. Bustron, pp. 65-8. More shortly, Sanudo, p. 212. *Eracles*, p. 367, dismisses it in a few lines.

The contention waxed hot. The Emperor broke into more open threats. 'I have heard beyond sea that your words are very fine and civil, and that you are very wise and subtle of speech, but I will soon show you that your wit and your subtlety will avail nought against my force.' To which Ibelin: 'Sire, you have heard of my civil speech, and I too have heard tell often and for a long time of your deeds. And when I moved to come here, all my council told me with one voice just that which you are now doing to me; and I would believe none.' He came therefore fully warned. But he would rather death or imprisonment than that it should be said that the service of the Emperor and the conquest of the Holy Land should be hindered because he and his house and the men of Cyprus held back, and that they should say in Christendom: 'Know you not? the Emperor of Rome went beyond sea and had conquered all, but for them of Ibelin who would not follow the Emperor, and therefore all is lost.' All this he had said to his council when he came to the Emperor from Nicosia: 'and I came all ready to suffer all that could rightly befall for the love of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered passion and death for us, who will deliver us if it please him; and if he wish and deign to suffer that we be slain or put in prison, I thank him therefor, and to him I hold in all things.' He said no more, and sat down. The Emperor was very angry, and changed colour, but dared go no farther. Eventually it was agreed that twenty of the leading vassals of Cyprus should be given as hostages, pledging their bodies and property that Ibelin would go to Palestine in Frederick's service and plead his cause before the Haute Cour of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Then only should the hostages be released. Among them the Emperor insisted on having two of Ibelin's sons, including Balian, his eldest and favourite. He promised faithfully to treat them honourably and well. It was said that he broke his word, putting them in irons so that they could not move their limbs.<sup>1</sup> But the fact that when Balian was eventually released he consented to enter Frederick's household and served him willingly<sup>2</sup> throws some doubt on this report.

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<sup>1</sup> Novare, 128 (xxxix); Amadi, p. 129; Fl. Bustron, p. 68; *Eracles*, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 133 (xxxviii). The same writer says that the Emperor kept John, another son, with him in Syria, and said that he would give him Foggia in Italy. But though he was afterwards called John of Foggia, it would seem that the promise was never fulfilled, for John seems never to have gone to Italy, but remained to fight on his brother's side in the Longobard War. Cp. Müller, p. 35n. and La Monte, *Nov.* p. 87, n. 2.

After Ibelin had retired with his friends to his camp outside the city, his enemies urged on Frederick that he should be recalled with friendly promises, and seized; otherwise, in spite of his sons being hostages, he would occupy the fortresses and raise all the people against the Emperor, for he was much beloved. But Ibelin, forewarned, refused the summons, indignantly rejecting the suggestion of John of Caesarea and Anseau de Brie, that they should obey it and take the opportunity to assassinate the Emperor.<sup>1</sup> In the night Ibelin and all his armed force decamped,<sup>2</sup> the noise of the horses alarming the Emperor so much that he left the manor house and went to the tower of the Hospital, which was strong and nearer his ships. There he imprisoned the hostages. It was said that Barlais and his company were quartered in the same building and took the opportunity of maltreating them.

Meanwhile Ibelin rode straight to Nicosia, whence he sent the women and children to the castle of Dieudamour, which he provisioned. He and his forces remained in Nicosia. The Emperor waited at Lemesos until he could obtain reinforcements from Syria. There came Guy I of Giblet (from whom he borrowed 30,000 gold besants), Balian I of Sidon, Richard Filangieri and many others.<sup>3</sup> Embarking the hostages in a galley, Frederick sent his ships to Kiti,<sup>4</sup> himself riding, with the King, to the same place. Thence he marched inland towards Nicosia,<sup>5</sup> being met at Piroï by Bohemund IV of Antioch, who had landed at Famagusta and brought with him sixty knights and a large force of *sergents à cheval* and infantry.

Ibelin, who recognized Frederick as his feudal chief, both as Regent of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and as suzerain of the King of Cyprus, was unwilling to resist him by force of arms. Nevertheless he was careful, at the same time, to provision the castles and guard the land for the rightful heir, King Henry, who was in the Emperor's hands. In this he was on good legal ground, since during a regency the castles were

<sup>1</sup> Novare, 129 (xxxii, xxxiii); Amadi, pp. 129-30; Fl. Bustron, pp. 68-9.

<sup>2</sup> The *Breve Chron. de rebus Sic.* gives as the reason for his flight his fear that he could not account for his revenues from the Kingdom. It also says that he left all his tents and goods behind.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 130 (xxxiv)

<sup>4</sup> Novare, 131 (xxxv), says Frederick rode straight to Nicosia; the *Breve Chron. de rebus Sic.* p. 900, gives the date of his leaving Lemesos, 17 Aug. (La Monte, *Nov.* p. 203).

<sup>5</sup> *Eracles*, p. 368.

held by the barons, not by the Regent. On Frederick's approach he evacuated Nicosia and shut himself up in Dieudamour.<sup>1</sup>

The Emperor could not afford to waste time in Cyprus; winter was coming on; his news from home was disquieting,<sup>2</sup> and he could not return to Italy until his object in Palestine had been attained. Accordingly he offered terms<sup>3</sup> to Ibelin, undertaking to release the hostages safe and sound, while retaining the guardianship of the King, the government of the island, its revenues and its fortresses, until Henry should come of age;<sup>4</sup> he would appoint some of the King's vassals to guard the fortresses and the Kingdom meanwhile. Ibelin and his party recognized Frederick as Regent<sup>5</sup> of Jerusalem; Ibelin would state his case for the fief of Beirut before the Haute Cour at Acre, and would also account—so far as he was responsible—for the revenues of Cyprus since the death of King Hugh (revenues which, as he stated, he and his brother had never received). For his fief of Beirut he would do homage to the Emperor as Regent of Jerusalem. All the nobles of Cyprus agreed to take the oath of fealty to the Emperor, and pledged themselves to serve him for the duration of the Crusade. But while swearing fealty to

<sup>1</sup> Novare, 131 (xxxv); Amadi, pp. 130-1; Fl. Bustron, pp. 69-70; *Eracles*, p. 369.

<sup>2</sup> So Novare (132), who actually says that Frederick heard that the Pope and John de Brienne were attacking his territory. This cannot be true, for the Pope only released Frederick's subjects from their allegiance on 31 July, and an actual attack by the papal troops had not taken place at the time of which Novare is writing: Winkelmann, II, p. 89, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The mediators were *gens de religion* and others (Novare, 132; Amadi, p. 131; Fl. Bustron, p. 70); the princes and others (*Eracles*, p. 369); this means Bohemund IV and the Masters of the military Orders: M.L., H. I, p. 243 (followed by Röhrich, p. 774).

<sup>4</sup> Sanudo, Amadi and Fl. Bustron give the age for the majority as 25 years. In Jerusalem and Cyprus it was 15 years, certainly for a fief, and presumably for a kingdom (La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 51, n. 4). In Germany, however, it was 25 years; it is probable therefore that 25, in the authorities cited, is not a mere error, but represents Frederick's claim. It has been maintained that the Emperor regarded Henry as still a minor after he became 15, for he considered himself within his rights in ordering Filangieri to conquer Cyprus after that date (Löher, p. 127, n. 1). At the same time, the fact that he timed the lease of Cyprus to his Bailies to end with the completion by Henry of his 15th year looks as if he recognized the 15 years rule. And he certainly recognized it in the case of Conrad, who was allowed to claim the crown of Jerusalem as soon as he was 15. Apparently the Emperor adopted either rule as suited him better.

<sup>5</sup> Not as King, which in their view he had ceased to be since Yolande's death.

him as suzerain<sup>1</sup> (which implied recognizing him as their lord, against whom they should never bear arms) they refused to do homage to him as Regent of Cyprus, for they recognized Queen Alice only as holding that office.<sup>2</sup> The act of homage placed all who made it in direct dependence on the lord, and obliged them to do personal service to him, and to be subject to the court of their peers, presided over by the lord. It therefore meant much more than the oath of fealty.<sup>3</sup> The King, however, was obliged to do personal homage to the Emperor.<sup>4</sup> The military Orders and all the barons and gentlemen of either party pledged themselves to maintain this peace, and the old feuds were to be forgotten and forgiven.

On 2 September Frederick left Nicosia, reaching Famagusta the same day, and embarking on the next,<sup>5</sup> his ships having come round from Kiti.<sup>6</sup> He was accompanied by the King, Ibelin and all the nobles of Cyprus.<sup>7</sup> Ibelin recovered his two sons, who are alleged to have shown grievous signs of ill-treatment. Nevertheless, as already stated, Sir Balian entered Frederick's service, and so did another son, John. Bohemund IV, however, thought Frederick was going too far when he demanded that all the Prince's liegemen of Antioch and Tripoli should swear fealty. Antioch was independent of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; it was as ally, not as vassal, that he had joined the Emperor. Feigning mental illness he secretly made his escape in a galley to Syria.<sup>8</sup>

Barlais and the rest of the Imperialist party seemed to have attained their object. The administration of Cyprus was placed in their hands; castellans whom they could trust were put in charge of the fortresses, and Bailies to collect the revenues and pass them on to the Emperor's

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<sup>1</sup> This they promised to do provided it stood in the original covenant between the Emperor Henry VI and King Aimery, made when the latter received the crown of Cyprus.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 132 (xxxvi, xxxvii); Amadi, p. 131; Fl. Bustron, p. 70; *Eracles*, p. 369; Sanudo, p. 212. The last two slight and inexact.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H. I*, pp. 244-5; La Monte, *Nov.* p. 86, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Later he was released from this obligation by the Pope (5 March 1247: M.L., *H. II*, p. 63).

<sup>5</sup> *Breve Chron. de rebus Sic.* p. 900.

<sup>6</sup> From Lemesos, according to Novare (133, xxxviii).

<sup>7</sup> *Eracles*, p. 369.

<sup>8</sup> Novare, 134 (xxxix). Amadi, p. 132: 'He held himself as good as dead and disinherited; he counterfeited sickness and dumbness, and cried out at the top of his voice "A! a! a!" and to so good purpose that he departed... but as soon as he came to Nefin, he was cured.' Nefin is on the coast just south of Tripoli. Fl. Bustron, p. 71.



Bailies, Balian of Sidon and Garnier l'Aleman, in Syria.<sup>1</sup> There was much agitation in Cyprus, where the Cypriotes, with their women and children, sought the protection of the monasteries, or fled from the island; and equal uneasiness among the Cypriotes who were in Syria with the Emperor. Ibelin remained true to his pledge, and refused to countenance a plot to kidnap King Henry and desert Frederick.<sup>2</sup>

We must pass over the history of Frederick's doings in Syria,<sup>3</sup> which earned him much unpopularity, culminating in the humiliating scene of his departure, when he was pelted with offal on his way to the harbour of Acre. He was suspected of plotting to kidnap or even to kill Ibelin and his supporters, as well as the Templar, Peter de Montaigu.<sup>4</sup> As his Bailies in charge of the Kingdom of Jerusalem he left Balian of Sidon and Garnier l'Aleman.<sup>5</sup>

Before leaving Acre on his way home, on 1 May 1229, Frederick farmed out the bailliage of Cyprus to Barlais and his four associates for three years for 10,000 marks of silver.<sup>6</sup> In three years Henry would come of age. Meanwhile the Emperor carried him to Lemesos, where he made his final arrangements. The five Bailies were made to swear never to allow Ibelin and his party to return to Cyprus, or to draw revenue therefrom. Frederick placed a number of mercenaries, German, Flemish and Longobard, at their disposal; they added to this force others

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 369, 375. Novare, 136 (xli) says that Frederick in 1229 sent Stephen, Count of Botron (should be Cotron) and other Longobards to Cyprus for this purpose. Cp. Amadi, p. 133; Fl. Bustron, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, *loc. cit.* But he does not seem to have accompanied Frederick to Jerusalem, nor did any of the Cypriotes (*Eracles*, p. 374; La Monte, *Nov.* p. 90, n. 5).

<sup>3</sup> It was doubtless while the Emperor was there that the Archbishop of Nicosia and others found it necessary to ask the Pope to see that the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him and promulgated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem should be properly observed; and Gregory on 23 July 1229 instructed the Archbishop of Caesarea to attend to this (*M.L., H.* II, p. 49; Huillard-Bréholles, III, 150; Potthast, no. 8438; Auvray, *Reg. de Grég.* IX, 325, 326). By that time, of course, Frederick was already back in Italy, and events were moving towards the treaty of San Germano and the lifting of the ban.

<sup>4</sup> Novare, 137 (xlii).

<sup>5</sup> Novare, 138 (xlii); cp. *Eracles*, p. 375. La Monte (*Nov.* p. 92, n. 2) corrects the extraordinary statement of Röhrich (p. 795; so, too, Grousset, III, p. 321) that Frederick made John d'Ibelin one of his Bailies.

<sup>6</sup> *Eracles*, p. 375; Novare, 139 (xlii); Amadi, p. 136; Fl. Bustron, pp. 73-4; *Ann. de Terre Sainte*, p. 438. Novare says the contract was made at Lemesos; probably, as La Monte says, it was there renewed.

whom they hired at Acre and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Some of the King's men, desiring to recover their homes, placed themselves under the command of the Bailies. The fortresses, which were still garrisoned by Frederick's men, were to be handed over to the Bailies when they had made a first payment on account of the 10,000 marks.<sup>2</sup>

King Henry, also, was disposed of in marriage to Alice, daughter of William IV of Montferrat.<sup>3</sup> It is thought that she is unlikely to have sailed from Acre with Frederick, and that the marriage must have been by proxy.<sup>4</sup> In any case, the young couple were to see little of each other, and the union was ended by her death in Kerynia during the siege (end of 1232 or beginning of 1233).

The Emperor sailed for Italy, leaving the island and its King, as he supposed, safely in the hands of his supporters, and reached Brindisi on 10 June 1229.<sup>5</sup>

The Bailies, in order to raise the money which they had agreed to pay for the revenues of Cyprus, taxed the people so severely that they were soon able to pay the first instalment of 3000 gold besants,<sup>6</sup> and take over the castles.

In these days, in spite of the orders given by Frederick to the Bailies to allow none of the adherents of the Lord of Beirut to return to the island, Philip de Novare was there on his private affairs.<sup>7</sup> The Bailies,

<sup>1</sup> Novare, *loc. cit.*; Amadi, p. 136; Fl. Bustron, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 139 (xlv); Amadi, p. 137. From *Eracles*, p. 376, it appears that the first payment was 3000 marks.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 139 (xlv); Amadi, p. 136; Fl. Bustron, p. 73; *Eracles*, p. 375; *Ann. de Terre Sainte*, p. 438. On this lady and her true relationship to Henry, see La Monte, *Nov.* p. 92, n. 3. She was a great-niece of Conrad of Montferrat, the husband of Isabel of Jerusalem, who was Henry's maternal grandmother. She was not, as Novare says (139, xlv), a cousin of Henry; still less, as Amadi (p. 136) and Fl. Bustron (p. 73) have it, was her father William Longsword. The relationship with Frederick was also remote; she and Yolande, Frederick's wife, who had recently died, had a common great-grandfather.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> *Breve Chron. de rebus Sic.* p. 902.

<sup>6</sup> *Eracles*, p. 376, where it is also said that they seized the crops and cattle of the lords who had remained with Ibelin in Syria. From Novare (142, liv) it appears they did not do this until they besieged him in the Hospital at Nicosia. Amadi (p. 137) says that what with the tax and the proceeds of their robberies, they paid off the debt. Fl. Bustron (p. 74) says merely that they laid a tax on the inhabitants.

<sup>7</sup> The story of the attempt to seduce him from his allegiance to Ibelin, and its consequences, is told by him at length (140-4, xlvi-lvi). Amadi, pp. 137-40; Fl. Bustron, pp. 74-6.

not yet in possession of the castles, approached him secretly, with a view to negotiating peace with Ibelin. He undertook to send their message, on condition that they should all five swear that if the negotiations should fail, they would conduct him and his household and goods to Syria. Meanwhile they raised the money which enabled them to secure the castles, so that they felt strong enough to hold the island against Ibelin's party.<sup>1</sup> They now invited Philip to go before the King's court and discuss the position with them. Trusting in the safe conduct, he found the doors guarded by the households of the Bailies. Throughout the sitting the King showed by his demeanour, and by the looks which he directed on Philip, that he was powerless in their hands. William de Rivet spoke for the rest: the Lord of Beirut had lost the King and the land to the Bailies, who had bought the bailliage; they therefore demanded that all the people should swear to respect them as Bailies until the King should come of age. To tempt Philip, they promised to give him a fief for himself, and pay all his debts.<sup>2</sup> Philip refused, acknowledging only Queen Alice as Regent; and when they cried out that his real motive was not that, but loyalty to the Lord of Beirut, he admitted that he would never be against Ibelin, whom and whose children he loved better than any others in the world. This roused the fury of the Bailies and their party, who threatened his life. Kneeling before the King, he reminded the Bailies of their oath, demanded trial by his peers, and offered to meet any one of the five, body against body. A number of knights were ready to fight him; the five gave him the lie, but did not accept the challenge. Whereupon he was put in chains<sup>3</sup> under guard for the night and ordered to be taken to Dieudamour. The others took the oath. The Bailies, however, hesitated to refuse him the trial which he demanded, and the same night offered to release him on his own bail in 1000 silver marks. Their intention, as was shown by what

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<sup>1</sup> Novare says they had a great many men and 'cuiderent estre mout fort', which La Monte (*Nov.* p. 94, n. 2) thinks indicates that the Ibelin cause was not entirely the popular one. It perhaps only means that there were few organized fighting men in the island except those in the pay of the Bailies (who were now increased by the garrisons of the castles).

<sup>2</sup> Later, in 1242, Philip describes himself as heavily in debt, to the amount of 1000 silver marks.

<sup>3</sup> The *traversain* was a kind of portable pillory, to which the victim was shackled so that he could not move his limbs. It had been used according to Novare by Frederick for his hostages.

happened later that very night, was to murder him. Philip refused to give any security other than his word and his fief, or even to accept a pledge from themselves. He went straight to the Hospital of St John, where he found all the women and children of those of the Ibelin party who were in Syria. He got together some 150 men at arms. His own house was attacked that same night, and one of his men killed and another wounded. Next day the Bailies, now that war was openly declared, seized all the fiefs of the Ibelin party, and laid siege closely to the Hospital, which Philip however had provisioned and strengthened. He succeeded in getting a letter away to Sir Balian d'Ibelin at Acre.<sup>1</sup> It is composed in a sad doggerel, for the rude quality of which the writer apologizes, though it shows an occasional gleam of poetry.<sup>2</sup> The practice of such *jeux d'esprit* is common enough as a relief from the strain of a grave situation; but it is seldom that they are found brightening the pages of a historical record.

The letter, Philip flatters himself, was received with great joy at Acre.<sup>3</sup> The Lord of Beirut immediately fitted out at his own expense an expedition, which crossed the sea and took the port of Gastria, in spite of strong resistance by the Bailies.<sup>4</sup>

The Bailies retired to Nicosia, and sent the King under guard to

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<sup>1</sup> Novare, 143 (lv). The letter was addressed to Sir Balian, who was Philip's immediate seigneur. The Bailies are compared to characters in Reynard the Fox—a fancy which Philip elaborated in later poems. Aimery Barlais is Reynard; Amaury de Bethsan is Grimbart, the Badger; Hugh de Giblet, because of a twitching, distorted mouth, is called the Monkey.

<sup>2</sup> Gaston Paris, in a brilliant appreciation of Philip (*Rev. Or. lat.* ix, 1902, pp. 196f.) gives a favourable estimate of his verses. The later poems are better than this first one.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 144 (lvi). On the necessary corrections here, see La Monte's note: 'A la rescousse des dames et dou bon lait': the last two words must be corrected to 'Lombart', Philip being of Novara; Gaston Paris in *Romania*, xix (1890), p. 100 (see below, p. 104, n. 2). Amadi (p. 140) wrongly supposes the women to have been in Dieudamour. *Eracles* (p. 376) of course knows nothing of the story told by Philip, but says the news of the threat to the barons' possessions provoked the expedition.

<sup>4</sup> The castle of Gastria belonged to the Templars (above, p. 23). It does not appear what part they played on this occasion. The Templars, like the Hospitallers, were hostile to Frederick II and to his supporters. Amadi (p. 140) says the Bailies opposed a strong force to Ibelin's attack. Fl. Bustron (p. 77), who says the port of Gastria was called Colones, describes the defenders as 'alcuni soldati' sent by the Bailies. *Eracles* (p. 376) says nothing of any resistance.

Dieudamour.<sup>1</sup> Ibelin and his little army rode cautiously towards the capital, where they found themselves greatly outnumbered by the forces<sup>2</sup> of the Bailies, who commanded the mercenaries, the turcoples or light horsemen, and also the *arrière-ban* of Nicosia. On 14 July, attempts at conciliation by the men of religion and clergy having failed, battle was joined. The fighting took place on ploughed land, in a strong west wind which raised clouds of dust. The slaughter is described as great, but the only two persons of note who met their death were the old Constable of Cyprus, Walter of Caesarea, who was killed by Gauvain de Chenichy, and Gerard de Montagu.<sup>3</sup> Twenty-five of their

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<sup>1</sup> The battle of Nicosia: Novare, 145 (lvii-lxi); Amadi, pp. 141-3; Fl. Bustron, pp. 77-8; *Eracles*, pp. 376-7; *Ann. de Terre Sainte*, p. 438. On the date see Röhrich, p. 803, n. 2; La Monte, *Nov.* p. 103, n. 1. The date, and even the year, of this battle are in dispute. F. v. Löher (p. 144n.) argues that 1229 was too soon after Frederick's departure, and Winkelmann (II, p. 384, n. 4) agrees. But things moved quickly, especially when John d'Ibelin was concerned. Also the early authorities, though they may err in the day or month, are not likely to have been a year out. Novare (*Gestes*) says Saturday, 14 July (*juignet*) 1229. *Eracles* has Saturday, 24 June (but 24 June 1229 was a Sunday). Amadi says Saturday, 14 June, but mentions no year; he may have taken the *juignet* of the *Gestes* for *juing*. Bustron gives no date at all. *Ann. de Terre Sainte*, the year only, 1229. That year, therefore, is approved *nem. con.* by the sources, and speculations on a later year are out of place.

<sup>2</sup> The Imperialist forces are by Novare throughout called the Longobards. They are to be distinguished from the Lombards of N. Italy; in the 13th century Longobards meant the inhabitants of Longobardia in S. Italy, from which Frederick drew most of his troops. See Gaston Paris in *Romania*, xix (1890), p. 100; La Monte, *Nov.* p. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Nephew of the Masters of the Temple and the Hospital and of the Archbishop of Nicosia. It was his widow, Échive de Montbéliard, whom Balian d'Ibelin married soon afterwards. This marriage was within the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity, and was therefore forbidden by the Archbishop and the Legate Pelagius. Balian threatened the Archbishop, so that he took flight to Acre; Gregory IX wrote, on 5 March 1231, to Eustorge, ordering him to excommunicate the offender (M.L., *H.* III, pp. 629-30; Potthast, no. 8673; Röhrich, *Reg.* no. 1023; *Reg. C.N.* no. 28). How long Balian lay under the ban is uncertain; it was still in force at the time of the battle of Agridi. Frederick II complained of its having been lifted in a letter of 1239 (M.L., *H.* II, p. 62; Huillard-Bréholles, v, p. 304; Röhrich, *Reg.* no. 1089). Possibly, as Mas Latrie thinks (*Arch.* pp. 221-2), reconciliation took place at the time of the death of the Old Lord in 1236. But it may have been even earlier, for in Dec. 1233 Balian appears as witness to (a) a confirmation by the King of a sale of land to Eustorge, (b) a grant by the King of an estate to Eustorge and the church of Nicosia. It is hardly likely that these deeds would have been drawn in the absence of the Archbishop, or that, affecting the church as they did, they would have been witnessed by an excom-

best knights had been told off by the Bailies to kill the Lord of Beirut, who at one time found himself alone (but for his sergeants and some unmounted archers) against fifteen knights. Retiring into an enclosure he defended himself until Sir Anseau de Brie and afterwards his son Balian came to the rescue. From within the city, Philip de Novare sallied with his men from the Hospital with good effect. Balian d'Ibelin with a large following of knights eventually decided the day. The enemy fled towards Nicosia, whence Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan, Hugh de Giblest and probably William de Rivet<sup>1</sup> retired to Dieudamour, and Gauvain de Chenichy to Kantara. Others of their party took refuge in the castle of Kerynia. Philip de Novare reported the victory to Acre in verses.<sup>2</sup>

Siege was laid to all three fortresses.<sup>3</sup> Ibelin himself sat down before Kerynia, but this place gave little trouble. Novare, acting for Ibelin, arranged with the defenders that, if they were not relieved within a certain term, they should surrender; in which case they would receive their arrears of pay and be transported with all their belongings out of Cyprus. This was carried out by Novare, after how long a siege we are not told.

The siege of Dieudamour,<sup>4</sup> to which Ibelin transferred himself, lasted nearly a year, and was at first conducted with incompetence. The immense circuit of the walls required a large besieging force. Nevertheless, the knowledge that the besieged were famished, so that they had to eat their horses, and on Easter Day (7 April 1230) even a donkey which they had captured, slackened the vigilance of the besiegers. Ibelin himself, one winter day, had gone away to Kantara, to see a new siege-engine which Anseau de Brie was building.<sup>5</sup> His three sons (Balian, Baldwin and Hugh) were absent, and very few knights remained at the

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municate. Frederick complains that the Pope sold the dispensation for no great sum, compensating himself for the smallness of the amount by the quality of his hatred of the Emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Fl. Bustron (p. 78) says that Rivet fled to Buffavento, but this fortress, in spite of Bustron's statement that it was besieged, does not seem to have played a part in the events of these days (La Monte, *Nov.* p. 102, n. 1). Rivet went to Armenia to seek help, and died there (Novare, 152, lxx).

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 147 (lxiii).

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 146 (lxii); Amadi, p. 143; Fl. Bustron, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Novare, 148-50 (lxiv-lxvii); Amadi, pp. 143-4; Fl. Bustron, p. 79; *Eracles*, p. 377.

<sup>5</sup> A trebuchet or machine for throwing heavy missiles. On this engine, see Oman, *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 43 f.

siege; scattered about on their own lands, the others were hawking and hunting. The garrison took the opportunity to make a sortie, in which they captured the camp and provisions of the besiegers. Ibelin and the truant knights returned in haste, recaptured the camp and drove the enemy within their fortress again; but the seizure of the provisions meant that the siege lasted longer. The three sons of Ibelin henceforward took turns of duty, each for a month with 100 knights and 500 foot. The garrison held out until some time in April or May 1230.<sup>1</sup>

Novare relates that during the siege he was wounded by a lance and nearly captured. He escaped, but the enemy thought they had killed the singer. He was however able to prove, in two stanzas which he composed and shouted at them, that he was very much alive.<sup>2</sup>

Kantara,<sup>3</sup> which was besieged by Anseau de Brie, also held out gallantly, though the garrison had thrown away all their arms when they fled from the battle of Nicosia, and the trebuchet battered down all the walls; but the rock defied all attempts to scale it. Novare, who was present one night on guard, tells in verse how he overheard those within one of the towers complain of their desperate straits, and how they were betrayed by the other Bailies. The young Lord John of Caesarea, son of the Walter who had fallen at the battle of Nicosia, was also among the besiegers; and one of his men, sniping with his arbalest from a rock near the castle, claimed to have killed Gauvain de Chenichy. After Gauvain's death, Philip Chenart took command.

The two fortresses capitulated,<sup>4</sup> to the relief of the Lord of Beirut, who feared that the King might be smuggled away to Italy. He had indeed been on the point of sending Novare on a mission to the kings of the West to complain of the outrageous conduct of the Emperor and his followers in Cyprus and Syria. With the conclusion of the peace this mission was naturally cancelled.<sup>5</sup> The terms agreed on, by the mediation of the Templar, William de Teneres, were that the Bailies surrendered

<sup>1</sup> Novare says the siege lasted nearly a year; Amadi (p. 144) a year; *Eracles* (p. 377) ten months. Since it began soon after the battle of Nicosia (14 July 1229), the ten months would bring us to April or May 1230; and the story of the donkey dates the end after 7 April.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 149-50 (lxvi, lxvii); Amadi, p. 144; Fl. Bustron, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 151-2 (lxviii-lxx); Amadi, pp. 144-5; Fl. Bustron, pp. 79-80; *Eracles*, p. 377.

<sup>4</sup> Novare, 152 (lxxi); Amadi, p. 145; Fl. Bustron, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Novare, 152 (lxxii).

the castles, with the King and his sisters, and swore to bear no enmity for the future to Ibelin and his house and party. Ibelin swore, for his side, to keep a good peace. The family of Gauvain de Chenichy were to be expelled from Cyprus, because he had killed the Constable (though there is nothing to show that it was not in fair fight), but the revenues of their fiefs were to be paid to them. Sir Anseau de Brie, Philip de Novare and the knight Toringuel took no part in the making or celebration of the peace, though they tacitly observed it for the sake of the Lord of Beirut; but they never again spoke to their enemies. It was very soon to become clear that their suspicions of the other side were justified.

The house of Ibelin, trusting to the word of their late enemies, treated them with the greatest friendliness and generosity; but the three knights just mentioned held aloof. Novare was not allowed by Ibelin to write one of his satiric poems about the peace; but he gave his talent full rein in an account of a somewhat obscure attempt of Barlais to effect a reconciliation, real or apparent, with the three.<sup>1</sup> Feigning, as they held, that he was sick to death, he made a last confession and took communion, and sent men of religion to beg them to come to him. Replying that if he died they would cry quits, they refused to go. He speedily recovered. His plan, it is suggested, had been to obtain by a trick the pardon of his three enemies, of whom he was mortally afraid.

The Imperialist party were thus obliged to keep quiet until they could be reinforced by the Emperor, to whom, it is alleged, they excused themselves for making peace with Ibelin, while they professed, if he would send but a small force, that they could again get the upper hand.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the end of 1229 or early in 1230, Queen Alice had appeared in Acre and put in a claim to the throne of Jerusalem, as the most direct heir of Amaury I, her grandfather. The claim was rejected by the Haute Cour, for motives of policy rather than right, but they sent a message to the Emperor, who replied somewhat evasively.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Novare, 152-5 (lxxii-lxxv). In this poem the use of the Reynard the Fox *dramatis personae* is extended. The Lord of Beirut is Yzengrin, the Wolf; his children, the Wolfings; Anseau de Brie, the Bear; Philip himself, Chantecler; Toringuel, Timbert the Cat. Amadi, pp. 146-7; Fl. Bustron, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 156 (lxxvi); Amadi, p. 147; Fl. Bustron, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 380; *La Monte, Nov.* p. 41. The messengers found Frederick at San Lorenzo near Foggia; it is known that he was there in Feb.-March 1230 (Röhrich, p. 798, n. 3). The barons had acknowledged Conrad as King of Jerusalem and Frederick



Frederick made his peace with the Pope in July 1230; his excommunication was withdrawn and the interdict on Jerusalem lifted. Nevertheless he took no steps to re-establish his position in the East until the autumn of 1231. Then a great host was despatched under the Marshal of the Empire, Richard Filangieri, whom he appointed Imperial Legate and his Bailie in Cyprus and Syria.<sup>1</sup> Ibelin and his sons and followers were declared to have forfeited their fiefs.<sup>2</sup> Frederick collected a force of 600 knights, 100 *sergents à cheval*, 700 foot, 3000 armed seamen, with the necessary transports and thirty-two galleys.<sup>3</sup> A spy in the service of Ibelin, arriving at Acre in a ship of the Teutonic Knights, informed him of the danger. The ostensible object of the expedition, as Frederick asserted, and the Pope and many others fondly believed, was to defend Jerusalem, which, left unfortified (but for the tower of David), lay at the mercy of any who chose to attack it, as was shown towards the end of 1229 when it was temporarily seized and sacked by a rabble of

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as his Regent. But Conrad had not appeared in his Kingdom, and the barons told Frederick that he ought to send his son within a year. Frederick replied that he would do what he ought to do within the term. Alice based her claim on the fact that Conrad, though legally King, had not appeared to claim his inheritance within the statutory period of a year and a day. He had therefore forfeited his claim, and she was the next heir.—La Monte (*Feud. Mon.* p. 64, n. 1) shows that it was not the regency that she claimed (as is supposed by M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 262–3, and Rohricht, p. 798), but the actual throne.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Gregory IX, 12 Aug. 1231, to Frederick saying that he is writing to the Syrian prelates and others about the appointment of Richard Filangieri, but he is to be called not Imperial Legate or Bailie, but Legate of the Emperor Frederick [as King of Jerusalem], since it must not be supposed that the Kingdom of Jerusalem is subject to the Empire. *M.G.H., Epis. Saec. XIII*, 1 (1883), p. 363; Potthast, no. 8785; Auvray, *Reg. de Grég. IX*, t. 1, no. 700; La Monte, *Nov.* p. 118, n. 3. The Legate belonged to the great Neapolitan family of Filangieri, *argent* a cross pattée *azure*, of Breton or Norman origin from an ancestor Angerius. See G. del Giudice, in *Arch. stor. per le prov. napol.* xv, 1890, p. 766. F. von Löher's idea (p. 119) that French and Italians twisted the form Felingher to Filangieri to suit their tongues is an inversion of the truth.

<sup>2</sup> *Assises*, 1, p. 325 (John d'Ibelin). Balian of Sidon, by order of the Emperor, dispossessed Ibelin of all his possessions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Novare (*Assises*, 1, p. 528) mentions only his fiefs in Acre. Others were also dispossessed of their fiefs; illegally, since it was without any judgement of the court, 'sanz esgart et sanz conoissance de court' (La Monte, *Nov.* p. 118, n. 4).

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 158 (lxxvii); Amadi, p. 147; Fl. Bustron, pp. 80–1 (38 ships and 22 galleys). These say that he sent all those whom he most hated and feared. *Eracles* (pp. 385–6) says there were 200 arbalesters and *sergents à cheval*; eighteen transports (salanders) sailed first, to be followed by Filangieri with fifteen galleys.

fellahin. John d'Ibelin knew that Frederick's real aim was to seize Cyprus. He at once collected as large a force as he could, leaving Beirut almost undefended, and sailed for Cyprus, where he issued a call to arms. He himself, with the King, went to Kiti; but the greater part of his troops, under his son Balian, assembled at Lemesos.<sup>1</sup> They arrived about the same time as the first detachment of the Imperial fleet, which came to anchor off C. Gata.<sup>2</sup> Not venturing to land, the Imperialists sent a messenger to negotiate, and demanded to speak to the King. On being told that he was at Kiti, they sailed thither. In the interview which took place, Ibelin spoke with such moderation that he was blamed by his party, who, with some probability, suspected Barlais and his friends of communication with the enemy. Barlais would have been murdered, had not Ibelin seen to his protection.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor's message to the King was that he should banish Ibelin and all his nephews and relations. The King, being under age, took counsel with his advisers and replied, through his vassal William Visconte,<sup>4</sup> that he marvelled at the Emperor's command, since Ibelin was his own uncle, and he and his nephews and some of his relations were the King's vassals, whom he could not fail without doing them wrong. Ibelin himself begged the King, whose vassal he was, to support him, and offered to submit his case to the King and in his court, if anyone should ask it. The messengers, saying that they had delivered the Emperor's message and heard the answer, entered their galleys and rejoined the fleet at C. Gata, whence they sailed to Beirut. Filangieri, reaching Lemesos after they had left, followed them thither.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibelin's forces (including those who were secretly his enemies, i.e. the party of Barlais) numbered some 500 knights, and many *sergents d'armes* and turcopoles: Novare, 158 (lxxviii); Amadi, p. 148; Fl. Bustron, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> With it were two galleys, according to *Eracles* (p. 386), carrying the Bishop of Melfi and two knights who had fiefs at Acre, Aymon l'Aleman and John de Bailleul. From Novare (cp. Amadi, p. 148; Fl. Bustron, p. 81) one would not gather that the discussion with Ibelin took place at Kiti, which he does not mention; but the facts, including the details of the discussion, may be gathered from *Eracles*, p. 387.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 158 (lxxix).

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned by Loredano (Giblet, 1, p. 103) as one of the King's ambassadors sent in 1232 to arrange the marriage of his sister Isabel with Henry, youngest son of Bohemund IV of Tripoli; and by John d'Ibelin (*Assises*, 1, p. 384) and Novare (*ibid.* pp. 525 and 570); the last calls him 'plus sutil positor de plait que tous les autres vavasours de son tens'.

<sup>5</sup> *Eracles*, p. 388.

There the Imperialists occupied the city,<sup>1</sup> which was surrendered to them by the Bishop, like the 'timid and disloyal priest' that he was; but the castle held for its Lord, though it had been denuded of most of its garrison whom Ibelin had taken with him to Cyprus. It was, however, amply supplied with provisions and arms. The Longobards, well furnished with labour and engineers, laid siege to the castle, placing their engines (on the advice of a 'traitor' named Denises,<sup>2</sup> formerly seneschal of the Lord of Beirut and 'master' of the castle) in the most advantageous positions, and capturing and occupying the fosse, which was 'one of the finest in the world'. At a point outside the castle, called Chaufor, in accordance with a plan suggested to them by their supporters in Cyprus, they erected a tower from which their engines were able to do great damage to the castle.

At an early stage of the siege, Filangieri, who had arrived soon after it had begun, visited Acre and, showing his credentials from the Emperor, endeavoured to gain the goodwill of the barons by fair promises.<sup>3</sup> He was met by a firm reply, Balian of Sidon expounding the constitution of the Kingdom, and pointing out that Filangieri had violated the *Assises* by disseising vassals of their fiefs without the consent of the court. The barons demanded that Filangieri should depart from Beirut, and Ibelin be restored. Filangieri deferred his reply until he could consult the Imperialist leaders at Beirut; but, the reply which he eventually gave being unsatisfactory, though he suggested appeal to the Emperor,<sup>4</sup> the barons and citizens of Acre organized themselves, in

<sup>1</sup> Novare, 159 (lxxx-lxxxi); Amadi, p. 149; Fl. Bustron, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> He is called *de Nissa* by Amadi and Bustron. He was afterwards hanged.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 388-92 (translated by La Monte, *Nov.* pp. 121-3, n. 3). Novare says nothing of this meeting in Acre (according to Winkelmann, II, p. 386, n. 1, because the acknowledgement of the Imperial governor by the barons did not suit his book). Filangieri, as Winkelmann shows, must have superseded Balian of Sidon in Oct. 1231.

<sup>4</sup> The names of Balian of Sidon, Eudes de Montbéliard and Garnier l'Aleman appear in Dec. 1231 at Ravenna as witnesses to a grant by Frederick to the Teutonic Order (Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1034). It was supposed that they had come on the mission suggested by Filangieri. But it appears that the names of the Syrian witnesses to this document are borrowed from an earlier model (a deed of April 1229 drawn at Acre); or possibly a document relating to this grant had come from the East, so that their agreement was incorporated. See Böhmer-Ficker, *Reg. Imp.* v (1881-2), pp. 381-2, no. 1919; Winkelmann, p. 387, n. 3. There is thus no evidence that Filangieri's suggestion was adopted.

connexion with the existing Brotherhood of St Andrew, into a sworn Commune, of which the Lord of Beirut was elected mayor.<sup>1</sup>

The news of the organization of the Commune of Acre and of the election of John d'Ibelin as mayor was sent to him in Cyprus, to his great satisfaction. Less pleasant, however, was the news from Beirut. At a meeting of the Haute Cour in Nicosia,<sup>2</sup> Ibelin made an appeal to King Henry. Recalling the service rendered by the house of Ibelin to the royal house he prayed for the personal assistance of the King, as his lord, to rescue his city and his castle and his land. He appealed also to all the others who were present, as his brothers and his dear friends. Willingly (with the exception of some, who however did not dare to show their dissent at the time) the barons agreed to follow the King to the succour of Beirut.<sup>3</sup>

About Christmas 1231<sup>4</sup> the Cypriote force left Nicosia and, in very bad weather, reached Famagusta. There they were storm-bound until the first day of Lent, 25 February 1232. It was decided to risk everything on the venture, although many criticized the policy of leaving Cyprus without any high officer in command.<sup>5</sup> Ibelin pointed out that, if they were successful, Cyprus could do without a captain; if they lost, he could only hold out a little. 'Therefore I will that no one of my house of the name of Ibelin remain. If we conquer, each one will have his share in the honour and profit, and if we lose, we will die all together for God in our lawful heritage, there where all the more part of my relations were born and have died.' For the feudal lord, the claims of his family and fief came first, and his point of view was shared by all but his private enemies. These endeavoured secretly to delay the

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<sup>1</sup> La Monte, 'The Communal Movement in Syria in the Thirteenth Century', in *Haskins Anniversary Essays* (Boston, 1929).

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 160 (lxxxii-lxxxiv); Amadi, pp. 150-1; Fl. Bustron, pp. 82-3; *Eracles*, p. 392; Loredano (Giblet, 1), pp. 91-4. For some reason Winkelmann (II, p. 387) says the court met at Famagusta; but it is clear from the sources that the King did not leave for Famagusta until after the meeting.

<sup>3</sup> Novare mentions no exceptions; from *Eracles* it would appear that some would have refused if they had dared: 'et si y avoit de ceauz qui moult le eussent a envis otroïé, se il le osassent refuser; et bien le mostrerent puis, quant il virent que luec fu'.

<sup>4</sup> Novare, 161 (lxxxv-lxxxvii); Amadi, pp. 151-2; Fl. Bustron, p. 84; *Eracles*, p. 392.

<sup>5</sup> Arneis de Giblet, Bailie of the Secrète, was the highest official left in the island: *Eracles*, p. 399; La Monte, *Nov.* p. 127, n. 2.

expedition by securing themselves in the castle of Gastria, which belonged to the Temple. Ibelin was made aware of their plans, but declined to arrest them, preferring to wait until they should declare themselves openly.

The weather had not improved, but the situation was urgent, and the expedition sailed in a great rain-storm.<sup>1</sup> Then the sky cleared, and it reached Puy du Connétable, a little port south of Tripoli, between Nefin and Butron.<sup>2</sup> There the expedition was deserted by Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan and Hugh de Giblet and their party—full eighty knights—who left their equipment behind and went to Tripoli, whence Filangieri sent a ship to bring them to Beirut. They declared that the King was under age and kept in the power of others, and that they themselves owned the Emperor as their Lord in chief, and were more bound to him than to the King. Ibelin, not sharing, or at least professing not to share the alarm of many of his followers at this loss to their forces, said that he would rather have such traitors in front of him than behind his back.<sup>3</sup> He set out by land for Beirut; his ships, sailing at the same time, were mostly wrecked or disabled at Butron, all the tents which they carried being lost. Further, as they passed Giblet, a number of companies of arbalesters deserted.<sup>4</sup> Still the force, riding through bad weather and by difficult passes, reached Beirut, to the delight of the defenders of the castle, who by this time were in sore straits, owing to the efficient mines and engines of the besiegers.

But it was long before the Longobards abandoned the siege of the castle.<sup>5</sup> Ibelin's force suffered greatly from bad weather, lack of provisions and poor quarters. His first step was to summon all his relations, and the men of the land in general, to his aid. He was joined by his nephew John of Caesarea and other knights, forty-three in all. But Ibelin's nephew, Balian of Sidon,<sup>6</sup> and others refused. Balian, however,

<sup>1</sup> Novare, 162 (lxxxviii f.); Amadi, p. 152; Fl. Bustron, p. 84; *Eracles*, p. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Five miles by sea south of Nefin and six north of Butron: Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> A touch of *panache*, perhaps, which Winkelmann (II, p. 388, n. 4) finds almost comic.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned later by Novare, 179 (cxiii).

<sup>5</sup> Novare, 163-71 (xc-cii); Amadi, pp. 153-9; Fl. Bustron, pp. 85-8; *Eracles*, pp. 393-6.

<sup>6</sup> Balian and Eudes de Montbéliard, though Filangieri had been appointed over their heads, refused for some time to admit that any but themselves could be the Emperor's Bailies in Syria.

together with Gerold, Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, Eudes de Montbéliard, Constable of the Kingdom, Peter, Archbishop of Caesarea, the Bailie of the Venetians and the consuls of the Genoese and Pisans, came to Beirut and endeavoured, in vain, to negotiate a peace. The position of the Longobards, who were commanded in Filangieri's absence by his brother Lotario, was well defended by land and sea, and the port was guarded by a chain supported by galleys, leaving but a narrow entrance. A few of Ibelin's men penetrated this defence by swimming, and Ibelin's son John of Foggia succeeded in running the blockade in a galley carrying a hundred knights, sergeants and squires, a very useful reinforcement to the defenders of the castle. Although it was impossible to raise the siege, the improved position of the garrison justified Ibelin in withdrawing his forces and going away to Acre, in order to collect a larger force on land and sea. He also carried on negotiations (which had been begun some time before) for the marriage of Isabel de Lusignan, the sister of King Henry, and Henry, the second son of Bohemund IV of Tripoli.<sup>1</sup> Sir Balian, accompanied by William Visconte and Philip of Novare, was sent to Tripoli for the purpose; on the conclusion of the marriage, the Prince would receive great fiefs in Cyprus; the price, of course, was to be military aid for the Ibelin party. Bohemund, however, when he heard that Ibelin's relieving force had retired from Beirut, supposed that the Ibelins were lost, and his desire for the alliance cooled. It was some time before, with the recovery of the Ibelin cause, the marriage was concluded. It was to have an important issue for Cyprus, for the son of Henry and Isabel became Hugh III of Cyprus, the founder of the second French dynasty. Meanwhile the members of the little embassy found themselves excluded from the lodgings which the Templars had lent them, and from others which they sought from the Hospitallers and the monks of Beaulieu and Mont Pèlerin, and had to take shelter in a stable and suffer great discomfort as well as insults from sympathisers with the Longobards.

The supposed discomfiture of the Ibelins also encouraged Sir Aimery

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<sup>1</sup> As early as 5 March 1227 the Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Nicosia, ordering him not to concern himself with the question of the consanguinity of the daughter of the Queen of Cyprus and the son of the Count of Tripoli, and transferred the enquiry to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Bishop of Acre. Potthast, no. 7676; the rubric as given by M.L., *H.* II, 48 from MS. la Porte du Theil R.L. 54, speaks of Henry as her husband—*ejus maritum*, but they were not married until much later.

Barlais and his party<sup>1</sup> to pass over to Cyprus, which, as we have seen, had been left without any military commander. They overran the island, and took possession of all the castles, except Buffavento and Dieudamour. The latter was held by the castellan, Philip de Cafran, and in it the King's sisters, the Bailie of the Secrète, Arneis de Giblet, and many who sympathized with the Ibelin party, took refuge. It was by no means provisioned for a siege. Kerynia at first held out, but not for long. The majority of the fugitives, who had no time to reach Dieudamour, sought the protection of the churches and monasteries, or even fled, disguised as peasants, to the mountains and caves, where they lived in great distress. The lady Échive de Montbéliard, widow of Gerard de Montaigu, and but recently married to Sir Balian d'Ibelin, had with her children sought shelter in the Hospital; soon, however, leaving her children behind and abandoning her fief, she escaped, disguised as a friar minor, to Buffavento, which an old knight, Guinart de Conches, was holding for the King. She provisioned it, and made preparations for its defence.<sup>2</sup>

At Nicosia, if we may trust the report of their enemies,<sup>3</sup> the Longobards committed all kinds of outrages, breaking into the churches, the Temple and Hospital and other religious houses, dragging out the women and children and packing them off in carts and on donkeys 'most shamefully' to prison in Kerynia, pricking with goads those who showed reluctance; priests they dragged from the altars, in one place dashing the host from the priest's hands to the ground.

The news of the invasion of Cyprus by the Longobards was brought to Tripoli by two Genoese ships. Sir Balian d'Ibelin made secret arrangements with the Genoese to become his men, promising them great fiefs if they would transport his troops to Cyprus; but Bohemund, hearing of it, put the ships and their crews under arrest.

Meanwhile the Lord of Beirut's recruiting at Acre had been very successful. The Genoese, in particular, being hostile to the Emperor,

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<sup>1</sup> Novare, 169 (c); Amadi, p. 158. These say that Filangieri accompanied them. According to *Eracles*, p. 399, Filangieri did not go to Cyprus until after the battle of Casal Imbert, when he heard that Ibelin was preparing to go thither; and this seems more probable. Machaeras (41) is badly out in dating the return of the Longobards to Cyprus in 1242.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 177 (cxi); Amadi, pp. 162-3; Fl. Bustron, pp. 90-1.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 178 (cxii); Amadi, p. 163; Fl. Bustron, p. 91. The Templars certainly did not forgive them for what they did.

threw in their lot with him.<sup>1</sup> On their engagement to accompany him as far as Cyprus, they were promised a franchise and court in the Kingdom—privileges which were shortly afterwards confirmed. In this Ibelin was only continuing the policy of favourable relations with the Genoese which had been initiated early in the reign.

He now made plans, assisted by the Genoese with men and ships,<sup>2</sup> to attack Filangieri in Tyre; and the news of this intention caused the Marshal to order his brother Lotario to raise the siege of Beirut. Sir Balian was thus able to come from Tripoli and reoccupy the town.

This success, however, was quickly followed by a disaster, which nearly made an end of the fortunes of the house of Ibelin.<sup>3</sup> The Lord of Beirut, with the King and a small force, moved out as far as Casal Imbert, about twelve miles north of Acre.<sup>4</sup> Here they heard of the raising of the siege of Beirut, and waited, undecided whether to proceed to the attack on Tyre. Meanwhile, Ibelin was approached by Albert of Rezzato, Patriarch of Antioch,<sup>5</sup> falsely professing to be empowered to make peace, and was persuaded to go with him to Acre. The greater part of Ibelin's forces, and all his ships, were still there; unfortunately

<sup>1</sup> On the hostility of the Genoese to Frederick, see Winkelmann, II, pp. 390f. The ships sent by the Genoese to Syria 'habuerunt totum mare in sua virtute et stolium imperatoris non audebat stare in mari' (*Ann. Jan.*, *M.G.H. Scr.* xviii, 180). Rycc. de S. Germano (*M.G.H. Scr.* xix, 368) records the acquisition of Acre *in odium imperatoris* by John of Beirut in April 1232.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> The battle of Casal Imbert: Novare, 172-6 (ciii-cix); Amadi, pp. 159-62; Fl. Bustron, pp. 88-90; *Eracles*, pp. 396-8 (dates the battle on King Henry's fifteenth birthday, 3 May 1232). Rycc. de S. Germano (*M.G.H. Scr.* xix, 368) seems to confuse the battles of Casal Imbert and Agridi, when he records that in May 1232 John of Beirut defeated the Marshal of the Emperor in Syria, and took many prisoners. Frederick had heard of the battle by 18 July 1232, when he wrote to Genoa jubilant and hoping to enlist the Genoese on his side, in which he was of course disappointed (Huillard-Bréholles, iv, p. 368). Winkelmann (II, p. 398) believes that Frederick must have heard of Agridi by 18 July, but deliberately ignored it in his letter to the Genoese; it is unlikely that the Genoese themselves, in view of their frequent communications with the Levant, should have been still ignorant of it.

<sup>4</sup> Khirbet el-Hamssyn, according to C. Kohler, *Philippe de Novare*, index. Ez-Zib according to the map, *Palestine of the Crusades* (Survey of Palestine).

<sup>5</sup> G. del Giudice, 'Riccardo Filangieri' (*Arch. Stor. Prov. Napol.* xvi, p. 463) is at pains to discredit this story, because it was not until July 1232 that the Pope appointed the Patriarch of Antioch to succeed Gerold at Acre; but the story does not imply that Gerold had already been superseded.



he still further reduced the detachment at Casal Imbert by bringing back to Acre some of his best men. But he left with the King his three sons Baldwin, Hugh and Guy; Sir John d'Ibelin, a young knight of seventeen, afterwards Count of Jaffa and a famous jurist; and Anseau de Brie in command. These young knights grossly neglected all precautions, with the result that the enemy, sailing from Tyre in twenty-two galleys, surprised the camp at night, and captured it. Anseau de Brie (who had been warned of the approach of the enemy but refused to believe it), John d'Ibelin (whose guards were posted on the wrong side of the camp, and were asleep withal), and the three sons of the Old Lord, attempted to atone for their neglect of duty by prodigies of valour. The King, almost naked, was put on a horse under guard and escaped to Acre. Twenty-four of the Cypriote knights were taken prisoner, others killed or wounded. The little remnant of the force<sup>1</sup> took up a position on a hill near the camp, and was not further pressed.

On the news coming to Acre with the arrival of the fugitive King, the Old Lord started for Casal Imbert, meeting on the way other fugitives who reported that all his sons were killed. He found them, however, alive and anxious to pursue the Longobards, who took to flight at his approach; but the narrow Pass Poulain, on the way to Tyre, was held by the enemy, and he saw that it would be unprofitable to attack them. The Longobards were thus able to return to Tyre with so much plunder in the way of horses, arms and equipment that they supposed Ibelin to be immobilized for some time. Leaving a garrison in Tyre, they crossed to Cyprus, transporting thither all the horses and arms captured at Casal Imbert. The island, as we have seen, had already been overrun by Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan and Hugh de Giblet, and all the fortresses in it except Dieudamour and Buffavento were now in Longobard hands.

At Kerynia they collected large supplies from other ports in the island. It seems clear that, however desperate the state of the Ibelin party may have seemed to be after Casal Imbert, some attempt to recover Cyprus was expected; and the remarkable resilience of the indomitable Lord of Beirut justified the expectation.<sup>2</sup> After the defeat, a number of the barons deserted to the Longobard side. But he had not

<sup>1</sup> Except Sir Hugh d'Ibelin, who, with another knight, defended himself in a fortified house at Casal Imbert.

<sup>2</sup> The Cypriotes return to Cyprus and take Famagusta: Novare, 182-6 (cxvi-cxxiii); Amadi, pp. 163-7; Fl. Bustron, pp. 91-3; *Eracles*, p. 400.

in any way lost his prestige with the Commune of Acre; indeed, it was probably at this time that he seized the enemy's ships in the harbour with the help of the people of Acre and the consent of the Patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> In any case, other armed ships were provided by the local Poulains or Syrian Franks, who were offered fiefs in exchange for service on the seas. Men and ships were thus at Ibelin's command, for the King, by offering fiefs, was able to retain a number in place of those who had deserted; but money was sorely lacking. However, the King obtained loans from John of Caesarea and John d'Ibelin, afterwards Count of Jaffa, who raised the necessary funds by selling land at Caesarea and Acre to the Hospital and the Temple.<sup>2</sup>

On Pentecost, 30 May 1232, the expedition left Acre, and arriving before Sidon was joined by Sir Balian and Sir John of Foggia and others from Sidon, who obtained fiefs from the King. The fleet was closely followed, but not attacked, by enemy ships, all the way to Cyprus, where, on arriving at C. della Greca, it was learned from a spy that the Longobards and their ships were in strength at Famagusta.<sup>3</sup> With those who had deserted to them at Puy du Connetable, with others recruited from Tripoli and Armenia, and with Cypriote turcopoles, the enemy were reckoned to number well over two thousand horse; the King and

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<sup>1</sup> According to *Eracles*, p. 395, the capture of the ships in the harbour (seventeen out of eighteen) took place before Ibelin made preparations to move against Tyre (above, p. 115). But Novare (181, cxivf.), Amadi (pp. 163-4) and Fl. Bustron (p. 91) put this *coup* later, after the King had attained his majority (3 May 1232), and tell the story of the Patriarch Gerold consenting, in allusive but hardly ambiguous terms, to the raid on the ships. They also give the number captured as thirteen; the remainder escaped to Tyre. See La Monte's note, p. 145. Loredano (Giblet, I, p. 114) also mentions this story in this connexion. He is also responsible for the statement (accepted by G. del Giudice, *Arch. Stor. Prov. Napol.* xvi, p. 458, n. 1) that Gerold was heavily bribed.

<sup>2</sup> According to Loredano (Giblet, I, p. 115) the King issued notes with the impression of his seal, bearing the promise to pay in cash as soon as the Imperialists should be expelled from his Kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi (p. 165) and Fl. Bustron (p. 92) tell us that on this occasion, the spy being asked the numbers of the enemy, the Old Lord, before he could reply, exclaimed, with characteristic *panache*, 'what it concerns us to know is where the enemy are, and not how many'. This anecdote, however, which would be so much to Novare's taste, is not given by him; on the contrary, it is he who is the source of the figures which are recorded. And our doubt of its authenticity is justified by the fact that James de Vitry (*Hist. Hieros.* I, c. lxv, in Bongars, I, p. 1085) attributes the saying to the Templars. It was evidently the proper thing to put into the mouth of a hero.

the Lord of Beirut had only two hundred and thirty-three. Nevertheless no serious resistance seems to have been offered to the landing. Ibelin found a rocky islet<sup>1</sup> outside the port, on the land side of which was a ford practicable for horses when the water was low. With no little damage to his ships, owing to the rocks, he landed on this islet, where no one would have thought the feat possible, and posted a guard at the ford, to keep it until he had disembarked all his horses and men. This he effected without much difficulty, though there was some shooting, and camped for the night. But about midnight a landing-party in small boats entered the harbour and penetrated, at a place indicated by him, into the city, with cries of 'Long live King Henry'. The Longobards, supposing that the whole force was upon them, fired their ships<sup>2</sup> in the harbour and rode for Nicosia. In the morning Ibelin's horse crossed to the land, and rode into Famagusta, which they found deserted, save for the garrison which had been left behind in the sea-tower. Philip de Novare negotiated the surrender of this tower—the captains were granted fiefs—as well as that of Kantara, to which he was sent two days after the capture of Famagusta.<sup>3</sup> The Ibelins received into grace one of the men from Kantara, Humfry de Monaigre, though he had done them much harm.

On 10 June the King fulfilled his obligations to the Genoese by exchanging oaths with them for mutual aid, and granting them a court (for their own nationals) competent in all cases except murder, rape and treason;<sup>4</sup> exemption from dues on purchases and sales, except for fees when merchandise was weighed or measured by the King's officials; houses and permission to have their own bakeries in Nicosia, Famagusta and Paphos, and a casale called Despoire near Lemesos. The oath of the Genoese bound them for a fixed term, but the grant of the

<sup>1</sup> On this island, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 362, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> According to Loredano (Giblet, I, p. 117) the landing-party fired the ships and the enemy, surprised, made no attempt to put out the fire.

<sup>3</sup> Novare says that Buffavento was also surrendered, contradicting his previous statement that Echive de Montbéliard held that castle for the King. *Eracles*, p. 399, also vouches for Buffavento not being in the power of Filangieri. As Amadi and Fl. Bustron do not mention Buffavento here, it seems that Novare or his copyist has made a slip.

<sup>4</sup> Also 'la court dessus la mer', which La Monte (p. 148, n. 6) takes to mean a court of their own for maritime cases which would normally be heard in the royal Cour de la Chaine. Cp. La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 235. For the text of the privilege, see references above, p. 85, n. 2.

privileges was not limited by time. Having obtained these momentous concessions, the Genoese re-embarked and sailed to Lemesos and so home.

The King and his forces stayed but a few days at Famagusta.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the Longobards on their retreat to Nicosia did all the destruction in their power in the Mesarea, firing the granges (which at this time were full of grain) and breaking the water-mills at Kythrea and even the hand-mills at Nicosia. The Cypriotes took this as a sign that the Longobards had no intention of holding the island, and they were encouraged thereby to hope that as soon as they met the enemy in the field, in spite of his greater numbers, they would defeat him.

They had not to wait long.<sup>2</sup> The King and the Lord of Beirut with their small force rode slowly to Nicosia, which they found deserted by the enemy; but they were able to obtain the provisions of which they had need, being very short of bread.<sup>3</sup> Suspecting that there might be a trap to catch his force in the city, where it was scattered about in various quarters, Ibelin withdrew his men outside the walls, and camped at Trakhona. The Longobards had moved out to the pass over the mountains to Kerynia, taking up a strong position from which they were in touch with Kerynia and also commanded the road to Dieuda-

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a week, at the most. Only two or three days, according to Novare. They probably left for Nicosia about 11 June (going slowly and reaching it on the 14th, the day before Agridi). Since the expedition had only sailed from Acre on 30 May, it can hardly have taken Famagusta before 2 June.

<sup>2</sup> The battle of Agridi: Novare, 187-90 (cxciv-cxxxii); Amadi, pp. 168-72; Fl. Bustron, pp. 94-7; *Eracles*, pp. 400-1; *Gestes*, 189-91 (from *Eracles*). I am greatly indebted to Wing-Commander T. O'B. Hubbard for taking the trouble to go over the ground and take photographs, using the Survey Department's map with contours on the scale of 2 in. to the mile. Sheet 12 (Kyrenia) of the 1 in. Visitors' Map is also useful here. The crest of the pass is close to the eleventh milestone from Nicosia, just to the east of which the modern road to St Hilarion branches off. The Longobard camp must have been on the high ground between this point and the house called Boghaz. 'The crest of the pass,' writes Mr Hubbard, 'looking down on Agridhi may be assumed to have been held by the first and second companies or troops which descended to meet the Cypriotes... Meanwhile Sir Balian and his friends apparently rode up the track that leads from Agridhi to the crest of the pass and attacked and drove back' (or at any rate checked) 'the remainder of the Longobards who were leaving the camp to assist the others.'

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 188 (cxcv): 'poi (*little*) y troverent de ce que besoiing lor fu; grant soufraite (*dearth*) y ot de pain' But from Amadi and Fl. Bustron it appears that they found in the city provisions of which they had great need, especially bread. It was the fact that provisions were left in the city that made Ibelin suspect a trap.

mour. That castle was hard pressed, having provisions left for only two days.

The old road from Nicosia to Kerynia must have followed more or less the same route as the modern. Leaving the village of Aghirda (Agridi) about three-quarters of a mile to the left, it enters the pass and turns sharply to the right, to run more or less west to east, with a little north, through the pass, until it turns north again and opens the view of Kerynia. About north-west of the first turn lies St Hilarion (Dieudamour), which could be reached by a steep mountain path going north from Agridi and over the ridge. It would seem that the Longobard forces were strung out along the west-east section of the road through the pass.

Ibelin moved out on 15 June.<sup>1</sup> His plan was to advance to a point just below the enemy position, between it and Agridi. From the latter he could send help at night to Dieudamour by the mountain path already mentioned. If the enemy came down to battle, well and good; if not he would camp at Agridi. To secure that place he left some fifty or sixty dismounted sergeants. His little mounted force moved on so as to come between Agridi and the enemy. It was so short of horses that few knights had more than one, so that they had to hang their armour on their own saddle-bows. He divided his force into four 'échelles' or troops. Normally, his eldest son, Sir Balian, should have commanded the vanguard; but he had been excommunicated for his marriage with Échive de Montbéliard, as being within the prohibited degrees, and his father refused to allow him to lead a troop unless he swore to obey the command of the Church. Balian declined and was ordered to the rear, but took matters into his own hands, and rode to the front with the handful of knights who still associated with him under excommunication. Hugh d'Ibelin and Anseau de Brie were in command of the first troop; Baldwin d'Ibelin of the second; John of Caesarea of the third; while the rear-guard was formed by the Old Lord, with his young nephew John d'Ibelin, his two other sons John and Guy, and the King.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The day is given by the *Gestes*: '...et ce fu après .v. semaines que l'affaire de Casal Ymbert avoit esté' (Novare, 189, cxxvi). 'Justo a le cinque settimane' (Amadi, p. 168). Six weeks would be more correct, if Casal Imbert was on 3 May (above, p. 115, n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> So Amadi: the *Gestes* says Hugh d'Ibelin commanded the first troop, Anseau de Brie the second, Baldwin d'Ibelin the third, John of Caesarea the fourth, the Old Lord the rear-guard.

The Longobards, from their higher position, looked down on Ibelin's poor little, miserably equipped force, and urged themselves on with cries to the attack. Seeing them come down from their strong position, Ibelin on his knees thanked God that the enemy did not refuse battle, for he felt sure of victory. The first troop of the Longobards was commanded by Count Walter of Manupello;<sup>1</sup> the second by Count Berard of Manupello.<sup>2</sup> Filangieri, himself, was in the rear, with Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan and Hugh de Giblest, and was apparently still in the pass when the engagement began on the lower ground, to which the first two troops descended. Count Walter's passed along the flank of Ibelin's force, attacking but failing to do much damage, and rode on to the rear past the fourth troop of Ibelin, who would not allow any of his men to ride back to pursue them: 'a knight should always ride forward'. Count Walter's troop did not return to the fray, but rode for Gastria.<sup>3</sup> Count Berard, on the other hand, attacked more fiercely the first troop under Hugh d'Ibelin and Anseau de Brie, but the second, under Baldwin d'Ibelin, supported it well. Anseau attacked Count Berard and pulled him from his horse, crying 'Kill, kill!' At this moment the sergeants on foot arrived from Agridi, and killed Berard and seventeen other knights who had dismounted to help him up. An immensely powerful knight, supposed to be a German, who seemed invincible, was also despatched by the foot-soldiers when his horse was killed under him. The helplessness of heavily armoured knights, when thrown from their horses, and attacked by foot-soldiers, was a feature of this battle. Ibelin's own knights, when dismounted, were helped up by his foot-soldiers. Of Ibelin's knights, only one, named Serge, was killed, and that by mistake, he being taken for a Longobard, because having been born in Italy he mispronounced the King's password *Vaillance* as *Baillance*. More than sixty Longobard knights were killed, and more than forty taken prisoner.

Filangieri and his division never emerged from the pass. For Sir Balian d'Ibelin, having given his advice to his brother Hugh and Anseau de Brie, rode on over very rough and rocky ground until he came level

<sup>1</sup> *Mounepeau*, Novare (Kohler's reading); *Manepian*, Amadi and Bustron. Walter de Paleria, Count of Manupello, vicar-general of the Empire (La Monte). Löher's attempt to make him a German is rightly dismissed by Müller (p. 50 n. \*\*).

<sup>2</sup> *Manope*, Novare; *Manepian*, Amadi and Bustron.

<sup>3</sup> According to Amadi, they turned first towards Agridi and then escaped to Gastria; possibly, finding Ibelin's men in Agridi, they would avoid it.

with Filangieri's division. There he and his few followers attacked, and though he was hard pressed, he performed such feats of arms and so harassed the enemy that they were unable to support their vanguard. Seeing him in such danger, those who were below with the King begged his father to go to his rescue, but the Old Lord refused: 'let him be; Our Lord will aid him, an it please him, and we will ride straight forward a great pace, for if we turn aside, we may lose all.'

Eventually<sup>1</sup> Filangieri fell back in great disorder, pursued by the Cypriotes pell-mell to the gates of Kerynia; the victors then returned to camp on the flank of the mountain. Dieudamour was relieved;<sup>2</sup> the investing force, unable to join the others in Kerynia, since Ibelin barred the way, fled to Blessia (Pletcha), in the plain south-west of Dieudamour, and thence towards Nicosia. Philip de Novare, who had been sent back to Nicosia, met them with what force he could collect and, surprising them by night, captured three hundred or more sergeants, others escaping in the darkness to churches or monasteries. Among the prisoners were three masters of sergeants who had deserted before Giblet (p. 112). These were punished for their treachery by loss of limbs; Philip says he would have liked to hang them, but he had not the leisure, having but few men and too many prisoners.<sup>3</sup>

Count Walter of Manupello and his men reached Gastria,<sup>4</sup> but the Templars, who remembered the recent sacking of their house in Nicosia, refused to admit them to the castle. They hid in the fosse, where they were captured by John d'Ibelin the Younger and a company of knights, taken to Nicosia, and imprisoned under the charge of Philip de Novare. Of his hundred and forty-five prisoners many died of their wounds.

Kerynia withstood the siege<sup>5</sup> which Ibelin now laid to it for some ten

<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 191.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 195 (cxxxiii, cxxxiv); Amadi, p. 172; Fl. Bustron, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 195 (cxxxiv): 'si les fist tous desmembrer, et volentiers les eüst fait pendre, mais il n'en ot loisir, car il avoit poi de maisnee et trop de prisons'. Amadi, p. 173. Fl. Bustron, p. 98, omits the statement about his desire to hang them. Mutilation by cutting off hands or feet was a punishment to which offending bourgeois were liable: *Assises*, II, p. 574; s.v. Peines; M.L., H. I, p. 291. It is not clear why Philip's lack of men should have made this punishment easier to inflict than hanging.

<sup>4</sup> Novare, 196 (cxxxv); Amadi, p. 173; Fl. Bustron, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Siege of Kerynia: Novare, 197-202 (cxxxvi-cxlv), 209 (clvi, clvii); Amadi, pp. 173-8, 182; Fl. Bustron, pp. 99-101, 104-5; *Eracles*, pp. 401-2. *Gestes*, 192-4 (from *Eracles*; see Kohler, *Philippe de Novare*, p. 122). On the plan of the castle in the 13th century, see Jeffery's conjectures in *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, no. 5, pp. 25ff.

months. He had at first no ships, and was unable to blockade the port; on the other hand, the Longobards were well supplied with ships, for which Filangieri sent from Paphos, so that provisions could be brought from Tyre. He put in command Philip Chenart, who, it will be remembered (p. 106), had succeeded Gauvain de Chenichy at Kantara, but must have escaped when that fortress was given up to the King.<sup>1</sup> Walter of Acquaviva, in command of fifty knights, some thousand foot-soldiers (arbalesters and sailors), and a number of good engineers completed the garrison. Filangieri himself went to Armenia to seek reinforcements—a fruitless errand, for King Hayton gave him nothing but fair words, and many of his party died of disease during his stay in the country. Messengers to Antioch and Tripoli were no more successful. Considering it unwise to shut up too many mouths in the fortress, Filangieri, with Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan and Hugh de Giblest left Kerynia and returned to Tyre. Thence he either went himself, or sent the other three, to the Emperor for aid.<sup>2</sup>

Kerynia was gallantly defended by the Longobards, in spite of the fact that the provisioning of the fortress from Tyre was stopped as soon as Ibelin was able to enlist the services of the Genoese. First four, then nine Genoese galleys arrived at Lemesos, and were at once snapped up by Ibelin for the King's service. Kerynia was then blockaded by sea as well as by land, and its reduction was only a matter of time, for the Emperor was unable or disinclined to spare a military force for its relief, and his efforts at diplomatic action, as we shall see, were ineffectual.

With the defenders of the fortress was the young Queen Alice of Montferrat, whom Henry had received in marriage in May 1229 from the Emperor (p. 101). Her sympathies were, it was said, on the side of

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<sup>1</sup> On Philip Chenart or Chinard, see E. Bertaux, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1897, pp. 437-40, and more especially in *Revue historique*, 1904, pp. 233-51.

<sup>2</sup> The texts are discordant, and any attempt to reconcile them without drastic emendation seems hopeless. Amadi and Fl. Bustron certainly understood that Filangieri remained in Tyre, and Kohler emends the text of the *Gestes* accordingly. See La Monte, *Nov.* p. 156, n. 4. It is true that nothing is heard definitely of Filangieri in Syria for some little time (the texts unfortunately do not name the Bailie of Tyre whom they mention just before the surrender of Kerynia); but he would keep quiet after his failure at Agridi, and nothing is heard of him in the West either. Most modern writers assume that he went to Frederick with Barlais and Bethsan, leaving Hugh de Giblest at Tyre.



Frederick, so that she was known as the Longobard Queen. Possibly, therefore, neither she nor Henry suffered greatly from their separation, which must have been complete from the day when the King came into the hands of Ibelin by the surrender of Dieudamour in April or May 1230.<sup>1</sup> During the siege, she fell sick and died. The besieged sent a parliamentary to inform the King, and, a truce being arranged, delivered to him the body, dressed as became a queen. It was carried, with due mourning ceremony, on the shoulders of the knights on foot to Nicosia, and buried by Archbishop Eustorge in the cathedral.

Now that the Ibelin party was definitely in power, it was thought necessary to register formally the condemnation of the Imperialist barons. In the Haute Cour, the King accused Aimery Barlais, Amaury de Bethsan, Hugh de Giblest, Philip Chenart, and a number of others, indeed all his liegemen who had followed them, of treason. The court declared them disinherited, and forfeit in their lives and property; their fiefs were granted to supporters of the King.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, at Kerynia, the usual siege-engines of the time—stone-throwers, mangonels, trebuchets, and two great wooden towers which were drawn over the fosse—were employed by the besiegers. A captain of sergeants of the latter, Martin Rousseau, entered into relations with the besieged, undertaking to inform them of the most favourable occasion to attack the besiegers; but intelligence of his dealings reached them from within the castle, and he and an accomplice were arrested, tried and executed, his body being thrown by a trebuchet against the castle wall.<sup>3</sup> A serious loss befell the besiegers when Anseau de Brie was wounded in the thigh by a quarrel from an arbalest. He pulled out the shaft, saying nothing until he had finished the task of manœuvring an engine, on which he was engaged; only then was it discovered that he was wounded, and he was carried to his quarters fainting from loss of blood. Unfortunately the iron had broken off and had remained in the wound. Carried to Nicosia, he lingered for over six months, the iron not being discovered until three days before his death. By that time the castle had surrendered. Thus died one of the fiercest champions of the

<sup>1</sup> By the terms of the surrender the King and his sisters were handed over, but nothing is said of the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> On the legal aspect of the case, La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 279. The leaders of this faction now disappear from the history of Cyprus. For what is known of their subsequent careers, see La Monte, *Nov.* p. 157, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* pp. 279–80.

barons' cause, whose impetuosity had gained for him from the Old Lord the nick-name of 'his red lion'.<sup>1</sup>

The sons of the Old Lord were also severely wounded on another occasion, but escaped with their lives. Their father reproached himself with allowing a breach of the 'assize', made by Amaury I at the siege of Belbeis in Egypt in 1168, which provided that a knight should not owe or render service in an attack on a town or castle or in any place where his horse could not carry him, unless he were besieged or defending his body.<sup>2</sup>

The siege, which was costing the besiegers large sums in payment to the *sergents d'armes* and the crews of the Genoese ships—sums which had to be raised by levies on the barons' dependents—was not yet over when news came which caused the Lord of Beirut to go hurriedly to Syria.<sup>3</sup> The Emperor, recognizing that Filangieri's arbitrary methods had failed in their object, and that his entanglements in Italy made further military intervention difficult,<sup>4</sup> now tried the effect of negotiation. He sent out the Bishop of Sidon with the proposal that a local knight, Philip de Maugastel, should be Bailie at Acre, Filangieri retaining his position at Tyre. Philip was said by those who did not like the proposal to be a person of effeminate habits and very intimate with Filangieri; the latter may have been Frederick's reason for choosing him. The moderates, Balian of Sidon and Eudes de Montbéliard, accepted the arrangement, and the parties concerned were about to swear to it, when John of Caesarea, who happened to be in Syria—the rest of the leaders of the Ibelin party were at the siege of Kerynia—and had come to Acre on hearing of it, arrived at the church of Holy Cross, where the ceremony

<sup>1</sup> The *Gestes* has *rouge lion*; and it seems certain that this is an allusion to Anseau's coat of arms, which must have been a red lion, probably on a field of gold, to judge by the coats borne by various branches of the family in France. But Amadi and Bustron give *rugiente* for *rouge*, being perhaps more familiar with the Vulgate (Ps. xxi. 14) than with French heraldry.

<sup>2</sup> Schlumberger, *Campagnes du Roi Amaury Ier de Jérusalem* (1906), pp. 192–3; La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 99, and *Nov.* p. 162, n. 1. Though this assize was probably made merely for the occasion, and not permanent, the Lord of Beirut felt bound by it, because it was an accident to one of his own house that caused it to be made.

<sup>3</sup> Novare, 205–8 (cxlvi–clv); Amadi, pp. 178–82; Fl. Bustron, pp. 101–4; *Assises*, II, p. 399 (John d'Ibelin, tr. by La Monte, *Nov.* p. 164, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> He had begun to collect troops for the purpose at Brindisi as early as July, but disbanded them in August: Rycc. de S. Germano, *M.G.H. Scr.* XIX, p. 369.

was to take place. Speaking for the liegemen, he protested that the appointment of Maugastel was illegal, since it meant that the Emperor was cancelling by his written order an appointment which had been made with the consent of the Haute Cour. The dispute waxed hot and John ordered the tocsin of the Commune of Acre to be rung, and the Brotherhood of St Andrew ran to arms, shouting 'Kill, kill'. John had to protect the Bishop and Balian of Sidon and Eudes de Montbéliard from the mob. He sent a message to the Lord of Beirut, who came to Acre and renewed the oaths of the members of the Commune, of which he was re-elected mayor. The Bishop of Sidon sought and was granted an interview, and showed the Emperor's letters, which professed repentance and promised amendment; only, to save the Emperor's honour, it was suggested that Ibelin should go to some place where it seemed that the Emperor had power, and should say simply 'I put myself at the mercy of the Emperor, as my lord'. The Lord of Beirut replied, characteristically, by reciting at length the fable of the stag and the sick lion, to signify that he had twice put himself in the Emperor's power, and refused to do so a third time. Frederick's attempt at conciliatory methods had failed, and Ibelin returned to Kerynia, leaving John of Caesarea in his place at Acre.

The garrison of Kerynia, after a resistance of some ten months,<sup>1</sup> began to talk of peace, which was negotiated by Philip de Novare and Arneis de Giblet. The castle, with all the arms and provisions in it, was surrendered; the garrison, with their personal belongings, were transported to Tyre; and an exchange was made of the prisoners taken by the besiegers, against those whom Filangieri had captured at Casal Imbert and was keeping at Tyre.

Thus peace and deliverance from the Imperial yoke came to Cyprus, though in Syria it was another ten years before the 'nest of evil', as Novare calls it, was destroyed.

The campaign of Agridi and the long siege of Kerynia had been costly, and before the end the King's treasury was completely exhausted. Vassals who held land fiefs had not only given the personal service to which they were bound, but had sacrificed much more. Payments due to those who had no fiefs in land, but were rewarded for their services in money, were greatly in arrear—some had not been paid

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<sup>1</sup> Novare and Amadi say more than a year. But the siege began in the middle of June 1232, and *Eracles* (p. 402) says the surrender was after Easter (3 April 1233).

since the time of the regency of the Queen-mother.<sup>1</sup> Their case was laid before a full session of the Haute Cour, being presented by a knight, William Reimont. It was pointed out to them, however, by the Old Lord of Beirut and other pleaders, that the requisite formalities had not been observed,<sup>2</sup> and so convinced were the plaintiffs that they knelt before the King,<sup>3</sup> begged that he would bear them no ill-will for the step which they had taken, and retired satisfied with the explanations that had been given them. The incident illustrates the excellent relations between the King and his vassals.

Although the island enjoyed peace, the knights showed themselves ready to take part in military operations on the mainland. Thus in 1233 the Old Lord of Beirut, his nephew John of Caesarea, and Count Walter IV de Brienne—who had this same year married the King's elder sister Mary, and held fiefs in Cyprus—led a force of a hundred knights, with their esquires and sergeants, on an expedition of the Hospitallers against the Prince of Hama (Epiphania on the Orontes), who had defaulted in payment of tribute which he owed to the Hospital.<sup>4</sup> Montferrand was attacked, and the country ravaged, but al-Malik al-Kamil, Sultan of Egypt, and his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf, uncles of the Prince, who were on an expedition in the north, and were preparing to attack the Sultan of Iconium, with whom they feared the Hospitallers might make alliance, arranged a composition and peace was made. A dispute seems to have arisen between the Cypriotes and the Hospitallers, but was settled by the Lord of Beirut.

At the end of 1233 the relations of the Kingdom with the Genoese were further consolidated by a treaty, concluded by the Haute Cour at

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<sup>1</sup> 'Le rei Henri esteit povre et avet moult despendu au siege de Cherines, et devoit à ses homes qui ont les assises et à ceaus qui ont les esteveirs; et l'om li queret moult de detes dou tens de sa mere'. Philip de Novare, as below.

<sup>2</sup> *Assises*, I, pp. 510-16 (Philip de Novare, on the proper procedure in the case of 'conjuremens que les homes font as seigneurs'); cp. pp. 381-4 (John d'Ibelin II); *M.L., H.* I, pp. 303-4. Among the speakers on the King's side was Raymond de Conches, who was admitted to the deliberations of the Haute Cour, although he was a foreigner, being a citizen of Montpellier and its representative in Cyprus (it was he who obtained the privileges for Montpellier in 1236; Heyd, I, p. 364).

<sup>3</sup> This was the proper procedure for men who had 'conjured or distrained' their lord otherwise than they ought: *Assises*, I, p. 382.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 403-5; Amadi, p. 182; *Gestes*, 211; *D.L.R., Hosp. T.S.* pp. 171-2.

Nicosia on 2 December.<sup>1</sup> The Genoese were represented by a delegate sent by the Genoese consuls and viscounts in Syria; indeed there is no documentary evidence earlier than 1292 of the head of the Genoese colony residing in Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> The consulate granted in the privilege of the preceding year (p. 118) had not yet been established. The treaty was one of mutual defence of persons and property in both Kingdoms, and was for five years.

We have seen that Frederick's effort at conciliation by the mission of the Bishop of Sidon had failed to move Ibelin and his party. The next attempt,<sup>3</sup> made by the Pope, who was once more for the time on friendly terms with the Emperor, also failed but led indirectly to an understanding which was of some significance. The somewhat complicated history of the negotiations cannot be given in detail here. A first agreement with the moderates, approved by Frederick and by the Pope in 1234, and an attempt to destroy the Commune of Acre made by the Bishop Theodoric of Ravenna, who was sent to Acre to ratify the peace, were without effect on Ibelin and his party. Two envoys sent by the Haute Cour of Acre to Rome concluded in February 1236 another agreement, which was violently repudiated when they returned to report it. One of its terms was an amnesty from which the Lord of Beirut and his sons and nephews were specifically excluded; so that its rejection is not surprising. Acre now decided to send another envoy, who should represent both the Kingdom of Jerusalem and that of Cyprus. Geoffrey le Tor, who had been born in Syria, but lived in Cyprus, where he held a great fief from the King, was chosen for the purpose.<sup>4</sup> Sailing in a Genoese ship to Genoa, Geoffrey found the Pope

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* I, pp. 302-3; II, pp. 56-8; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1049; E. G. Byrne, 'Genoese Colonies in Syria' in *Essays pres. to D. C. Munro, Crusades, etc.* (1928), p. 177. The Genoese delegate was Castellanus de Savignano (M.L. prints *Savignono*). This treaty confirmed one which had been made on 24 Oct. preceding. Included in it was an understanding by the barons not to enter into alliance with the Pisans without the consent of the Genoese. Heyd, I, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, I, p. 363.

<sup>3</sup> For these negotiations see M.L., *H.* I, pp. 308-11; Röhricht, pp. 831-3; La Monte, *Nov.* pp. 49-50, 168, n. 3; Grousset, III, pp. 355-7. Gregory's letter ordering the Lord of Beirut to return to obedience to the Emperor, in M.L., *H.* III, p. 640 (7 Aug. 1234); Potthast, no. 9503; Huillard-Bréholles, IV, II, 943; *Reg. de Grég.* IX, no. 2045.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey had previously represented the Haute Cour on an embassy to Frederick in 1230. He was afterwards Chamberlain of Cyprus. Distinguished as a jurist, he was probably the author of the book which bears his name. See *Assises*, I, p. 435, n. a.

at Viterbo in 1237. His mission was very successful, the Pope having by this time cooled again in his friendship with the Emperor. Gregory at once rescinded the terms previously imposed, and promised the barons the support of the Church against the Emperor. Letters recommending that the two Kingdoms should be as one—*que li dui roiaume fussent une meisme chose*<sup>1</sup>—were given to Geoffrey to carry back with him; and the three religious Orders, the Commune of Acre, the Podestà and Commune of Genoa, all received the same injunctions. The Pope wished eventually to see the two Kingdoms united under the same King, but for the present Conrad was still the King of Jerusalem.

During these negotiations, a heavy blow had been suffered by the barons in the death of the Old Lord of Beirut.<sup>2</sup> Injured by his horse falling on him, he set all his affairs in order, leaving the succession in his lordship to his eldest son Balian. Then (much against the wishes of his sons) he became a Brother of the Temple, and had himself carried to Acre, where he died, not later than March 1236.

The noble nature of this remarkable representative of feudalism at its best has sufficiently emerged from the preceding recital of the Longobard war. Had there been any notable flaws in his character, they would certainly have found expression from his enemies, even though they could not command the pen of a Philip de Novare. But there is nothing to indicate that Philip's portrait of the man is unduly flattering.<sup>3</sup> No finer example of Christian chivalry, not excepting St Louis, ever played a part in the history of the Crusades. In nearly all respects he was ethically far in advance of his time; but that he belonged to it, is shown by his part in the arrangements for the marriage of his niece (above, p. 75).

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 407. Sanudo, p. 215: 'ut duo illa regna, Ierusalem et Cypri, idem saperent et mutuo se foverent'.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 212 (clviii, clix); Amadi, pp. 183-4; Fl. Bustron, p. 105; *Ann. de Terre Sainte*, p. 439. In his letter of 21 Feb. 1236 to Frederick, announcing the abortive agreement between the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Hermann of Salza, acting for the Emperor and Conrad, and the representatives of Acre, Henry of Nazareth and Philip of Troyes, John d'Ibelin is spoken of as still alive (Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1070). King Henry's privilege to Marseilles, of March 1236, is witnessed by Balian d'Ibelin as Lord of Beirut and Constable of Cyprus (*ibid.* no. 1071).

<sup>3</sup> From the fact that Novare, as we shall see, records certain reprehensible actions of men of his party after the death of the Old Lord, without a blush or any indication of disapproval, we may be sure that he has not passed over any undesirable features in his hero's character.

Balian d'Ibelin, as Constable of Cyprus, took his father's place in the counsels of King Henry. He appears as first witness to a charter granted in March 1236<sup>1</sup> to the citizens of Marseilles and Montpellier and other places in Provence, giving them privileges in the Cyprus trade and regulating the tariffs for their commerce between the West and the Levant. It has been observed that in this charter special mention is made, among the countries from which imports might be made into Cyprus, of the territory of the Sultan of Iconium. That included the whole of Asia Minor except the territories of the Empires of Nicaea and Trebizond in the north, and Little Armenia in the south-east. Close relations between Armenia and Cyprus were of great importance to both Kingdoms. It is quite possible that, had Cyprus not been occupied by the Lusignans, it would have fallen into the hands of Armenia.<sup>2</sup> But, as it happened, it was essential for both Kingdoms to be on good terms with each other. It is significant that in 1237 or 1238 the good relations between them were cemented by the marriage of Stephanie, sister of Hayton, King of Armenia, to Henry of Cyprus, whose first wife, Alice of Montferrat, it will be remembered, had died in Kerynia during the siege.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 129, n. 2. M.L., *H.* I, p. 315; L. Méry et F. Guindon, *Hist....des actes &c....de Marseille*, I (1841), pp. 419–20; Heyd, I, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Iorga, *Brève Hist. de la Petite Arménie* (1930), p. 26. It may be noted in passing that about this time hostilities between Armenia and Antioch quieted down. The Templars, after two of their number had been flayed alive by Hayton I and his father Constantine, the Constable of Armenia, prepared an expedition with Bohemund V, who had the murder of his brother Philip to avenge. But they were bought off separately, and Bohemund had to abandon his plan. In 1237 Gregory IX prohibited the Orders, Bohemund and Henry I of Cyprus from hostile action against Armenia. But it was not until St Louis intervened in 1250 that Bohemund was reconciled to Hayton: Grousset, III, p. 364; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 652.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 408; Sanudo, p. 215 (1238); M.L., *H.* II, p. 61, n. 1, would put the marriage in 1237, because of a letter of 17 Nov. 1237 addressed by the Pope *regi et reginae Cypri*, and the Queen-mother Alice can hardly have been concerned with the affairs of Cyprus any longer. Although that lady was never inclined to renounce any of her rights, it is improbable that the Pope would have recognized her at this time as having any concern with Cyprus. The marriage of Stephanie is mentioned in an inscription on the monastery of St Saviour in Armenia: the Regent Constantine had three daughters '...he married Stephanie with the King of Cyprus, and the third with the bailie of Cyprus who was governor of Beirut and Joppa' (Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 77). Stephanie was also known as Emmeline, as appears from a letter addressed on 6 Feb. 1248 by Sempad 'a tres haut et puissant homme Henry...roy de Chipre et a sa chiere suer Emmeline la royne, et a noble homme Jehan de Hibelin son frere' (V. Kurkdjian, *Armenian Cilicia*, New York, 1919, p. 24 note). I owe the reference to Dr Utidjian.

An earlier marriage alliance between the two Kingdoms had been made in 1210 when Leo married Aimery's daughter Sibyl (p. 76).

The truce which Frederick II had made with al-Malik al-Kamil expired in 1239. In the two Crusades which followed, under Thibaut IV, Count of Champagne and King of Navarre, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Cyprus was hardly concerned. But among the French knights who followed the King of Navarre was Ralph, Lord of Cœuvres, younger brother of the Count of Soissons. Alice of Champagne, the Queen-mother of Cyprus, whose marriage with Bohemund (V) of Antioch had been dissolved about 1228, was now in the marriage-market again. She had gone to France at the end of 1232 or beginning of 1233 to deal with the question of her claim to the county of Champagne, and returned (having renounced all her rights to Champagne and Brie, inherited through her father) at the end of 1234 or beginning of 1235.<sup>1</sup> When the King of Navarre, on 24 September 1240, re-embarked for France, Ralph stayed behind at Acre. He was encouraged to do so by Philip de Montfort, who also had come with the King of Navarre, and was a cousin-german and supporter of the Ibelins.<sup>2</sup> Philip suggested to Ralph, with the approval of the Ibelins, that he might marry Alice, and thus acquire her rights to the regency or perhaps even the crown of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Her consent was given, and they were married in 1241.<sup>3</sup> Ralph was soon to find that he was intended to serve merely as the tool of the Ibelins.

Filangieri was still in possession of Tyre, the only place still remaining in Imperialist hands. He had not given up hope of retrieving the position, and took advantage of the dispersal to their various fiefs

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<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 203, 210; Machaeras, 41 (1232, 1235); Amadi, p. 183. *Ann. de Terre Sainte*, p. 439, say she went in 1232 and returned in 1235. M.L., *H.* I, pp. 306-7; II, pp. 40-2; Röhrich, p. 854 (where Heinrich is a mistake for Bohemund V); Grousset, III, p. 402. The *Ann. Ianienses* record that Alice went to Genoa in 1232, and left in Jan. 1233; and a document of 3 Jan. 1233 reveals that the Marquess George of Ceva had been bribed by the Count of Champagne to hinder her passage through his territory and if necessary imprison her (*Annali Gen. di Caffaro*, etc., ed. Belgrano ed Imperiale, III, p. 66, n. 3). On the question of her claim to Champagne, which does not concern this history directly, see M.L., *H.* I, pp. 220-4, 305-8.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 221 (clx); Amadi, p. 186. Philip himself married in 1240 Mary of Antioch-Tripoli, known as the lady of Toron.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. de Terre Sainte* (p. 440) date the marriage in 1239. The same date is given by Machaeras (41) and by Strambaldi (p. 18). Strambaldi says that the marriage took place in Cyprus.



of the Ibelins, who considered him to be immobilized. Balian was in Beirut, John at Arsur, the other Ibelins in Cyprus, Eudes de Montbéliard at Caesarea. Of the party only Philip de Montfort was in Acre. Filangieri took advantage of the enmity between the Templars and the Hospitallers, and with the complicity of the latter contrived to detach two of the leading bourgeois of Acre from the cause of the Commune. He actually entered Acre secretly to make the final arrangements to seize the city. But Philip de Montfort learned of the plot, rallied the anti-Imperial Genoese and Venetians, arrested the two bourgeois, and sent for Balian from Beirut. Filangieri fled back to Tyre, narrowly escaping meeting Balian, who reached Acre with a large force. Siege was laid to the Hospital, in which the plot had been hatched, but after it had lasted six months Balian accepted the assurance of the Grand Master that he had known nothing of the affair, and peace was made in April 1242.<sup>1</sup> Filangieri had failed again, and for the last time. Frederick, wearying of his incompetence, called him back to Italy, and he departed, taking with him his brother Henry, his nephew John of Sorrento and their wives and children and households, but leaving his brother Lotario in command at Tyre, pending the arrival of his successor.<sup>2</sup>

The question of the crown of Jerusalem arose definitely in 1243.<sup>3</sup> Conrad came of age, according to the custom of the Kingdom, when he reached his fifteenth year on 25 April. By the same custom, his father Frederick ceased to be Regent. A message was immediately despatched in Conrad's name to his lieges in Syria, demanding that they should do homage to him as King of Jerusalem, and should obey whoever should be delegated by him to govern the Kingdom in his name.

<sup>1</sup> Filangieri's attempt on Acre: Novare, 221-3 (clx-clxvii); Amadi, pp. 187-9; Rycc. de S. Germano (*M.G.H. Scr.* xix, p. 382) dates the 'rebellion of Acre against the Emperor' in Oct. 1241; if it lasted, as Novare says, six months, it must have ended about April 1242. The *Annales de Terre Sainte* apparently misdate the siege in 1243 (p. 441). La Monte, *Nov.* p. 172, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 224 (clxviii); Amadi, p. 192; *Eracles*, p. 422. Novare says that the Emperor made Lotario Marshal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; probably in error (La Monte, *Nov.* p. 174, n. 2). Amadi and *Eracles* record the departure of Filangieri after the election of Alice to the seignory of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

<sup>3</sup> Election of Alice and capture of Tyre: Novare, 224-9 (clxviii-clxxxix). Report of the Venetian bailie in Syria, Marsiglio Georgio: Tafel u. Thomas, *Urkunden zur ält. Handels- u. Staatsgesch. der Rep. Venedig*, Abt. II, Bd. 13 (1856), pp. 354-7; transl. in La Monte, *Nov.* pp. 205-7; *Assises*, II, pp. 399-400 (Ibelin): tr. in La Monte, *Nov.* pp. 207-9; Amadi, pp. 189-96; Fl. Bustron, p. 106; *Eracles*, pp. 420, 422.

There were many in Tyre who disliked the Longobard rule. The Venetian Bailie, Marsiglio Georgio, found that Filangieri had robbed the Commune of Venice of the revenues belonging to it,<sup>1</sup> and rudely rebuffed him when he asked for an explanation. He entered into negotiations with Philip de Montfort. The Genoese Commune, for once, supported the Venetians. Four prominent Venetians and Genoese approached Balian d'Ibelin, offering to surrender Tyre to him, and their oath of allegiance was accepted. Philip de Novare,<sup>2</sup> however, pointed out that before attacking Tyre they should establish their legal position in accordance with the custom of the Kingdom. Since Conrad did not show himself in person in Syria, as was by the law required before he could be received as King, the next lawful heir apparent was Queen Alice. She should therefore come before the Haute Cour and demand the Kingdom; once the court had granted her claim,<sup>3</sup> it could be legally demanded that Tyre should be given up to her. Philip de Novare was entrusted with the negotiations with Queen Alice and her husband Ralph de Soissons, who readily agreed. On 5 June 1243 a full meeting<sup>4</sup> of all the vassals of the crown of Jerusalem and also of Cyprus was summoned; it was attended by representatives of the Venetians, Genoese, Pisans and all the military Orders. The claim of Alice, not to the crown, but to the regency, until such time as Conrad should appear in person in Syria, was discussed. The Constable Eudes de Montbéliard<sup>5</sup> thought that before any other action was taken Conrad should first be informed

<sup>1</sup> By the capitulation of Tyre (1124) Venice had acquired a third of the city and large territorial concessions. Dudan (B.), *Il dominio Veneziano di Levante* (1938), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Since Philip, in reporting his advice to Balian, says 'I give you to know that King Conrad is of age', the view that these discussions took place before he came of age (M.L., *H.* 1, p. 324), and that it was decided to await that event before taking action, must be rejected.

<sup>3</sup> Marsiglio Georgio says that she should make her demand to the Archbishop of Tyre, who was the vicar of the Patriarch, and from all the other prelates of the Kingdom. But from what he goes on to say, it was the Haute Cour as a whole that had the decision.—On the whole question of this decision, see La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* pp. 71–2.

<sup>4</sup> In the house of the Patriarch at Acre, whose vicar, according to Marsiglio Georgio, was the Archbishop of Tyre (Peter II); whereas John d'Ibelin of Jaffa says (*Assises*, II, p. 399) that Eustorge of Nicosia was the vicar of the Patriarch, and that it was in his presence that the assembly took place.

<sup>5</sup> After the death of Balian of Sidon, Eudes remained alone 'sur le fait de la seignorie' (*Assises*, II, p. 399). Then, after Conrad came of age, the Haute Cour elected Eudes to the seignory.

that, if he did not come, his aunt Alice would be received; but he was overruled, and homage was done to the Queen as Lady of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> and to her husband. All the acts of the Emperor contrary to the *Assises* of the Kingdom were rescinded.

The action of the barons had the show of legality. But there is little doubt that if Conrad had appeared on the scene they would have resisted him. For among the secret articles of the agreement with Alice was one, that the Lord of Beirut and Philip de Montfort should occupy all the fortresses in order that, if King Conrad should come, 'they should be able to do to him what they ought'.<sup>2</sup> This secret is openly betrayed by Novare, who helped to draw up the agreement; and it is a sign of the moral deterioration of the barons which had set in when the controlling influence of the Old Lord of Beirut was removed. Other signs of degeneration were to follow, as in the treatment of Ralph de Soissons.

The fall of Tyre followed quickly.<sup>3</sup> The Venetian Bailie gave his assistance, providing a galley for the Queen at his own expense, but bargaining for the restitution of all that the Venetians had had taken from them by Filangieri. The army started from Acre on 9 July, and had taken the city of Tyre in three days; Lotario Filangieri held out in the castle until the 28th.<sup>4</sup> An accident hastened the surrender. Richard Filangieri's ship had been nearly lost off the coast of Barbary, and he had been forced to return in a small carrack, coasting along to Syria. Unaware of the loss of the city, and arriving at night, he lay alongside Philip de Novare's ship, and was taken with all his company. Balian d'Ibelin, to whose tender mercies the prisoners were handed over, put Richard in chains, thus avenging the treatment he himself had suffered at Lemesos. Then a message was sent to Lotario that unless he surrendered his brother and nephew should be hanged before his eyes.

<sup>1</sup> Not as Queen of Jerusalem, as is stated in *Ann. de Terre Sainte*, pp. 440-1.

<sup>2</sup> Novare, 225 (clxxiii); Amadi, p. 190. Novare's part in the whole business was well rewarded by the Queen, who, he tells us, gave him a fief of 1000 besants saracen a year, and paid all his debts, which amounted to 1000 marks of silver: Novare, 227 (clxxvii); Amadi, p. 191. There was, of course, in contemporary eyes, nothing improper in such a transaction.

<sup>3</sup> On the date, see La Monte, *Nov.* p. 184, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Marsiglio Georgio says they started from Acre on 9 July; after reaching Tyre, took the city at the end of three days; and the citadel at the end of the 28th day. This may mean the 28th day of the month, or the 28th day after the capture of the city, which would bring us to about 10 August.

Lotario at first refused, but when he saw them with the halters round their necks, he gave way. Philip de Novare as usual negotiated the surrender; Richard and his company and other prisoners were released, the garrison given a safe conduct, and the mercenaries who had served in the castle received their arrears of pay and indemnity for losses.<sup>1</sup> The Longobard War was over.

It was now that Ralph de Soissons, and for that matter the Queen Alice, saw that they had been used merely to pull the chestnuts out of the fire.<sup>2</sup> When they laid claim to Tyre, as representatives of King Conrad, they were told that it could not be handed over until it was agreed who was the proper person to hold it.<sup>3</sup> Ralph realized that he was a mere shadow; the sole object of his speculative marriage to Alice had been snatched out of his hands. In disgust he left her and returned to France.<sup>4</sup> Tyre was given in charge for the time to the Lord of Beirut,<sup>5</sup> and eventually passed to Philip de Montfort, for whom it most conveniently joined on to his inland territory of Toron. The Venetians were also cheated of the share in the spoil for which they had bargained.<sup>6</sup>

After the extirpation of the Longobards from Syria, that land came to concern Cyprus less and less directly, and the destiny of the island kingdom was from now on, in spite of the union of the two crowns which came later, to be almost independent of events on the mainland. Owing to the defenceless state of Jerusalem, Acre had already for years been in all but name the capital of the Franks in Palestine. For the remaining years of the occupation, neither the distant nominal Kings of Jerusalem, nor the French and Italian settlers in the land, took any real interest in the Holy City. The stimulus, religious or moral, necessary for effective measures against the Saracens, could not be supplied by the republican regime in Acre. The barons in their fiefs, the military Orders in their fortresses, forgot, in the stress of their local jealousies, the object

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<sup>1</sup> Richard, his brother Henry and his nephew John, went to Italy, where Frederick imprisoned them for a time. Lotario, wiser, fled to Antioch, where he was well received by Bohemund V and married a rich wife.

<sup>2</sup> *Gestes*, 232; *Eracles*, pp. 420, 423; *Assises*, II, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> The reply was legally correct, since in the case of a regency fortresses were held by the barons, not by the Regent: *Assises*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Later he returned, and was with St Louis at Caesarea in 1251.

<sup>5</sup> *Assises*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Röhricht, p. 859; Marsiglio Georgio, as above, p. 357. It was not until 1277 that this grievance was removed, and the Venetians received the third part of the city and banlieue of Tyre for which they had bargained: M.L., H. I, p. 460.

which had inspired those foundations; nor had the Italian merchants ever been interested in it. Frederick was indeed blameworthy for his cynical desertion of his post; and it is impossible not to sympathize with the splendid resistance which the barons opposed to his arrogant demands. Their jurists knocked the bottom out of any attempt by him or his bailies to justify his illegalities. It would not be fair to say that the barons put nothing in the place of what they destroyed, for in Cyprus they established firmly the only bulwark of Christendom east of Rhodes which was to survive into the sixteenth century, although it is true that after the experience of Louis IX it fell somewhat out of favour as a jumping-off place for a Crusade, and became 'a rampart rather than a catapult'.<sup>1</sup> But in Syria the knights put nothing in the place of the shadow kingdom. Magnificent fighters as they were when their own feudal rights were attacked, yet, while the forces of Islam were gathering round to crush out their life, they preferred to dispute about the quilllets of the law. 'Philip de Novare certainly never thought that, as a subtle *plaidior* in feudal law and a devoted partisan of the Ibelins, he was working in a double way to bring about the ruin of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.... One gets no idea, when reading the history of the war between the Emperor Frederick and Sir John d'Ibelin, that these dissensions are taking place between Christians, who are shut in on all sides by the Mussulmans, and whose one care should be, it would seem, to unite in defending themselves against their enemies.'<sup>2</sup>

Nor, it may be added, reading Philip's joyous chronicle, does one find it easy to remember that, behind the glitter and rattle of the exciting events that he describes, there was brooding all the time an oppressed and poverty-stricken people, in whose fate he and his fellow Franks seem not to have taken the slightest interest. So, too, the few chapters in the greatest of the law-books of Cyprus, by John d'Ibelin, which deal with the relations between seigneurs and serfs, do so entirely from the point of view of the interests of the former. 'There is not a word about enfranchisement, not a word from which one might infer that Ibelin saw in the serfs anything but instruments of labour.'<sup>3</sup> The modern

<sup>1</sup> (The phrase is borrowed from F. Charles-Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient* (1939), p. 9, speaking of the Greek Empire.) This is generally true, although a number of the propagandists who produced plans for a Crusade, from James de Molay (1307) onwards, recommended a temporary landing in Cyprus (Atiya, pp. 56, 59, 63).

<sup>2</sup> Gaston Paris, in *Rev. Or. lat.* ix (1902), p. 195, quoted by Grousset, III, p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> Beugnot, Introduction to the *Assises*, p. lxi.

historian of such vast subjects as the career of Frederick II or the Crusades cannot be expected to deal with so small a matter; but not all those who have concerned themselves specially with the history of Frankish Cyprus have cared to try and penetrate below its surface.

It is, in the circumstances, only in the troubles which beset the rulers of Islam for their part, that we find any explanation of the fact that the Christian settlements in Syria-Palestine survived for nearly half a century longer. In the long record of unseemly squabbles between barons, military Orders and Italian Communes, in which the very existence of Jerusalem seems to be almost ignored, there are but two bright passages, the Crusade of St Louis and the final glorious but unsuccessful defence of Acre.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, from the end of the Longobard War, the focus of Western culture in the Near East shifted slowly but surely to Cyprus, which, secure and prosperous (*mout riche et bone et bien plaintive de tous biens*),<sup>2</sup> offered an irresistible attraction to the barons of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Their landed estates increased in the island in proportion as they shrank in Syria. Nicosia became an active business centre, although it was not until after the fall of Acre that Famagusta was to rise to its great commercial importance.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Grousset (III, p. 413) makes the interesting suggestion that the indifference of the barons of Acre to the fate of Jerusalem may be explained if the Holy City remained in the hands of the Imperialists after their expulsion from the cities of the coast. An imperial castellan seems to have been in command at the time of the attack by the Khwarizmians on 11 July 1244 (*Chron. of Melrose*, ed. J. Stevenson, p. 159; Röhrich, p. 862).

<sup>2</sup> *Gestes*, 514.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 391, citing Archbishop Hugh of Fagiano's complaint in 1257 of the greed of usurers and the frauds of brokers (Mansi, *Conc.* xxvi, col. 319).

### CHAPTER III

## THE LAST DAYS OF FRANKISH SYRIA (1243-1291)

The fate of the city of Jerusalem, for reasons explained in the preceding Chapter, was a matter of indifference to Cyprus. When it was threatened by the Khwarizmians in 1244, an appeal to King Henry<sup>1</sup> (like others to Bohemund V of Antioch and the allied Sultans of Damascus and Homs) was without effect; although the Patriarch Robert and the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital appeared for a moment to encourage the inhabitants, only to retire, however, before the final fall of the city (23 August 1244), and in the disaster of Gaza (17 October) there was a Cypriote contingent of 300 men, all of whom perished.<sup>2</sup> A second appeal to King Henry and the Prince of Antioch had no better result than the first.<sup>3</sup> France alone responded to the call.<sup>4</sup> St Louis took the Cross within two months of the battle, although it was nearly four years before he sailed for the East.

In 1246 Queen Alice died, and there was once more a vacancy in the regency of Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> This left King Henry<sup>6</sup> as the nearest relative of Conrad present in Syria, and he was recognized by the Roman curia as

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<sup>1</sup> *Chron. of Melrose*, ed. J. Stevenson, p. 159; *Eracles Rothelin*, p. 562; Röhricht, p. 861.

<sup>2</sup> Salimbene, *Chron. (M.G.H. Scr. xxxii, p. 177)*.

<sup>3</sup> Matth. Paris, iv, pp. 342-3; *Eracles Rothelin*, pp. 565-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 435 (MS. A).

<sup>5</sup> *Gestes*, 257: 'et remest tout le royaume de Chipre au dit roy Henry' (she had long ceased to have any power over Cyprus), 'et le seignor de Baruth fu baill dou royaume de Jerusalem, & Phelippe de Monfort, seignor dou Thoron, si ot Sur assa garde'; Machaeras, 41; Amadi, p. 198; Strambaldi, p. 18: 'et fu incoronato suo figliolo re Inechio Charin et si maridò con la Planzansa, 1246'. Strambaldi is translating the Greek Chronicle and has made *re Inechio* out of  $\rho\omicron\tau\upsilon\nu$  'Εκλής, i.e. Queen Alice (Dawkins on Machaeras, *ad. loc.*). Sanudo (p. 218) says loosely that Henry succeeded Alice in *regno Ierosol.*

<sup>6</sup> On the claim of Melissenda, younger uterine sister of Alice (her father was Aimery, King of Cyprus) see M.L., *H. I*, p. 337 and Röhricht, p. 873, n. 3. Her claim was turned over by Innocent to Eudes de Châteauroux to consider, and we hear no more of it.

*seigneur du royaume de Jérusalem*.<sup>1</sup> The fiction of Conrad's kingship was maintained, and it was not until the accession of Hugh III of Antioch-Lusignan that the Haute Cour in 1269 proclaimed the King of Cyprus also King of Jerusalem. Nevertheless the Pope now released Henry from all his obligations of fealty and homage to the Emperor, and placed Cyprus directly under the aegis of the Roman see.<sup>2</sup> The actual office of Bailie of the Kingdom was assigned to Balian d'Ibelin, who was also taken under the papal protection.<sup>3</sup> In virtue of his power as Lord of Jerusalem, which was only in title less than that of King, Henry confirmed Philip de Montfort in possession of Tyre. Balian d'Ibelin, however, held the office of Bailie for but a short time, dying on 4 September 1247, and being succeeded by his younger brother, John of Arsuf.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile the results of the Crusades of Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall were gradually lost. Tiberias castle fell on 16 June 1247, having held out until then after the capture of the town by the Khwarizmians in 1244. When Ascalon was invested, the King of Cyprus, at the request of the Hospitallers, sent eight ships under the Seneschal of Cyprus, Baldwin d'Ibelin, and these sailed from Acre as part of a fleet of fifty ships. They were able, the blockading fleet being destroyed by a storm, to relieve the garrison, but retired,<sup>5</sup> and Ascalon fell on 15 October 1247.

A new Crusade was badly wanted, but a second one led by Frederick II would certainly have failed to find support from the Franks of the East. On the other hand, a French expedition would enlist all their sympathies, for what remained of the Christians in Syria was predominantly French. One must note the exception of the Venetians; they had no reason to be pleased with their treatment by the conquerors of Tyre, and the interference with their trade which an attack on Egypt involved did not suit their book.

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<sup>1</sup> So (*dominus regni Jerosolimitani*) he is addressed by the Pope, 17 April and 9 July 1247 and 29 July 1252, and so he calls himself (*dominus Hierosolymitanus*) in 1252 and 1253: Röhrich, p. 873 and *Reg. nos.* 1200, 1208; Berger, *Reg. d'Inn. IV*, nos. 2531, 3067, 5893. Cp. *M.L., H. II*, p. 66, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 5 March 1247. *M.L., H. II*, p. 63; *M.G.H. Epist. Saec. XIII*, II, no. 291; Berger, *Reg. d'Inn. IV*, no. 2441; Potthast, no. 12433. Cp. 6 July 1247 (*M.G.H. ibid.* no. 411; Berger, no. 3068). This political action of Innocent coincided with his reversal of the policy of his predecessor in respect of the Churches in Cyprus (see p. 1054).

<sup>3</sup> 17 April and 24 June 1247 (Berger, nos. 2524, 2884). Cp. *Gestes*, 257; Amadi, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. T.S.* p. 442; Amadi, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 433 f.



Saint Louis,<sup>1</sup> with his Queen, sailed from Aigues Mortes at the end of August 1248,<sup>2</sup> and arrived at Lemesos on the evening of 17 September.<sup>3</sup>

His brother Charles, Count of Anjou, had arrived earlier in the day. Next day the King and Queen landed, and in the morning, about the hour of tierce, Louis's other brother, Robert, Count of Artois, arrived. Besides four great ships in the pay of the King, his fleet included fifteen galleys hired from the Genoese.<sup>4</sup>

Louis was welcomed on his arrival by King Henry and the Ibelin lords. From Acre came the Vice-Master of the Hospital, John de Ronay, and the Grand Master of the Temple, William de Sonnac,<sup>5</sup> to discuss the plan of campaign. It was not until May of next year that Louis sailed for Egypt. Extensive preparations doubtless had to be made, but the delay has justly caused some questioning. The King himself would have preferred an immediate descent on Egypt, which would have had the advantage of surprise (except perhaps for warnings which reached the Sultan from Frederick II);<sup>6</sup> but he was dissuaded by the Syrian barons and the Vice-Master of the Hospital and the Grand Master of the Temple. The long wintering in the island damaged the quality of the force and wasted its money. The French camp was

<sup>1</sup> Grousset (III, pp. 426-530) gives the most recent history of the Crusade. It is only considered here at the few points at which it touches Cyprus. The chief source is, of course, John, Sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis* (ed. N. de Wailly, Paris, 1874, with version in modern French). A number of English translations exist, of which the latest is by Joan Evans (1938). The passages relevant to Cyprus are translated by Mogabgab, *Supp. Exc.* 1, pp. 17-24.

<sup>2</sup> Tuesday the morrow of St Bartholomew (25 August): Vincent. Bellov. *Spec. hist.* xxxi, c. 89; Guill. de Nangis, *Chron.* ed. Géraud, I, p. 202. 'Die tercia exeunte mense Augusti', *Cronaca di Marco*, in *Arch. Veneto*, xxi (1881), p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 436, and Sanudo, p. 218, say 28 Sept.; *Gestes*, 261, 27 Sept.; *Eracles Rothelin*, pp. 568f.: the Feast of St Lambert (17 Sept.) at night. Nangis, *Gesta S. Ludov.*, in Bouquet, *Recueil*, xx, p. 356, also gives Thursday before St Matthew the Apostle, which was 17 Sept. 'In die xviii intrante mense Septembris', *Cronaca di Marco*, as above.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 261.

<sup>5</sup> D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* p. 194, n. 6, correcting Röhricht, p. 876; Grousset, III, p. 432, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick's flirtations with the Moslem power were inspired to a great degree by his rivalry with France; for France, now as later, was the representative and protector of Latin Christianity in the Near East; it followed that the Emperor leaned to the other side.

attacked by an epidemic, and had to be dispersed among various places in the island; nevertheless many died.<sup>1</sup> It was this experience that inspired later criticisms of any plan for a Crusade that included a stay in Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

But the time in Cyprus was not idly spent by all. The King, for instance, sent a force of 600 arbalesters to Antioch to help protect the city from Turcoman raiders.<sup>3</sup> He had difficulty in obtaining transport. What amounted to civil war broke out in Acre between the Genoese and Pisans about March 1249 and lasted for three or four weeks, during which these communes were unable to supply the ships for which Louis asked.<sup>4</sup>

It was not surprising that dissensions<sup>5</sup> arose among the heterogeneous elements of the army; there was, for instance, a certain Viscount (variously called de Beaumont and de Châteaudun) who made himself very troublesome. In a quarrel which broke out between him and his sailors (it was a Genoese ship that carried him), his arbalesters killed two Genoese, one a great man of noble birth. Thereupon, on the advice of the Count de Montfort, he attempted to depart for Acre, taking many men with him. Louis, who did not wish to see his forces broken up, forbade any master of a ship to take him, whereupon he seized a ship, asserting that, by the terms of the contract, it and all it contained belonged to him. The King proposed arbitration, but this failed.

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<sup>1</sup> Among them St John de Montfort, Marshal of Cyprus and Count of Roucha (Hackett, pp. 428 ff.), and one Louis, who was a son either of King Louis or, more probably, of his brother Charles, Count of Anjou (Lusignan, *Chor. f.* 53; *Descr. f.* 130). The child was buried in St Dominic's.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Via ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. Kohler, in *Rev. de l'Or. lat.* x (1903-4), p. 428, and *Mélanges*, p. 538. Letter of Eudes de Châteauroux, 31 March 1249, to Innocent IV in d'Achery, *Spicil.* iii, pp. 624-8 (Röhricht, *Reg. no.* 1174). St Louis lost in Cyprus 250 or 260 of his noblest counts, barons and knights. Burchard (ed. Reiffenberg, iv), p. 253. Atiya, p. 102. The resources of Cyprus were quite inadequate for maintaining a large force. The Hospitallers later had to import forage and other provisions for their troops from France, Spain or Italy. D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* pp. 260, 262. Cp. *Reg. de Boniface VIII*, no. 1784.

<sup>3</sup> Eudes de Châteauroux, as above. Vincent. Bellov. *op. cit.* xxxi, c. 96; Nangis, *Gesta S. Ludov.*, in Bouquet, *Recueil*, xx, p. 368. Joinville also says (143) that a number of sergeants from the French force went to Armenia as mercenaries to fight for the King of Armenia against the Sultan of Iconium; not one of them returned.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 437 (28 days); Sanudo, p. 218 (21 days); Vincent. Bellov. *loc. cit.*; Nangis, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> As Burchard says (*loc. cit.*): 'Pluseurs discordes et maintes brigues en sourdent parmi l'ost, à cause de oyseuses en quoy ilz se occupent.'

Finally, however, the Viscount was persuaded to restore the ship to the Genoese.<sup>1</sup>

A year or more before he himself sailed from Aigues Mortes, Louis had sent on to Cyprus some of his people under a serjeant, Nicolas de Sousi, to collect provisions for the expedition; they brought with them fifty fine horses.<sup>2</sup> Immense quantities of wine and grain were collected; the tuns of wine piled up in the fields near the shore looked like granges; the heaps of grain sprouted so that they looked like green hills; but when the upper surface was removed, the rest was found in good condition.<sup>3</sup>

For some time before the arrival of St Louis in Cyprus, an idea had been entertained in the West of alliance with the great Mongol Empire against the common enemy, the Ayyubid Sultan.<sup>4</sup> The Great Khan Kuyuk, who ruled over a great part of Asia, from China to South Russia, and whose suzerainty was acknowledged by the Seljuks of Anatolia and the King of Armenia, appeared to show a very friendly disposition to the Christians. What the Pope and the kings of the West did not realize was that the Khan's idea of the relation between himself and them was that of suzerain to vassals. This was made plain in the reply which he sent in November 1246 to Innocent IV, whose envoy, the Franciscan John de Plano Carpini, had reached him in July of that year.<sup>5</sup> An envoy to Batu, the Mongol general in Transcaucasia, in 1247 brought back a reply which, if not so definite, was equally disappointing. The negotiations of St Louis<sup>6</sup> seemed at first sight more promising,

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Eudes de Châteauroux (when this was written, 31 March, the matter was not yet settled); Vincent. Bellov. and Nangis, as above.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 436. Joinville, 130, says that the King's men had begun buying wine two years before.

<sup>3</sup> Joinville, 131.

<sup>4</sup> On the negotiations of St Louis with the Mongols, see: Letter of Eudes de Châteauroux to Innocent IV, as above; Joinville, 133-5, 471-92; Raynaldus, 1248, §§ 34-40; *Eracles Rothelin*, pp. 569-70 (letter of the King's chamberlain John Sarrasin); Vincent. Bellov. *Spec. hist.* xxxi, cc. 90-4; Nangis, *Gesta S. Ludov.*, in Bouquet, xx, pp. 358-65; Matth. Paris, vi, pp. 163-5. Other early references in Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1167; M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 344-7; Howorth, iii, pp. 77-83; P. Pelliot, 'Les Mongols et la Papauté', in *Rev. Or. chr.* xxiii (1922-3), pp. 3-30; xxiv (1924), pp. 225-335; xxviii (1931-2), pp. 3-84; Giov. Soranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari*, 1930, pp. 126-67; Grousset, iii, pp. 520ff.; Atiya, pp. 241ff.; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 701f.

<sup>5</sup> Pelliot, *op. cit.* xxiii, pp. 6-30. Atiya (p. 239) describes the reply as, though non-committal, yet neither forbidding nor unfriendly. But it was distinctly *de haut en bas*.

<sup>6</sup> See for these especially Pelliot, *op. cit.* xxviii, pp. 13-82.

for the initiative came from the other side. On 14 December 1248 there landed at Kerynia two envoys, David and Mark, from Eljigidai,<sup>1</sup> a Mongol governor of Iran under the Great Khan Kuyuk. They seem to have been Nestorians from Mosul. On 20 December they were received at Nicosia by Louis, and presented a letter, alleged to be from the Great Khan, offering alliance against the Moslems, and saying much more, probably, than was true of the prevalence of Christianity among the Mongols. Whatever the precise degree of authority behind the letter, there seems to be no doubt that the Great Khan was serious in his policy of making an alliance with the Franks against the Ayyubid Sultan and the Caliph of Baghdad. Louis sent the envoys back loaded with presents, including a tent in the guise of a chapel, made of fine scarlet cloth and decorated<sup>2</sup> with images of the Annunciation and all the other points of the Christian faith. Two Dominicans took this costly present, together with all the furniture for the celebration of mass, and did not return until 1251, when the King was at Caesarea. The message that they brought back from the Regent Ogul-Gaimish (for Kuyuk had died meanwhile) showed that the King's present was regarded as the offering of a vassal, and demanded an annual tribute as the price of peace and friendship; otherwise the Great Khan would destroy Louis and his people. As Western ambassadors to China in modern times were to discover, to the Chinese an embassy from one of the outer barbarians could mean nothing but an acknowledgement of vassalage. One would have thought that the King's disillusionment would have been complete; nevertheless he did not relax his missionary efforts, although we need follow them no longer here.

If the facts concerning the relations of St Louis with the Mongols are for the most part certain, the same cannot be said for the exaggerated claims made by the Maronites of Lebanon for the importance of the part which they played in the Crusade of St Louis.<sup>3</sup> That St Louis would be interested in the Maronite colony in Cyprus we may believe; that there were 5000 Maronites with him at Damietta, and that only 102 of

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<sup>1</sup> On the name, Pelliot, *op. cit.* xxiv, p. 16: Aljigidai.

<sup>2</sup> Joinville's word is *entaillier*, but can hardly mean carved images. Eudes de Châteauroux speaks of *bordaturae*, suggesting that the designs were embroidered on the fringes of the pavilion.

<sup>3</sup> Nicolas Murad (Maronite Archbishop of Laodicea), *Notice historique sur l'origine de la nation maronite et sur ses rapports avec la France* (Paris, 1844), pp. 23 ff. R. Ristelhueber, *Les traditions françaises au Liban*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1925), pp. vii and 73.

them survived, is not impossible; that the Maronite colony in Cyprus at the time numbered 182,000 is simply incredible; and that the Maronites became the principal support of the Lusignan kings is as absurd a legend as the story that their Archbishop, 'from the terrace of his palace at Nicosia', pointed out to St Louis the peaks of Lebanon and Mt Tabor.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of St Louis in Cyprus excited in Constantinople the hope of enlisting his help to avert the reconquest of the Empire by the Greeks. Baldwin II sent his Empress, Mary de Brienne, to Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> Arriving at Paphos, her ship was torn from its anchorage by the wind, and driven to Acre, whence she was fetched back to Lemesos by Joinville. He and others of her friends swore that, if the King or the Legate would send 300 knights after the King returned from his Crusade, they would go to her aid; but when the time came St Louis had no money for such an expedition.

After Easter (4 April), St Louis sent Queen Margaret to Acre, whence she went to Château Pèlerin.<sup>3</sup> But she must have returned immediately, for Joinville is hardly likely to be in error when he says that she embarked at Lemesos<sup>4</sup> with the King for Egypt.

On 13 May the King went on board his ship, the *Montjoie*. The magic of the name of St Louis had drawn together a most formidable force.<sup>5</sup> The chivalry of Cyprus had taken the Cross with King Henry, the

<sup>1</sup> *Pace* Ristelhueber, the letter which St Louis is alleged to have written to the emir of the Maronites, and which they regard as the first recognition by France of its office of protector of their sect, is not on the face of it authentic. (So F. Charles-Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, 1939, p. 20.) We must await the appearance of the original, which may perhaps be found, like the original of the letter from the Mongol Khan to St Louis.

<sup>2</sup> Joinville, 137-40.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 262.

<sup>4</sup> Joinville, 146.

<sup>5</sup> Details in M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 347, 350; Grousset, III, pp. 437f. The estimates are divergent. John Sarrasin (*Eracles Rothelin*, p. 571) has 2500 knights, 5000 arbalesters, and great plenty of other men mounted or on foot. Joinville numbers the knights 2800. Reckoning, besides the bannerets, the knights-bachelor and their squires and men, Mas Latric (*H.* 1, p. 350) brings the total of the Frenchmen to between 20,000 and 25,000. Adding the contingents from Cyprus, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the military Orders, and others from England, the Morea and probably Italy, it is possible, though with difficulty, to make a grand total of 50,000, which agrees with the estimate of Abulfeda (*Rec. Cr. Or.* 1, p. 126). It is generally thought that this estimate is too liberal.

Seneschal, Baldwin d'Ibelin,<sup>1</sup> the Constable, Guy d'Ibelin, and the Archbishop, Eustorge, who was to die at Damietta. The Duke of Burgundy was joined at Monemvasia by William de Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, who brought with him 400 knights, although he did not arrive until the expedition set out from Lemesos. The military Orders were led by William de Sonnac, Grand Master of the Temple, and John de Ronay, Vice-Master of the Hospital. The Syrian barons brought a force of 1000 knights. From England came among others the Earl of Salisbury. The fleet which had been collected to transport these numbers counted some 1800 sail, great and small. Joinville, just like the Arab historian describing the departure of a fleet to attack Cyprus six centuries earlier, says that the sea seemed to be covered with sails. But the omens of the start were unhappy. A storm scattered the greater number of the ships before they could move from the 'point of Lemesos' (C. Gata), and drove them to Paphos, Acre and other places, so that, of the 2800 knights whom the King led, only 700 actually sailed with him. The remainder, however, eventually joined him in Egypt, which, after all these delays, he reached on 4 June.<sup>2</sup>

The King of Cyprus was with the King of France on his solemn entry into Damietta on 6 June 1249.<sup>3</sup> But soon afterwards he retired to Cyprus, leaving however 120 knights under an agreement to serve with St Louis for a year, under the Seneschal, Baldwin d'Ibelin, and his brother Guy, the Constable,<sup>4</sup> who were in command of the whole corps of knights of Syria and Cyprus. At the battle of Bahr al-Saghir (11 February 1250) this corps (coming next to that commanded by Charles d'Anjou, which occupied the most advanced position towards the south in the direction of Cairo), together with the corps commanded by Walter de Châtillon, distinguished itself greatly, resisting the attacks

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Baldwin d'Avesnes in M.L., *H.* II, p. 65n. and *Assises*, II, p. 429; cp. p. 432 (M.L., *H.* I, p. 353, n. 2). Baldwin and Guy d'Ibelin were in command of the corps of the barons of Syria and Cyprus (Joinville, 268). They were taken prisoners with the rest by Turan-Shah.

<sup>2</sup> The dates of the voyage are much in dispute. See Note I at the end of this Chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Vincent. *Bellov. Spec. hist.* XXXI, c. 98; Nangis, *Chron.* ed. Géraud, I, p. 204; *Gesta S. Ludov.*, in Bouquet, XX, p. 372.

<sup>4</sup> *Assises*, II, p. 432. On Loredano's myth (Giblet, I, p. 148) of Henry's sharing the captivity of St Louis (a myth which still survives—Longnon, *Les Français d'Outre-Mer*, 1929, p. 161), and of the offer of the throne by the Mamelukes to Henry, see M.L., *H.* I, p. 354, n. 3.

of the enemy with complete success.<sup>1</sup> After the final disaster, when the whole army surrendered (6 April 1250), Baldwin and Guy, like Joinville himself, narrowly escaped with their lives when the Mamelukes, who had murdered Turan-Shah,<sup>2</sup> were planning a general massacre of the prisoners. Baldwin, who spoke Arabic, was able to translate to Joinville the threatening language of the assassins.<sup>3</sup> In this moment of danger, Guy d'Ibelin confessed his sins to Joinville, who, however, afterwards remembered nothing of what he had said.<sup>4</sup> Joinville had a lively admiration for Guy, whom he describes<sup>5</sup> as one of the most gifted knights that he had ever seen, and a great lover of the French. It was Baldwin and Guy, with William, Count of Flanders, and John, Count of Soissons, who negotiated the renewal of the agreement which Louis had made with the murdered Sultan.<sup>6</sup> The two brothers returned with the other captives who were released on 6 May.<sup>7</sup> Among those, however, who did not return was Archbishop Eustorge, who died shortly after the surrender, on 28 April.<sup>8</sup>

St Louis saw Cyprus once again, but only from his ship, on his return voyage to France. The episode,<sup>9</sup> as described by Joinville, illustrates the King's gentle determination and consideration for his people. He embarked at Acre on Friday, 24 April 1254; the next day (his birthday) he sighted Stavrovouni. In a fog the ship grounded on a sandbank and, although it was got off again, was so badly damaged that it was expected to founder if it reached the open sea. The King declined to desert his ship, since, if he did so, there were more than 500 others who would follow his example and land and perhaps never see their homes again.<sup>10</sup> Proceeding on its voyage the ship, while still off

<sup>1</sup> Joinville, 268.

<sup>2</sup> 30 April or 3 May. Grousset, III, p. 770 after Wiet.

<sup>3</sup> Joinville, 354.

<sup>4</sup> Joinville, 355.

<sup>5</sup> Joinville, 339.

<sup>6</sup> Joinville, 357.

<sup>7</sup> Guy d'Ibelin was one of the executors of the will of Henry I in 1253. (Potthast, no. 15860). Baldwin held the office of Seneschal of Cyprus from 1246 to 1267. His seal, attached with that of his nephew John, Lord of Beirut, to a charter of 1261, is illustrated by Rey, *Recherches géogr. et hist. sur la domination des Latins en Orient* (1877), p. 45, and *Colonies franques*, p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Amadi, p. 200.

<sup>9</sup> Joinville, 617-37: he embarked on the eve of St Mark. It seems that he sailed the same day, for Stavrovouni was sighted on the Saturday. *Eracles*, p. 441, makes him leave Acre *after* the day of St Mark; Amadi, p. 203, on the day of St Mark.

<sup>10</sup> As nearly happened, says Joinville (629), to Oliver de Termes, who was in the King's ship, but went ashore; though he was a rich man, well able to pay his passage, it was a year and a half before he found his way home again.

the coast of Cyprus, was caught in a storm<sup>1</sup> and nearly driven ashore. On Joinville's advice the Queen vowed to dedicate to St Nicolas of Varangéville a silver ship worth five marks if he would deliver them from this new peril, and the saint seems to have heard her prayer, for the wind fell, and the voyagers were able to take in water and provisions and continue their journey.

In September of the year after his return from Egypt, Henry, whose second wife Stephanie or Étienneette of Armenia had died shortly before,<sup>2</sup> and who was childless, married for the third time. On this occasion the alliance was with Antioch, the bride being Plaisance, daughter of Bohemund V.<sup>3</sup> A few months before the King died, she bore him the son Hugh (Huguët) who was to succeed him.

Henry's long reign came to an end with his death at Nicosia on 18 January 1253.<sup>4</sup> He was buried in the Temple. By his will he appointed Guy d'Ibelin, Philip de Novare and Robert de Montgésart to be his executors. The only provision of this document of which there is record is that they were instructed to render account of certain tithes and revenues which the King had withheld from the Archbishop and church of Nicosia and from a great number of other churches, and to make complete satisfaction of the debt. This the executors for some time refused to do, making what Pope Alexander IV described as a frivolous excuse. The Bishop and Archdeacon of Acre were commissioned by the Pope in 1255 to see that these nobles did their duty, on pain of excommunication.<sup>5</sup> The result of the order is not recorded, but since we

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<sup>1</sup> The King (Joinville, 634) described the wind as 'one of these little winds, not one of the four master-winds'; it was doubtless a south-easter such as is apt to make the south coast of Cyprus unsafe.

<sup>2</sup> The letter of the Legate Eudes de Châteauroux to the Pope, 1 April 1249, shows that she was still alive then, though ill: D'Achery, *Spicil.* III, p. 625; Reinhard, I, Beyl. 23, p. 43; M.L., *Gén.* p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 439; *Eracles Rothelin*, p. 624; Sanudo, p. 220; Machaeras, 41 (1246 in error); Amadi, p. 201; Fl. Bustron, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 441; Amadi, p. 202; Fl. Bustron, p. 109. Machaeras (41) is badly out again, dating his death 29 Aug. 1261. The precision of the date indicates confusion with some other person, but whom?

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Alexander IV, 14 May 1255: M.L., *H.* III, p. 652; Potthast, no. 15860; *Reg. C.N.* no. 89. (La Monte in his *précis* mentions the churches of the diocese of Limassol as well as of that of Nicosia as having had their tithes detained; but in the text printed by Mas Latrie there is no mention of Limassol.)



do not hear of any of the executors being excommunicated they probably settled the account.

Henry, as we have already remarked, was a colourless personality, and the important events of his reign owed nothing, so far as we know, to any guidance from his hand. It is significant that Joinville never mentions him.

Towards the end of the reign, a reform of some importance was introduced in the Cour des Bourgeois.<sup>1</sup> Hitherto the only written record of the work of the court had been in the form of calendars of grants and charters witnessed by the jurats. For precedents reliance was placed on the memory of the members and on oral tradition. In 1250<sup>2</sup> a proposal was made to an assembly of the Haute Cour, in session with the jurats of the Cour des Bourgeois, that the transactions of the court should be fully recorded by the *écrivains* in French. The proposal, which was supported by John III d'Ibelin of Arsuf, Bailie of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was opposed by Philip de Montfort, who represented the opinion of the majority of the Haute Cour. After long postponement, due to the departure of St Louis to attend to the refortification of Caesarea, the proposal was brought up again and carried to establish a registrar (*écrivain*) to keep the records of the Cour des Bourgeois, without prejudice to the oral declaration of the judges or jurats, which was to retain its validity, superior to any written record, as interpreting the customs of the Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> This was in 1252 or 1253. It has been noted as a remarkable coincidence that the registers of the Parliament of Paris, the *Olim*, begin in 1255, the year following the return of St Louis to France. The Haute Cour did not follow suit, and establish a registrar and written records, until the reign of Henry II,<sup>4</sup> after the fall of Acre.

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 359ff.; La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Feb. 1250, according to the *Abrégé*, p. 246, cited below.

<sup>3</sup> See *Abrégé du livre des Assises des bourgeois*, liv. 1, chs. XIII–XVII (*Assises de Jérusalem*, II, pp. 246–9).

<sup>4</sup> *Abrégé*, ch. XVIII (*Assises*, II, p. 249). The building of a register-office for the records of the Haute Cour, and regulation of the custody of those of the Cour des Bourgeois, are attributed to Hugh IV (*Assises*, II, pp. 250–1, 371).

# HUGH II (1253-1267)

Queen Plaisance was at once accepted by the Haute Cour as guardian of her infant son and as Regent of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Hugh of Fagiano, expecting doubtless a freer field for his policy, now that Henry, with whom he had quarrelled, was removed, a woman was at the head of the state, and the Cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux had left the island, returned and raised the interdict which he had imposed.<sup>2</sup> As we shall see in a later Chapter, his fresh efforts to crush the Greek Church were frustrated.

The Queen, with a view to strengthening her hand, sought an alliance with the most distinguished among the families of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the person of Balian d'Ibelin, the eldest son of John of Arsur, Bailie and Constable of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> The young man had quite recently (Easter 1254) been knighted by St Louis, from which it has been concluded that he was only about fifteen years old. It has been doubted, perhaps without sufficient reason, whether the union went further than betrothal. In any case, next year Alexander IV ordered the Archbishop of Nicosia and the Bishop of Famagusta to declare it null, for the usual reason that it was within the prohibited degrees; but the couple did not consent to separate until 1258.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Doc. rel. à la successibilité au trône et à la régence* (Assises, II, p. 420).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 1057. Amadi, p. 202: 'reconciliò la terra'.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 441; *Ann. T.S.* pp. 445-6; Sanudo, p. 220; Amadi, p. 203; Fl. Bustron, p. 109; M.L., *Gén.* p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles* and *Ann. T.S.* have *espousa*; all the other authorities speak of a marriage or contract of marriage (except that *Ann. T.S.* say later, p. 448, that they were affianced, but 'cuiterent li uns l'autre dou mariage'). Alexander's letter, 28 Aug. 1255, M.L., *H.* II, p. 68; Potthast, no. 16005. It is unlikely that he should use the words *irritare matrimonium* of a mere betrothal. For the dissolution, see *Eracles*, p. 443; *Ann. T.S.* p. 448; Sanudo, p. 220; Amadi, p. 205; Fl. Bustron, p. 110. We have, however, to reckon with the fact that in 1256 the Queen actually sent an envoy to England proposing a marriage between herself and Edmund Crouchback, second son of King Henry III, and between Hugh and one of Edmund's sisters (Rymer, *Foedera*, I, 1816, p. 341; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 40 Henry III, pp. 445-6). Would she have done this if she had been already married to Balian? The answer is that she might well have done so, knowing that the Pope had pronounced against the validity of the union. When, however, the proposal to Henry III came to nothing (probably because of the scheme for putting Edmund on the throne of Sicily), she stuck to Balian until some other cause for separating from him arose, as it did in 1258.

The death of Frederick II on 13 December 1250 had been without significance to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, for the Emperor's influence in that region had vanished after the end of the Longobard War. Conrad's death (21 May 1254) was hardly more important; it left his son Conradin as his successor, and as such the young prince was recognized by the Pope and by the Haute Cour. But, no more than Conrad, did he appear in his Kingdom, the bailliage of which remained in the hands of John d'Ibelin of Arsur.<sup>1</sup>

On 1 February 1258 (1257 o.s.), however, Bohemund VI arrived from Tripoli at Acre, bringing his sister Queen Plaisance, with her infant son.<sup>2</sup> His object was to restore order in Acre, where the terrible 'War of Santa Saba' was raging between the Temple, the Venetians and Pisans on one side, the Hospital, the Genoese and the Spaniards on the other. Before a general assembly of the nobles, the military Orders, the Communes and the bourgeoisie,<sup>3</sup> he presented the claim of Hugh to be heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and of Plaisance to the bailliage.<sup>4</sup> Bohemund was strongly supported by John d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and by the Grand Master of the Temple. After a discussion, the Masters of the Temple and of the Teutonic Order, the Communes of the Venetians and the Pisans, and the knights who held of the Kingdom took the oath of fealty to the infant as heir and lord of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. But the Grand Master of the Hospital and the Communes of the Genoese and Spaniards declined to accept the decision, out of hostility to the other party, but giving as their reason that the crown belonged to Conradin. The Queen received the bailliage.<sup>5</sup> The Lord of Arsur, who had held the bailliage until Plaisance had come, was now reinstated by her, as her delegate. Then Bohemund, seeing that he could not himself restore peace between the warring factions, retired with

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<sup>1</sup> Except for a break from some time towards the end of 1254 until 1256, during which it was held by his cousin John d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa: *Assises*, II, p. 401; *Eracles*, p. 441; Amadi, p. 204; M.L., *H.* I, pp. 368 f.; La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 74, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. T.S.* pp. 447-8.

<sup>3</sup> As Mas Latrie explains in another connexion (M.L., *H.* I, p. 406) the court on such solemn occasions included not only the lieges, but the dignitaries of the Church, the Grand Masters of the military Orders, the consuls of the merchant Communes and the heads of the associations or confraternities of the parishes, representing the bourgeoisie of the land; as it were, the Estates-General of the realm.

<sup>4</sup> *Doc. rel. à la successibilité*, *Assises*, II, p. 401; *Eracles*, p. 443; *Eracles Rothelin*, p. 634; *Gestes*, 268; Sanudo, p. 220; Amadi, p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> *Assises*, II, p. 401.

his sister and nephew to Tripoli, whence Plaisance took her son back to Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> Before leaving, Bohemund gave instructions to the Bailie to exercise the utmost severity with the recalcitrant party. A force of 800 French soldiery was left with him for the purpose. He had been on bad terms with Bohemund, it may be for some reason connected with the marriage of his son Balian to Plaisance; for reconciliation with Bohemund seems to have coincided with the dissolution of the marriage.<sup>2</sup>

The Bailie, however, died soon afterwards, and Plaisance, returning to Acre on 1 May 1259, obtained the succession to the bailliage for Geoffrey de Sergines, the Seneschal of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

The death of Plaisance herself followed in September 1261.<sup>4</sup> She appears to have been a woman of character, although it has been suggested that the testimony in her favour, coming from Venetian sources, was inspired by partisan feeling.<sup>5</sup>

Her death threw vacant the regency in both Kingdoms;<sup>6</sup> for in the Kingdom of Jerusalem Geoffrey de Sergines was only her delegate. Three claimants were to be considered; Hugh II's aunt Isabel, the wife of Henry of Antioch; her son Hugh; and her nephew Hugh de Brienne, son of her elder sister the Countess Mary; the latter two were thus cousins of the young King. So far as concerned Cyprus, the decision appears to have been influenced by the Salic principles which governed succession in France; it was in favour of Hugh<sup>7</sup> of Antioch, who was preferred to his mother, because he was a man and she was a woman.

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<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 443; Sanudo, p. 220; Amadi, p. 205; Fl. Bustron, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 443f.; *Ann. T.S.* pp. 448 (1258), 449 (1259); Amadi, p. 205; *Gestes*, 297.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 446 (22 Sept.); *Ann. T.S.* p. 450 (25 Dec.); *Gestes*, 313 (27 Sept.); Amadi, p. 205 (27 Sept.); Fl. Bustron, p. 110 (soon after the dissolution of the marriage).

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *H.* 1, p. 364. Martin da Canale, *La Cronique des Véniciens*, in *Arch. Stor. Ital.* viii (1845), p. 460: 'que une de plus vaillant dame dou monde estoit'. For papal bulls wrongly supposed to refer to an intrigue between Plaisance and Count John d'Ibelin, see below, p. 157, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 385-8; *Assises*, II, pp. 420ff. (discussion of 1324, in which the debate on the present occasion was recalled). *Ibid.* p. 406: 'I had the bailliage of the Kingdom of Cyprus', said Hugh III in the later dispute with Hugh de Brienne for the regency of Jerusalem, 'as the most rightful heir of the son of the King our said uncle to have his bailliage, saving my mother, and her claim if she makes it'.

<sup>7</sup> *Eracles*, p. 446; *Gestes*, 314; Sanudo, p. 221; Amadi, p. 205; Fl. Bustron, p. 110.

Hugh de Brienne, who was the younger of the two, did not press his claim; he had been brought up by his aunt Isabel, whom he regarded as his real mother, and if she did not oppose her son, he could hardly do so. As to the bailliage of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> no claim to it seems to have been put forward for two years, for only in 1263 did Henry of Antioch demand the office in the name of his wife Isabel. Geoffrey de Sergines resigned, and the liegemen accepted Isabel as Bailie, but refused her homage and fealty, since the legitimate heir, that is Conradin, had not presented himself with her.<sup>2</sup> Isabel, leaving the exercise of the bailliage in the hands of her husband, returned to Cyprus.<sup>3</sup>

Soon afterwards she died, and was buried in the cathedral of Nicosia.<sup>4</sup>

Thus once more the bailliage of Jerusalem was vacant, and the general assembly of the Haute Cour enjoyed a full-dress debate, of which a long report has been preserved.<sup>5</sup> This time, although Hugh of Antioch seemed marked out as the natural successor, since he inherited the claims of his mother, who had been last to hold the office, and since he was the senior in age of all surviving relations of his cousin the young King to whom the succession could fall, yet Hugh de Brienne, since his aunt Isabel was dead, was no longer precluded by any sentiment from pushing his own claim. His own mother, the Countess Mary, had been the elder sister of his aunt, and he founded his case on this seniority; for in France it was the usage that the son of the elder son or daughter succeeded before the son of the younger son or daughter, even when the latter claimant was older than the former. The Haute Cour of Cyprus

<sup>1</sup> Röhrich, p. 916, with some looseness, says that after the death of Plaisance Hugh of Antioch, Bailie of Cyprus, 'zugesprochen erhielt' the bailliage of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 447; *Gestes*, 320; Sanudo, p. 221; Amadi, p. 205; Fl. Bustron, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 447: 'laissa son baron baillis en Acre'.

<sup>4</sup> Amadi, p. 206, mentions her death and burial under the year 1263, after the deaths of John d'Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, and of Hugh, heir of Caesarea. Fl. Bustron, p. 110, says she died 'soon after' being accepted as Bailie of Jerusalem. *Eracles*, however, p. 448, mentions all three deaths together at the end of the year, after the death of Pope Urban IV, which was early in October 1264. But this does not necessarily mean that the three other deaths took place after the Pope's. Probably Amadi was using the Venetian style, and the three deaths took place early in 1264 (in Venice public acts were dated by a year beginning on 1 March).

<sup>5</sup> *Doc. rel. à la successibilité, Assises*, II, pp. 397-414; M.L., H. I, pp. 399-408; La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 76.

had decided a case of succession to a fief on the same principle. Hugh of Antioch replied that the Countess Mary had never had any right to the succession to her mother Alice; that the crown of Jerusalem descended to her brother Henry as a consequence of the death of Alice; and that by his succession she lost any right she might have had; that Hugh de Brienne could not therefore rely on any right enjoyed by his mother; that she, even if she had lived longer than her brother Henry, and had wished to claim the succession, could only have done so in virtue of her relationship to Henry, not to the latest person seised of the bailliage, Alice. The Countess Mary's rights, if any, had thus disappeared. The decision about the fief in Cyprus had been only an *esgard*, that is a judgement on a particular case, not an *assise*, that is a declaration of the law. Hugh de Brienne had not objected when Hugh of Antioch received the bailliage of Cyprus. (To this, as already remarked, Brienne had a good reply.) The usage of France, if it was as described, could not be held to prevail against that of Jerusalem, where, for instance, the Lady of Tiberias succeeded to her *seigneurie* as older than any of her cousins, though her father was a younger son. Brienne again urged that, since there existed no judgement deciding that seniority of one cousin to another should decide in the former's favour, recourse should be had to the custom of France. Antioch, admitting that the *Assises of Jerusalem* did in general derive from French law, argued that on many points the usages of France and of various places beyond the sea differed, and that, however advisable it was for Jerusalem to ask for opinions from Cyprus, Antioch or Tripoli, there was no obligation to follow their advice.

The sense of the assembly being in favour of Hugh of Antioch, the members of the Haute Cour proper declared that, in accordance with the *Assises of Jerusalem*, the bailliage fell to him, because he was older than his cousin Brienne, was the eldest living male relative of the minor, and was most closely related to the person last seised of the office. The Seneschal Geoffrey de Sergines, the liegemen and the Grand Masters then did homage, and the heads of the communes and confraternities took the oath of fealty to him as Regent of the Kingdom. An important precedent was thus established, to wit that, in deciding the succession, it was not necessary to go back to a remote ancestor, but only to the person last holding the office, and the elder male relative should have precedence over a younger, whatever might be the relative age of their respective parents.

After Hugh's accession to the thrones of Cyprus and Jerusalem, in 1268 or 1269, a statement was drawn up recording the deliberations which had led to the establishment of this rule; although an *Assise*, in the technical sense, was not considered necessary, the record thus stood and reference was made to it when similar questions arose, as in 1324.<sup>1</sup>

It has been presumed that this decision must have been reached soon after the death of Isabel, that is in 1264, although it has been dated in other years.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless some at least of the authorities still speak of Hugh of Antioch merely as Bailie of Cyprus as late as 1265<sup>3</sup> and 1266.<sup>4</sup> None of these authorities seems ever to have realized that Hugh of Antioch was Bailie of Jerusalem, before he became King. It is indeed possible that the decision to grant him the bailliage dated from later than 1264. We have seen that not long before there had been a delay of two years after the death of Plaisance, during which the very competent Geoffrey de Sergines had carried on the conduct of the office, and no claim had been put forward to succeed Plaisance. The same thing may have happened again; in view of Geoffrey's excellent reputation as a firm administrator, it is by no means improbable.

Geoffrey, however, was unprovided with the means to keep order among the Christians, or defend them against the Moslems. The scandalous 'War of Santa Saba', beginning in a dispute between Venetians and Genoese for the possession of the church of that name in Acre, ravaged the entrails of the Kingdom, dividing the whole population, and being fought out on sea—the first naval war between Venice and Genoa—as well as on land, until the Genoese were forced to retire from Acre to Tyre (1257–8). They took their revenge in 1261 by helping the Greeks to recover Constantinople. And the struggle at sea went on, the Genoese and their protector Philip de Montfort, Lord of Tyre, even—if the Arab sources are to be believed—allying themselves with the Sultan of Egypt with the object of seizing Acre. As regards the enemy outside, the Mameluke Sultan, Baibars Bundukdari, who had succeeded to power in Egypt by murdering Kutuz (24 October 1260), was with good reason much more dreaded than his predecessor. The Mongols,

<sup>1</sup> *Assises*, II, p. 419; M.L., H. I, p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> 1259, 1261 or even 1268; *Assises*, II, p. 401, note f; M.L., H. I, p. 399, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 450; *Gestes*, 328; Sanudo, p. 222; Amadi, p. 207; Fl. Bustron, p. 110 (no date).

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 455; *Gestes*, 349.

hostile as they were to Islam, and favourably disposed to Christianity, were not trusted by the Franks of Acre. The leaders of that community, less clear-sighted than the King of Armenia, Hayton I, his son-in-law Bohemund VI of Antioch, or Hugh III of Cyprus, consistently obstructed the policy of alliance with the Mongols against Islam.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, though proposals actually to ally itself with Kutuz against the Mongols were regarded as dubious, Acre went so far as to promise neutrality and unmolested passage for the Egyptian troops through Frankish territory.

The Cypriotes, however, probably took little interest in these troubles. But Michael Palaeologus, the new Greek Emperor, harboured designs on Cyprus,<sup>2</sup> and Baibars was in friendly relations with him.<sup>3</sup> Baibars accused the Cypriotes of having stopped ships which were carrying his envoys to Constantinople, and having arrested them.<sup>4</sup> He was unable to attack Cyprus itself, owing to his lack of a fleet; but he took his revenge on the King's uncle, Bohemund, raided the port of Seleucia, and began to besiege Antioch, when the approach of the Mongols frightened him away (1262).<sup>5</sup> A sudden but abortive attack by him on Acre in 1263 may have been connected with the plan, already mentioned, of the Genoese and Philip de Montfort to seize the port.<sup>6</sup>

On 27 February 1265, Baibars appeared before Caesarea and carried it by storm; the citadel capitulated on 5 March. Haifa was next destroyed; the citadel of Château Pèlerin (Athlit) held out, though the

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, about 1261, one Arnaud de Giblest, who made a practice of raiding Moslem lands and taking his prisoners to Cyprus, proposed to Hulagu after the capture of Aleppo to send 10,000 Mongols, with whom he hoped to conquer Egypt for the Great Khan. C. Cahen, 'Chronique de Kırṭāy', in *Journ. Asiat.* 229 (1937), p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Urban IV to the Bailie and barons of Cyprus, 12 Jan. 1263, expressing fear of an attack on Cyprus, which the Emperor considers to belong to his empire: Raynaldus, 1263, p. 105, § 18; M.L., H. III, pp. 653-5; Porthast, no. 18465; Guiraud, *Reg. d'Urban IV*, no. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Constantinople was a great entrepôt for the slave-traffic which supplied the Egyptian Sultans with their Mameluke soldiery: Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist. Byz.* IV, 7 (t. I, pp. 101-2 Bonn).

<sup>4</sup> Makrizi, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, I, A, pp. 195-6. Baibars's complaint was addressed to the envoys of the Christians who came to negotiate for peace (8 April 1263).

<sup>5</sup> *Eracles*, p. 446; *Gestes*, 316; Sanudo, p. 221; Amadi, p. 206.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Grousset, III, p. 623.



town was taken; Arsur made a fine resistance under the Hospitallers, but the town was taken after a siege of forty days and the citadel three days later (29 April).

To the state of things to which such incidents bear witness, the Bailie of Cyprus could not remain indifferent, whether he was also Bailie of Jerusalem or not. Consequently we hear occasionally of expeditions to the succour of Acre. In 1265 the Bailie sailed into the port on St George's day (23 April) with a fine fleet, 130 knights, and *sergents à cheval*, and a force of infantry.<sup>1</sup> The soldiery of the Kingdom of Cyprus, says the contemporary historian Sanudo, was of very high quality. Hugh's presence with this force, small as it was, seems to have caused Baibars to give up his intention of attacking Acre and return to Egypt.<sup>2</sup> But next spring saw him back again, and in June he laid siege to the immensely strong fortress of Safed in Upper Galilee, from which the Templars controlled the whole of the country from the Sea of Tiberias to the coast at Acre. Treachery brought about on 23 June 1266<sup>3</sup> the capitulation of the garrison, whom Baibars, false to his word, beheaded one and all.

This tragedy, and others less spectacular, brought the Bailie of Cyprus again on the scene. He landed in August with a fine company, and joined in October with the Temple and Hospital, the Teutonic Order, the French knights and others, in a general raid towards Tiberias. On its return the vanguard, intent on plunder, was far ahead of the main body, and at a league's distance from Acre was ambushed and cut to pieces, the local peasantry accounting for many who escaped the enemy. The losses came to fully 500.<sup>4</sup>

Futile adventures of this sort did little to prop up the crumbling fabric of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The comet which, appearing over Acre in 1265, seemed to strike at the bell-tower of the church of Holy Cross, might well have been regarded as an omen of its destruction.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 450; *Ann. T.S.* p. 452; *Gestes*, 328; Sanudo, p. 222; Amadi, p. 207; Fl. Bustron, p. 110 (who gives the figures, 130 picked knights, 300 other horse—*stipendiati a cavallo*—and 800 foot).

<sup>2</sup> Grousset, III, p. 625.

<sup>3</sup> Grousset, III, p. 770 after Wiet.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 455; *Gestes*, 349; *Ann. T.S.* p. 453; Sanudo, p. 222; Amadi, p. 208; Fl. Bustron, p. 111. Makrizi, *op. cit.* I, B, pp. 37–8, says there were 1500 mounted men from Cyprus.

<sup>5</sup> *Eracles*, p. 450; *Gestes*, 328; Amadi, p. 207.

Some two years later, on 5 December 1267, followed the death of the fourteen years old King Hugh II.<sup>1</sup> He had been married to the heiress of Beirut, Isabel d'Ibelin, daughter of that John II d'Ibelin who had died in 1264.<sup>2</sup> There was no child of the marriage, which was probably never consummated,<sup>3</sup> and this was the end of the first dynasty of the Lusignan Kings of Cyprus.

The tractate *De regno* (less correctly *De regimine principum*), which was planned, but not completed, by Saint Thomas Aquinas, was, it is most commonly agreed, written about 1265-6 and intended for the address of the young King Hugh.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to find the King of Cyprus in the thirteenth century singled out as a mark for exhortation by the most distinguished Christian philosopher of his time. Even so

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<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 456, says November; *Gestes*, 355 and Sanudo, p. 223 the same; *Ann. T.S.* p. 453 (5 Dec.); *Machaeras*, 41 (5 Dec.); *Amadi*, p. 209 (Dec.); *Fl. Bustron*, p. 112 (vigil of St Nicolas, i.e. 5 Dec.). He was buried in S. Dominic's (Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 54; *Hist.* f. 17). It must therefore have been not his tomb, but that of Hugh III, which was discovered in S. Sophia after the earthquake of 1491 (Dietrich v. Schachten in Röhricht-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 211).

<sup>2</sup> *Amadi*, p. 206 (above, p. 151, n. 5). The dispensation for the marriage between persons related in the fourth degree was granted by Clement IV on 21 May 1265 (Reinhard, I, *Beyl.* 26, p. 60; Potthast, no. 19155; Jordan, *Reg. de Clém. IV*, no. 882). A widowed Queen of Cyprus was reproved in an undated papal bull for unchastity, and urged to marry again, since it is better to marry than to burn; a Count J., in another undated bull, is accused of deserting his wife, sister of the King of Armenia, and committing incest with the Queen of Cyprus. The bulls had been attributed to Urban IV, and the Queen was supposed to be Plaisance. But it has been shown that she must be Isabel, widow of Hugh II; that the Count is John d'Ibelin; and that the bulls are of 1268 (Guiraud, *Reg. d'Urbain IV*, App. I, no. 2808; Jordan, *Reg. de Clém. IV*, nos. 865, 866; Delisle, *Notices et Extraits*, xxvii (2), pp. 124-6). This being so, John d'Ibelin cannot, as generally supposed, have died as early as 1266. Isabel followed the Pope's advice very thoroughly and married again three times: Raymond l'Étranger, an Englishman; Nicolas l'Aleman, Lord of Caesarea; and William Barlais: Röhricht, p. 938, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Lusignan, *Hist.* f. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 54b; *Hist.* f. 17b, says that the work was dedicated to Hugh III; but it has been pointed out that the writer, a subject of Charles of Anjou, who claimed the throne of Jerusalem, would hardly have sought the patronage of Charles's rival; that the unfinished state in which the book was left is to be explained by the premature death of its intended recipient; and that a hortatory exposition of this sort could not very suitably have been addressed to a man of mature age, such as Hugh III. M.L., *H.* I, p. 419, following Quétif et Échard, *Script. Ord. Praedicator.* I, p. 337; cp. the translations into French, by Claude Roguet, Paris, 1931, and English by G. B. Phelan, Toronto, 1935.

had Isocrates aimed at Nicocles, and Aristotle at Themison.<sup>1</sup> It was fondly hoped that the throne of Cyprus was an experimental station in which principles which commended themselves to the most active thinkers of their times could be tested, with a chance of favourable results. It has been suggested<sup>2</sup> that St Thomas was inspired to his effort by the anarchic state of Cyprus at the time, as illustrated by the fact that the Regent for Hugh II was unable to act in support of the Archbishop against his own vassals without the consent of the Haute Cour. Although this was probably no new grievance, St Thomas may well have thought it very opportune to address his new theory of the superiority of absolute monarchy, and his objections to interference by the barons in the government, to the youthful King who had not yet reached his majority, and was in danger of being overborne by his barons. Hugh died before the book could be finished,<sup>3</sup> and St Thomas never completed it.

The mischief which he may have foreseen was very real. So long as an absent Conrad or Conradin or Charles of Anjou could be put up as the rightful King of Jerusalem, barons and military Orders and merchant communes could use a sham legitimism to keep in being a state of anarchy which they preferred to a firm government.<sup>4</sup> Even when that screen was removed, a Hugh III or a Henry II, although on the spot, was to find over and over again that he was powerless against the force of feudal anarchy.

### HUGH III (1267-1284)

The Regent of Cyprus and Jerusalem, Hugh, son of Prince Henry of Antioch and Isabel de Lusignan, succeeded as a matter of course to the throne of Cyprus. He had adopted his mother's name, and never called himself other than Hugh de Lusignan. The Haute Cour accepted him as King Hugh III, and he received the homage of the lieges. On Christmas Day 1267 he was crowned in the cathedral of Nicosia by the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, pp. 145, 158, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> M. Grandclaude, in *Bulletin Thomiste* (1930), pp. 153-4.

<sup>3</sup> The authentic portion of the work extends only to the end of Ch. iv of Book II.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Grousset, III, p. 617. But the crisis of 1258 described by *Eracles Rothelin*, p. 634, to which he refers, shows that on this occasion the majority showed more political sense than the opponents of the Prince of Antioch.

Patriarch of Jerusalem, William d'Agén, who was present in the island on a visitation.<sup>1</sup>

The situation of the Christians in Syria had grown rapidly worse during the reign of Hugh II, one city or fortress after another falling into the hands of Baibars. The two chief checks to the ambition of the Mameluke Sultan had been provided by the Mongols and Armenia. But on 8 February 1265 the death of Hulagu removed the great friend of the Christians and the most formidable enemy of the Mamelukes; his Nestorian queen, Dokuz-Khatun, to whose protection the Christians owed so much, died in the summer of the same year. Hulagu's successor, the Khan Abagha, friendly though he was as his father to the Christians, was hampered by the rivals of his own race who rose up against him. And, thanks to inertia, stupidity, or embarrassment in their own countries, no advantage was taken by the Christians of the Mongol overtures for common action against the Mamelukes, whether under Abagha, or later under Arghun, also an enthusiastic wooer of the Christian alliance, who from 1287 to 1290 actually sent four envoys one after the other to Rome, Paris and London. Thus in 1266 Baibars was able to deal with Armenia without interference from the Mongol side. His generals overran Armenia, and in the battle of the 'Gates of Armenia', one of King Hayton's sons, Leo, was taken prisoner, and the other, Thoros, killed. Hayton was forced to make a disastrous peace (May 1268), and in 1269 abdicated in favour of Leo, and became a monk. His policy, which aimed at enlisting the Mongols as the protectors of Eastern Christendom against the menace of Islam, had never found favour with the Syrian Franks; with his collapse, their sole hope of survival vanished. Baibars ranged the country at his will, laying it waste and butchering defenceless inhabitants and prisoners. Within the Christian camp there was the continuing quarrel between the Genoese,

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<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 456; *Gestes*, 355; *Machaeras*, 41 (crowned Christmas Day 1268); *Amadi*, p. 209; *Fl. Bustron*, p. 112. (The two latter add that in this year Cyprus was visited by the plague, locusts and many earthquakes.) Kohler (*Mélanges*, p. 348) wrongly supposes Hugh to have been proclaimed King of Jerusalem on this occasion; all he acquired then was the crown of Cyprus. There is every reason for doubting, with Kohler himself (p. 346, n. 2), the soundness of his theory that it may actually have been Hugh who wrote in, on a page of the Barletta MS. Ritual of the Holy Sepulchre, the formula of the oath taken by Kings of Jerusalem at the time of their coronation. *Rex futurus* in this note means no more than the proper form *rex coronandus*, à *coroner rei* as it occurs in the actual oath, taken at the moment of the coronation.

supported by Philip de Montfort at Tyre, and the Venetians who sided with the barons of Acre; in August 1267 the Genoese actually seized the port and held it for twelve days, until the Venetian fleet expelled them. On 28 March 1268<sup>1</sup> Baibars captured Jaffa; in April the Templars' stronghold at Beaufort (Shakil Arnun) in the southern Lebanon fell to him; and in May he put an end to the principality of Antioch amid horrible scenes of massacre and pillage. Bohemund VI ceased to be Prince of Antioch, and remained merely Count of Tripoli. Some of the Templars had made terms with the conqueror before he attacked Antioch; other of their strongholds were now evacuated without an attempt at defence. Of the once extensive possessions of the Franks on the mainland, besides Tripoli, there remained now only Acre, with the fiefs of Sidon (held by the Templars, who also still retained the castle of Athlit), Beirut (now in the hands of a woman, Isabel d'Ibelin) and Tyre, where Philip de Montfort was openly hostile to Acre.

After the fall of Jaffa, but before Antioch was attacked, Hugh had arrived at Acre.<sup>2</sup> He announced his intention to claim the crown of Jerusalem,<sup>3</sup> but wisely devoted his first attention to reconciling the quarrels which divided the Franks. Thus he visited Philip de Montfort at Tyre, and it was probably now that he arranged the marriage between his beautiful sister Margaret of Antioch and Philip's eldest son John,<sup>4</sup> and prepared the way for reconciling Philip with the Venetians; as also in Acre he seems to have taken steps which eventually admitted the Genoese, who had been expelled after the 'War of Santa Saba'.<sup>5</sup>

After the fall of Antioch, Hugh began to treat for peace with the

<sup>1</sup> Grousset, III, p. 770 after Wiet.

<sup>2</sup> *Assises*, II, p. 415; *Ann. T.S.* p. 453 (22 April); Sanudo, p. 223 (22 April); Amadi, p. 210 (23 April).

<sup>3</sup> *Assises*, II, p. 415.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 370. The dispensation (necessary because of the usual difficulty of finding a suitable partner outside the prohibited degree) was granted by Clement IV on 22 Sept. 1268 (M.L., H. II, p. 73; Potthast, no. 20462; Jordan, *Reg. de Clém. IV*, no. 673). The marriage was celebrated in Nicosia. It was a very happy union, although the lady, who was the most beautiful woman of her day beyond seas, grew very fat, and her husband became crippled by gout: *Gestes*, 371. She was, according to this authority, a tall damsel of twenty-four at the time of her marriage; the Pope's remark that she was *iam etate propecta, ad bona nuptiarum aspirans*, may remind us that it was the custom to marry at what we should regard as a very early age. She died on 30 Jan. 1308 (Amadi, p. 271).

<sup>5</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 422.

Sultan.<sup>1</sup> Although the negotiations were conducted with some lack of courtesy on both sides,<sup>2</sup> a truce was arranged in July 1268. But within a few months the Sultan declared that it had been broken because certain fugitives to Acre had not been handed over to him. His activity against Acre was, however, somewhat restrained by the desire to stand well with Charles of Anjou, King of the Two Sicilies. This Frederick II *au petit pied* had the ambition, like his model, to wear the crown of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Both Charles and Conradin were in communication with the Sultan, the former recommending him to spare the Christians in Palestine, the latter asking for his help to recover Sicily, which had been wrested away by Charles. Charles's way was blocked by the survival of Conradin, although the knowledge that the young King had been deposed by the Pope must have reached the East by the middle of 1268. On 29 October he was beheaded, and no legitimate descendant of Frederick remained to claim the crown of Jerusalem, the right to which reverted to the collaterals of Isabel II (Yolande) the mother of Conradin's father Conrad.<sup>4</sup> Hugh III had the most obvious claim. He was the great-grandson<sup>5</sup> of Isabel I, through her daughter (by her third husband) Alice of Champagne, who married Hugh I; and the same Alice being aunt of Isabel II, he was that lady's first cousin once removed.

Hugh placed his claim before the Haute Cour of Jerusalem, some time soon after the news arrived of the death of Conradin.<sup>6</sup> He was opposed by Mary of Antioch, 'Damoiselle Marie', who claimed as granddaughter of Isabel I, her mother being Melissenda, daughter of Isabel by her fourth husband, Aimery. Mary was thus one generation nearer

<sup>1</sup> Makrizi, I, B, 56-7; al-Aini, *Rec. Cr. Or.* II, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Makrizi and Muhyi ed-Din in Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, IV (Reinaud, *Chroniques arabes*), 1829, pp. 514-15.

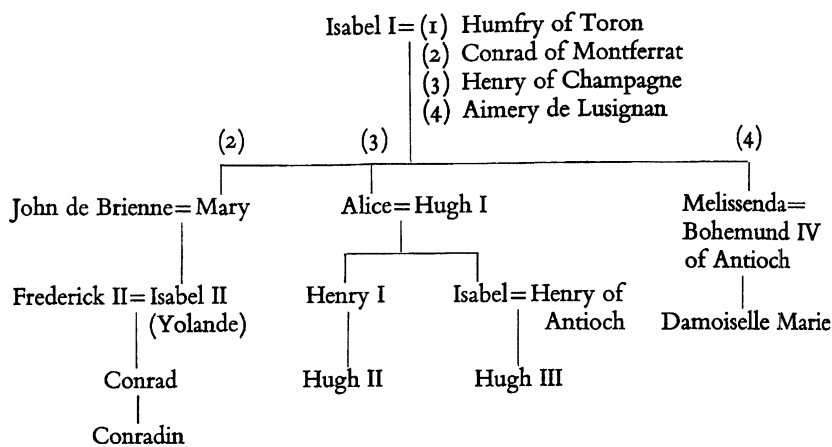
<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* I, p. 423, notes that in the negotiations for the truce Hugh III was observed to refer with much respect to Charles, and assumes that he must have known of the latter's desire for the crown.

<sup>4</sup> Röhricht, p. 946, n. 1: the Lombard Ghibellines persuaded a German prince (Frederick, grandson of the Margrave Henry of Meissen) to claim the succession to Conradin in Italy and Jerusalem. No more seems to have been heard of this.

<sup>5</sup> Not grandson, as Mas Latrie says (M.L., *H.* I, p. 429).

<sup>6</sup> On the date of the debate, which must have been before the death of Geoffrey de Sergines on 11 April 1269, see La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 77, n. 3, who also analyses the discussion, pp. 77f. For the points at issue: *Assises*, II, pp. 415-19 (*Doc. rel. succ.*) and p. 444 (*Lignages d'Outremer*); *Gestes des Chiprois*, 369; Amadi, pp. 210f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 113.

to their common ancestress Isabel I, and was Hugh's first cousin once removed. Hugh, however, was also first cousin and nearest relation of the last person to hold the seignory of Jerusalem, Hugh II (and here the previous decision against Hugh de Brienne gave a precedent in favour of Hugh III). The practical considerations that Hugh was already in possession of the bailliage (against the grant of which Mary



had raised no objection), that he was King of Cyprus, and that Mary was unmarried and an old woman,<sup>1</sup> weighed with the decision of the court, which was in his favour. He received the homage of the lieges, and was crowned at Tyre on 24 September 1269 by the Bishop of Lydda, with the authorization of the Patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> A protest made on Mary's behalf in the course of the ceremony by a clerk, who with a notary entered the church and cried out loudly that he objected to the coronation, then disappearing in the crowd, was without effect.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Gestes des Chiprois* she is said to have been over forty. Amadi and Fl. Bustron give her sixty years. Mas Latrie (note on 'Fr. Jordan') says about sixty-eight—at the time of the alleged offer of marriage. Miss Jamison points out to me that since her parents were not married until 1218 (or the very end of 1217) she cannot have been much more than fifty when she first made her claim. The same ground for such a decision was given in 1309 when the Haute Cour of Achaia preferred (as heir to the Duchy of Athens) Walter de Brienne to Échive, Lady of Beirut, because he was a powerful and gallant man, and she not only a woman but a widow. (Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 220–1).

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 457; *Ann. T.S.* p. 454; *Gestes des Chiprois*, 369; Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 223; Machaeras (ed. Dawkins), 41; Amadi, p. 210.

But it was thought desirable to draw up in solemn form a document, attested by the papal Legate, the Prelates and the Grand Masters of the Orders, in which the decisions of the Haute Cour should be recorded. This document was the basis of the chapters in the *Assises* which relate to the regency and succession of the crown.<sup>1</sup>

Mary had for some time importuned the Patriarch of Jerusalem, William of Agen, to support her claim, but he had declined to do so, and after the death of Conradin had stated that he saw no objection to the coronation of Hugh.<sup>2</sup> Her claims may be considered ridiculous<sup>3</sup> by the ungallant modern historian, but they had a considerable 'nuisance-value'. She was encouraged by the Templars, who were jealous of Hugh.<sup>4</sup> After the decision of the Haute Cour she left for Rome to appeal to the Pope. Towards the end of 1270<sup>5</sup> she reached Sicily, and went thence to Naples, her ship being wrecked at Milazzo on the way. She at once entered into relations with Charles of Anjou.<sup>6</sup> On reaching Rome she was received sympathetically by Gregory X; evidently Charles had already been at work, and he had found reasons to modify his attitude to the matter. For he thought it necessary to explain to Mary that, although he had addressed Hugh as King of Jerusalem, it was without prejudice to her claim.<sup>7</sup> He referred the question to a

<sup>1</sup> *Assises*, II, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 429: Letter of Gregory X, 24 Oct. 1272; Raynaldus, 1272, p. 300, §§ 19, 20; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 28; Potthast, no. 20632; Guiraud, *Reg. de Grég. X*, no. 103.

<sup>3</sup> 'Une ridicule prétendante': Grousset, III, p. 620.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 475; Sanudo, *Secreta*, p. 227; John of Ypres, *Chron. S. Bertini*, in Martène, *Thes. anecd.* III, col. 754.

<sup>5</sup> C. Minieri Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I d'Angiò* (Naples, 1857), p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> He gave orders on 8 Jan. 1271 for the salvaging of her property from the wreck (Minieri Riccio, *loc. cit.*). A payment was made to her between Aug. 1271 and Feb. 1272: Reg. Ang. 1271 A, f. 148. Fl. Bustron, pp. 113-14, says that even before she reached Rome she had sold her rights to Charles, but she cannot have done more than begin negotiations with that object. On 20 Sept. 1276 Charles let her have a house in Naples (Minieri Riccio, *ibid.*). An order for a payment to the portulan and procurator of the Principality for entertaining her and her household is dated Melfi, 26 Sept. 1277: Reg. Ang. N, 28 (1277 F), f. 45. When Röhrich says (*Arch. de l'Or. lat.* I, p. 641n.) that Mary returned to Italy in 1276, either it is a misprint for 1270 (he does not mention her arrival in that year) or he assumes that she returned to Syria for a time. The story in the *Chron.* of 'Fr. Jordan' (M.L., H. II, p. 130), that Charles twice offered to marry her, may be mentioned for what it is worth.

<sup>7</sup> 13 April 1272. Raynaldus, 1272, pp. 299f., § 18; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 27; Potthast, no. 20532; Guiraud, *Reg. de Grég. X*, no. 3.



commission of three prelates of the Holy Land.<sup>1</sup> Mary's claim, he explained, had been rejected by the Patriarch William, who had ordered the Bishop of Lydda to proceed with the coronation, without awaiting the result of her appeal to Rome. Hugh was to be cited to appear before the apostolic presence within nine months to defend himself. If that meant coming to Rome in person, the King did not comply. The result of the enquiry by the commission is not recorded. But Hugh seems to have sent his proctors to reply to Mary at the Council of Lyons,<sup>2</sup> though apparently no decision was taken.<sup>3</sup> For she pursued her claim before the Roman curia.<sup>4</sup> The Bishop of Albano was appointed to judge the case. The proctor of the King of Cyprus raised an exception, arguing that the Roman curia had no jurisdiction in the matter; it was for the Haute Cour of Jerusalem to decide such questions, and there was no appeal from its decision to Rome or any other authority. Mary was unable to rebut this exception, and asked the judge and cardinals to give her a formal statement, drawn up by a notary, and sealed with their seals, that it was sound; for she was a poor woman, and could not afford to continue pleading before the curia; and she proposed to try in another place where she hoped sooner to have her right. The court agreed and the case was withdrawn from it. The King's representatives were pleased, for they thought that they had got all they wanted. But they counted without the woman's pertinacity and the ambitions of Charles of Anjou. He, having succeeded to the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, aimed, as already remarked, at acquiring also the crown of Jerusalem which Frederick II, Conrad and Conradin had worn, but to which he had no legal right. That right he was now to obtain. In 1277 Mary transferred to him whatever rights she might have. A contract was made with Charles in the presence of a number of cardinals and prelates and the greater part of the members of the curia. In this assembly, she, acting 'as the true and legitimate heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem (which she had several times been proved and declared to be by the highest legal authorities)',<sup>5</sup> transferred and gave to Charles every right that she had or could have in the Kingdom. The contract bore the seals of several cardinals and prelates. Thus the crown of Jerusalem came to

<sup>1</sup> Letter of 24 October 1272 (above, p. 163, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 464; Sanudo, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 79, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 475-6; *Gestes*, 375; Sanudo, p. 227; John of Ypres, col. 754.

<sup>5</sup> 'Sicut pluries ostensum et declaratum fuerat per iudices dominos legum, magistros decretorum, advocatos et sapientes': Sanudo; cp. John of Ypres, *loc. cit.*

Charles of Anjou. There can be no doubt that the consent of the cardinals and prelates had been obtained by Charles by fair means or foul.

He, for his part, settled on Mary a handsome annuity, as regards which there is some scattered information, not all of it accurately reproduced by modern writers.<sup>1</sup>

Her cession of her rights echoed long, though faintly, through the centuries. The Kings of Naples continued to call themselves Kings of Jerusalem; 'and the title has run on to the present day' (wrote Stubbs in 1878) 'in the houses of Spain and Austria, the Dukes of Lorraine and the successive dynasties of Naples'.<sup>2</sup> The immediate result of the transfer was seen in the arrival of Roger of San Severino at Acre in 1277.

But we must return to the point at which we left the course of events after the coronation of Hugh as King of Jerusalem. In 1268, or perhaps later, the death of John d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa,<sup>3</sup> removed another of the great figures of the time, and its most famous jurist. His is the name most closely associated with the *Assises de Jérusalem*, for the 'Livre de Jean d'Ibelin', compiled during his last days, although in its origin unofficial, became by degrees the authoritative work of reference for the jurisprudence of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus, and indeed in 1369 was given official acknowledgement.<sup>4</sup> But he was more than

<sup>1</sup> See Note II at the end of this Chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Monod, *Trattato del titolo Regio*, etc. p. 43: 'il titolo di Gierusalemme si è visto trà i titoli delli Rè d'Ongheria, Polonia, Sicilia, Neapoli e Cipro, pure senza possesso, nè per ciò lascia il Rè Catolico di metterlo trà i suoi.' At the Council of Basle, the King of Cyprus having been named as 'King of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia', the Bishop of Digne protested that this should not prejudice his own King Louis of Sicily and Jerusalem. 'Verba autem generis huius patrum plurimi in risum convertebant dicentes, ut quid desuper regno illo contendeatur, regum nemine illud habente, quia liceret eis iuxta ewangelii verbum "qui potest capere, capiat" illud...': *Monumenta Concil. Gen. seculi xv, Conc. Basil. Script.* II (Vienna, 1874), p. 619.

<sup>3</sup> He is generally supposed to have died in Dec. 1266, on the authority of *Eracles*, p. 455; *Gestes*, 349; Sanudo, p. 222; Amadi, p. 208 (7 Dec.); cp. M.L., *H.* I, p. 414. But it appears that he was still alive in 1268; see above, p. 157, n. 2. He was the first Ibelin to receive the title of Count of Jaffa, with which he was invested probably in 1247 (M.L., *Rev. des questions hist.* 1879, p. 196). It remained in the family for more than a century.

<sup>4</sup> The theory that the story of the existence of a written code which was destroyed in 1187 (the so-called 'Letters of the Holy Sepulchre') was invented by him (D. C. Munro, *Kingdom of the Crusaders*, 1935, pp. 79-80) can no longer be accepted, Grandclaude having shown that a series of laws (though not a formal code) included in the *Assises* can be dated before 1187. See La Monte, *Three Questions*, pp. 204-8.

a lawyer; his counsels carried more weight than those of anyone else in the affairs of the Kingdom, and his reputation for honourable dealing, in a time when duplicity in transactions with the enemy was not universally condemned, won the respect not only of his compatriots, but also, it would seem, of the treacherous and unaccountable Baibars.

That redoubtable enemy of Christendom continued, by fighting or other means, to splinter off more pieces from the ruinous structure of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Reprisals by the Franks were characterized, as usual, by rashness and futility; an instance was the raid in December 1269 by Robert de Cresèques, Seneschal of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> and Oliver de Termes with a force of 130 knights, with their squires and turcoples. Having ravaged the country between Montfort (Kalat Kurain) and Acre, they were intercepted when near home by a force of 3000 Mamelukes. Rejecting the advice of Oliver de Termes to avoid the enemy, Robert with his companions charged into the thick of them and was killed.<sup>2</sup> Other less honourable means than battle in the field were employed by Baibars. The reconciliation effected by Hugh III between Philip de Montfort and Acre was a great hindrance to his plan of defeating his enemy by sections. Baibars enlisted the help of the ruler of the Assassins of the Lebanon and on 17 August 1270 Philip was stabbed to death with a poisoned dagger by one of his agents, who had obtained access to Tyre as a would-be convert to Christianity.

The progress of the Sultan might have been arrested had not St Louis made the fatal mistake of allowing his second Crusade to be diverted to Tunis. As it was, Baibars was not hindered in his next move against the fortresses, of which the most important, the immensely strong Krak des Chevaliers, Kalat al-Hosn, fell to him on 8 April 1271. Prince Edward of England, who had come on from Tunis, and reached Acre on 9 May, doubtless gave moral support to the Franks; but he brought with him only about 1000 men in his little fleet, which he had repro-

<sup>1</sup> Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1370 (Acre, 1269). *M.L.*, *H.* 1, p. 431, and La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* p. 256, also give him as Seneschal of Cyprus in the same year.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 458; *Ann. T.S.* p. 454; *Gestes* 351 (misdated 1267); Sanudo, p. 223 (1269: no details); Makrizi, I, B, p. 77; Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, p. 517 (no details). Full story of the encounter in Röhricht, p. 951 (cp. *Mitth. des Inst. f. Oesterr. Geschichtsforschung*, XI, 1890, p. 379). Oliver de Termes was wrongly supposed to have been killed (so *Eracles*, p. 458, and *Ann. T.S.* p. 454).

visioned in Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> Baibars, it is true, made peace with Bohemund VI of Tripoli about this time; but on 12 June he captured the fortress of the Teutonic knights, Montfort (Kalat Kurain), after a week's siege. What was more, he actually attempted to carry the war into Hugh's own Kingdom of Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> Fitting out a small fleet, of fourteen galleys at the most, under his Admiral Ibn Hasun, he painted them black like Christian vessels, and made them fly the Cross. Arriving at night, nearly the whole fleet was wrecked off Lemesos, which was its objective, and its gear and at least 1800 of the crews were captured. The Admiral escaped; the prisoners were carried to Tyre, whence they were transferred to Acre, but difficulties arose over the price of their ransom, and meanwhile many escaped from prison with the help of saws and files which were conveyed to them, the warders having been bribed. This escape, when known, caused a riot at Acre. Elated by his success, Hugh took his revenge in kind for the letters which Baibars seems to have made a practice of writing to his defeated foes; but the Sultan replied with threats,<sup>3</sup> and gave orders for building a new fleet. But nothing came of this.

Baibars had chosen a moment for his raid on Cyprus when Hugh was absent on the mainland. He had gone there to concert measures with Edward and Bohemund VI, Count of Tripoli.<sup>4</sup> Edward had plans for a campaign in alliance with the Mongols. But Abagha was too much occupied with defending himself against his own kin to undertake more than a lightning raid with 10,000 horsemen, which, terrifying as it was, had no permanent effect. And Edward and Hugh, with their hopelessly inadequate forces, could do no more than a little raiding on a much smaller scale. On 12 July 1271 Edward rode towards Lydda and laid waste the country, but soon returned to Acre, his force having suffered greatly from heat and thirst and over-indulgence in fruit and

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<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 460, however, says he brought 'grand gent'. Thomas Wykes, *Chron.* ed. Luard, 1869, pp. 244-5, describes the call at Cyprus.

<sup>2</sup> Makrizi, I, B, pp. 87f., cp. p. 121; Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, p. 528 (Ibn el-Furat). Al-Aini (*Rec. Cr. Or.* II, pp. 239-40) says that orders were given after the capture of Montfort, and that place was only invested on 13 June 1271. In *Gestes*, 377, the number of ships is eleven, of which two escaped. *Ann. T.S.*, p. 455, date the affair in June. *Eracles*, p. 460, says fourteen galleys were wrecked and over 3000 prisoners taken. Sanudo, p. 224 (same figures). Makrizi's date is Shawwal 669, i.e. 13 May to 11 June 1271.

<sup>3</sup> Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, p. 528: the Sultan called Hugh, to insult him, merely 'Bailie' (بيلي).

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 380.

honey.<sup>1</sup> More successful was a foray on which he and Hugh set out on 23 November, as far as Caco (Qaqun), to the south-east of Caesarea, where they did not attempt to attack the tower which defended it; but they killed a great many Turcomans and took much cattle.<sup>2</sup>

If the forces at the disposal of the Christian princes were inadequate at their best, their efficiency was still more reduced by the insistence of the Cypriote knights on their right to refuse service outside the limits of the Kingdom of Cyprus—an astonishing illustration of the blindness of these feudal gentlemen to the interests which were at stake.<sup>3</sup> Realizing that the result of the war with Baibars could only be unfortunate for them, their one desire was to return to Cyprus. Hugh maintained that they were bound to serve him on the mainland as long as he thought fit. Their liability to service for their fiefs, they contended, was limited to the island. Beyond that, they declined to be forced, although they were always ready for voluntary service where the cause of God or the honour of their King called for it. It was decided to debate the question before Prince Edward. The King pointed out that the formula used in granting a fief set no limit to the character or duration of the service, which were left to the King to determine, and he was able to show plenty of precedents for service outside the limits of the Kingdom. The case for the knights was set forth in a brilliant harangue by James d'Ibelin, another of the expert jurists produced by that remarkable family. His contention was that there was nothing in the oath taken by the feudatories which bound them to service limited only by the King's discretion,

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 461 (12 July); *Gestes*, 379; Sanudo, p. 224 (22 June); *Ann. T.S.* pp. 454 (no date), 455 (20 July); Amadi, p. 212 (20 June); Fl. Bustron, p. 114. It does not appear whether Hugh was on this raid.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 461; Amadi, p. 212 (same date); *Gestes*, 381 (24 Nov.); *Ann. T.S.* p. 455 (29 Nov.); Sanudo, p. 224 (23 Nov.); Fl. Bustron, p. 114 (no date); Makrizi, I, B, p. 101. Walter de Hemingburgh, *Chron.* bk. III, c. 35 (ed. Hamilton, I, p. 334) and Knighton in Twysden, col. 2457 (ed. Lumby, I, p. 261), give the date as 24 June, and make Edward return by Château Pèlerin, and call successfully on the Cypriote knights to serve as *his* vassals, although they had refused service to Hugh (an evident distortion of the facts to heighten Edward's prestige, as M.L., *H.* I, p. 437, n. 1 points out; though Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, p. 188, thinks that the barons were attempting to revive the relation which had existed under Richard I).

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* I, pp. 437–42; La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* pp. 156–7. The dispute is related at length in *Assises*, II, pp. 427–34. Briefly mentioned in *Eracles*, pp. 462–4. For James d'Ibelin, who wrote his contribution to the *Assises* on his death-bed, therefore after 1271, and probably before 1286, see Grandclaude, pp. 89–90.

and that where in the past they had served outside the Kingdom, it was not in obedience to a summons, or because they owed the service, but 'for God and their honour'. 'We could also prove, by the witness of persons still alive, that the knights of Cyprus served outside the Kingdom the house of Ibelin more often than my lord the King or his ancestors, so that if usage could make them subject to serve, it must be said that the Ibelins would have the right to make the same demands of them as my lord the King.' He ended by telling the King that he could have their service if he went the right way to get it, which was to be polite to them (and politeness cost little) and to be agreeable to those who need it and will be grateful for it. Compulsion had never secured, and never would secure, the hearts and service of gentlemen and men of spirit.

It is evident from these words that the King had not been tactful in his attempt to enforce as an obligation service which was in origin purely voluntary but had come to be taken as a matter of course. We must suppose that the knights, seeing no prospect of a successful campaign, informed the King that they proposed to abandon it; that he told them that he could command their services at his discretion; and that some brusqueness in the manner of his doing so caused them to fall back upon their strict legal rights. But it must be confessed that according to the customs of the Kingdom, which were already, by this time, on record, the King had a fairly good case. According to the *Livre au Roi* the King could not compel service outside the Kingdom unless it was for the profit of the Kingdom or for the need of the land'; and such service was to be at the expense of the King.<sup>1</sup> They might argue, on a narrow interpretation, that the service now demanded was not for the profit or need of Cyprus. But John d'Ibelin, in his book which he composed in 1265-6, laid down<sup>2</sup> that the liege was bound to serve outside the realm (but at the King's charges) for three things: the marriage of the lord or one of his children; to guard and defend his faith and honour; and thirdly for the apparent need of his seignory or the common profit of his land.<sup>3</sup> This statement had a wide bearing, and it is difficult to see how, if it had been presented at the debate, on the

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<sup>1</sup> *Assises*, I; *Livre au Roi*, xxix, p. 626: 'por le proufit dou reyaume ou por le besoing de la terre'.

<sup>2</sup> *Assises*, I; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, ccxvii, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> 'La tierce por le besoing aparant de sa seignorie ou le comun proufit de sa terre.'

authority of John d'Ibelin, the barons could have rebutted it. It appears that no decision was reached on the occasion of this debate, but next year (1273) the barons accepted a compromise, recognizing that they owed service to the King outside the island, wherever he should please in the Kingdom of Jerusalem or elsewhere beyond sea, for four months in a year, and wherever he in person or his son should be.<sup>1</sup>

It was clear to both Hugh and Edward that it was impossible to carry on the war against Baibars with their small forces, on which, so far as the Cypriotes were concerned, they could not depend for continuous service. Baibars, on the other hand, was preoccupied by his fear of the Mongols. A truce was accordingly arranged and signed at Caesarea, on 21 or 22 April 1272, for ten years, ten months, ten days and ten hours; but it covered only the plain of Acre and the road to Nazareth.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion of this truce did not prevent Baibars from attempting the assassination of Edward on 16 June. But, since the Sultan disclaimed responsibility for this attempt, he could not officially be said to have broken the truce; and indeed it was formally observed for the whole time actually agreed. The Crusade was over, and Edward sailed for home on 22 September 1272.

From an Arabic source<sup>3</sup> we hear of an incident which vividly illustrates the breakdown of solidarity among the Franks. The widow of Hugh II, Isabel of Beirut, had married in 1272 an Englishman, Heimont or Edmund l'Estrange.<sup>4</sup> Shortly before his death, Edmund placed his wife and the city of Beirut under the protection of Baibars. Beirut was a fief of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; and Hugh, when Isabel was again a widow, promptly asserted his rights, took possession of Beirut and carried her off to Cyprus. But Baibars, alleging the existence of a

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 464: 'hors du roiaume de Chipre, la ou il li plairoit, u roiaume de Jherusalem ou autre part de ca mer .iiii. mois de l'an, et la proprement ou il son cors ou son fils seroit'. Pope Gregory X wrote congratulating the King on this settlement: Raynaldus, 1273, § 36, p. 337; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 462 (22 April); Sanudo, p. 224 (10 April); Makrizi, I, B, p. 102 (10 years, 10 months, 10 hours); al-Aini, p. 247 (10 years, 10 months, 10 days, 10 hours); Amadi, p. 213 (10 years, 10 months). Other references in Röhrich, p. 963. Delaville le Roulx, *Hosp. T.S.* p. 225, shows that it is incorrect to suppose that Edward did not consent to the truce. Ibn el-Furat (Reinaud, p. 530) gives the impression that Baibars ignored the King of Cyprus in this truce, treating only with the Commune of Acre.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn el-Furat in Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, p. 532. Cp. Muhyi ed-Din in Michaud, *Bibliogr. des Croisades*, II (1822), p. 685.

<sup>4</sup> Or Raymond l'Étranger, M. L., *Généalogie*, p. 8.

treaty between himself and the princess, threatened to take the place by force; the Templars, always jealous of Hugh, in whose policy of a strong government they saw a threat to their own ascendancy, brought pressure to bear on him; and the King was forced to surrender the lady into the hands of the enemy Sultan.

Hugh's anxieties were not lessened by reports which reached him that Hugh de Brienne, his old rival, although he had not attempted in 1261, on the death of his aunt Plaisance, to press his claim to the regency of Cyprus, was now enrolling forces with the object of invading the island, with the help or at any rate the favour of Charles of Anjou. Pope Gregory X exerted himself to discourage this project,<sup>1</sup> and wrote to Charles on the subject. The plans came to nothing, no thanks, it must be assumed, to Charles, who would not have bestirred himself to do anything to help Hugh out of his difficulties.

Rebuffed at Beirut, Hugh suffered a second humiliation shortly afterwards in connexion with the guardianship of the young prince Bohemund VII of Tripoli.<sup>2</sup> Hugh was cousin-german of the prince's father, Bohemund VI, who died in March 1275,<sup>3</sup> and he presumed on this relationship to claim the guardianship of the infant. Tripoli was at that time torn by faction. The prince's mother, Sibyl of Armenia, had placed her son under the protection of her brother Leo III; the regency she had committed to Bartholomew, Bishop of Tortosa. On the other hand, there was a party headed by Paul, Bishop of Tripoli. Paul was a brother of Lucia of Segni, the wife of Bohemund V, who had introduced into Tripoli a number of clerics and officials of Roman origin. The Bishop of Tripoli, by joining the Order of the Templars, got them on his side.<sup>4</sup> Hugh found it impossible either to reconcile the factions, or to maintain his claim to the guardianship of the young prince, and had to retire to Acre.

In spite of his failure at Tripoli, Hugh is said to have shown his magnanimity by intervening on behalf of Bohemund VII with Baibars, who had demanded from the young prince the half of the town of Laodicea—the only possession, besides Tripoli itself, still remaining to the heir of the old principality of Antioch. On 4 July 1275 the Sultan

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<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, 1275, p. 392, § 52; Potthast, no. 21,095.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 467–9.

<sup>3</sup> Bohemund V, father of Bohemund VI, and Henry of Antioch, father of Hugh, were brothers.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 481.



gave up his claim at the price of an annual tribute of 20,000 dinars, and the return of twenty Moslem prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

The Grand Master of the Templars at this time was William de Beaujeu. He had arrived at Acre in September 1275. A man of great force of character, the policy on which he had determined was to crush Hugh III and place the crown of Jerusalem on the head of Charles of Anjou. The rebuffs at Beirut and Tripoli, the difficulties with the Cypriote knights, the impossibility of controlling the bourgeoisie of Acre, made Hugh's position intolerable. The Temple openly flouted his authority when in October 1276 it deliberately omitted to obtain his consent to the purchase of a casale ('la Fauconnerie') from a knight of Acre. Hugh gave up the struggle in disgust and departed to Tyre and afterwards to Cyprus. 'And his departure was not only for this cause, but for many other quarrels which he had with the Orders and the Communes and the Confraternities, whom he could not rule or control to his wish.'<sup>2</sup> He went without appointing Bailie or Viscount or anyone to keep order. To the Pope he wrote complaining that it was impossible to carry on government in the face of the opposition of Temple and Hospital.

His departure brought all but the most inveterate of his enemies, the Templars and the Venetians, to their senses. Deputations from the clergy and knights, the Hospitallers, Teutonic Order, Pisans, Genoese, and the Confraternities, sought him out at Tyre. After much pressure, he consented to appoint Balian d'Ibelin of Arsur as Bailie, and other officers; and then shook the dust of Syria off his feet, departing to Cyprus 'by night and without taking leave'.<sup>3</sup>

In this year occurred the death of Hugh's father Henry, who was drowned at sea in June.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Makrizi, I, B, p. 125 (20 prisoners; no mention of Hugh); Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, p. 533 (20 prisoners; no mention of Hugh); Muhyi ed-Din, in Michaud, *Bibliogr. des Croisades*, II, p. 685 (the Sultan negotiates with Hugh, but the question was not settled when the place was captured by al-Malik al-Ashraf); Röhrich, p. 967; Grousset, III, p. 682.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 474; *Gestes*, 396; John of Ypres, col. 754. The *Gestes* dates this in 1278, which is too late. The same authority (397) puts in that year the appointment of Balian of Arsur as Regent, after Hugh had gone back to Cyprus.

<sup>3</sup> *Eracles*, p. 475.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, p. 474 (18 June); *Gestes*, 388 (28 June); Sanudo, p. 226 (27 June); *Ann. T.S.* p. 456 (1276); Amadi, p. 213 (18 June); John of Ypres, col. 754 (1276).

Gregory X, who had interested himself in the claims of Mary of Antioch and Charles of Anjou, and who had even planned, himself, to lead a Crusade to Syria,<sup>1</sup> died on 10 January 1276. Three Popes followed him in swift succession in the same year, and could make no effective interference in the affairs of Jerusalem. Charles, as we have seen, assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, of which the crown was so precariously worn by Hugh, in 1277. Roger of Sanseverino arrived in Acre to take possession as his Bailie.<sup>2</sup> He brought with him credentials from the Pope, Charles of Anjou, and Mary, which were read publicly. Balian, after consultation with the Grand Master of the Hospital, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and others, who refused to interfere, but indicated by the chilly tone of their replies that he had better yield, decided to make no defence, evacuated the castle and resigned the bailliage.<sup>3</sup> Roger took possession, hoisted the flag of Charles, and proclaimed him as King of Jerusalem and Sicily.

But it remained to induce the lieges to do homage to Charles as King, and this, though frequently required by Roger, they hesitated to do, on the ground that they were bound to Hugh, until he gave them leave or himself failed in his duty according to the usages of the Kingdom. They sent frequent messages to Cyprus, but could obtain only evasive replies. Finally Roger gave them the alternatives of obeying his summons or forfeiting their fiefs and all their property. At the request of the Grand Master of the Temple, he allowed them a delay, while they once more sent a deputation to Hugh. The King however declined to give them a satisfactory reply, and their delegates returned with no instructions. The lieges had then no choice but to do homage to Charles.<sup>4</sup> Shortly afterwards Bohemund VII also acknowledged him.<sup>5</sup> Roger appointed as Seneschal Eudes Poilechien, as Constable Richard de Neublans, as Marshal James Vidal, as Viscount Girard le Raschas.<sup>6</sup>

William de Beaujeu had gained his point, and ousted Hugh from the Kingdom. He now did his best to restore order, and it was by his

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<sup>1</sup> See Röhricht, p. 969, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Eracles*, p. 478 with note *a* (8 May); Sanudo, p. 227 (7 June); *Gestes*, 398 (Sept.); Amadi, p. 214 (7 June); Fl. Bustron, p. 115 (no date).

<sup>3</sup> He died soon after on 29 Sept.: *Eracles*, p. 478 and note *o*.

<sup>4</sup> *Eracles*, pp. 478-9; Sanudo, p. 227; John of Ypres, col. 755; Pseudo-Jordan, in M.L., H. II, pp. 130-1.

<sup>5</sup> Sanudo, p. 228; John of Ypres, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Eracles*, p. 479.

efforts that the Venetians were at last reconciled with John de Montfort, and the good work which Hugh himself had begun was completed by his bitter enemy. On 1 July 1277 an agreement was signed by which the Venetians recovered the third of the town of Tyre.<sup>1</sup>

About this time death removed the Sultan Baibars.<sup>2</sup> It almost seemed as if, with the settlement in Acre and the disappearance of the most formidable of the Mamelukes, a new era had dawned for the Franks in Syria. But it was not to last.

Hugh, having allowed judgement to go against him by default, repented of his indecision. In 1279 he took an army to Tyre, where he was supported by John de Montfort, and waited there in the hope that his supporters in Acre would rise in his favour. But William de Beaujeu was too strong for him; the four months—the limit of foreign service for the Cypriote vassals—slipped away, and they returned home. Hugh could only follow them.<sup>3</sup> He took a dire revenge on the Templars, to whose enmity he rightly attributed his failure. He seized their revenues throughout the island, destroyed their houses at Paphos and Lemesos, and their fortress at Gastria.<sup>4</sup> This confiscation of their property lasted until 1282. Pope Nicolas III (25 November 1277–22 August 1280) endeavoured to mediate between Hugh and Charles;<sup>5</sup> and there is an undated bull of Martin IV (22 February 1281–28 March 1285) addressed to the King which orders him to cease persecuting the Templars.<sup>6</sup>

The letter of Nicolas III just mentioned shows that Hugh had complained of his ejection from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Pope

<sup>1</sup> *Eracles*, p. 478; *Gestes*, 398.

<sup>2</sup> The dates given vary from 15 April to 1 July. See Röhrich, p. 974, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. T.S.* p. 457; *Gestes*, 401; Sanudo, p. 228 (1277); Pseudo-Jordan, in *M.L.*, *H.* II, p. 131 (under 1277).

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. T.S.* p. 457; *Gestes*, 401; Amadi, p. 214; Fl. Bustron, p. 116. According to the memorandum by King Henry II mentioned below (note 6), the fortresses were razed, the houses were not.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg. de Nicolas III*, no. 738, 25 March 1279: Charles exhorted to be reconciled with the King of Cyprus, and to send properly empowered envoys to Rome to treat. Raynaldus, 1279, p. 488, § 15.

<sup>6</sup> Martène, *Ampl. Coll.* II, col. 1300; Potthast, no. 22,194. From instructions issued by Hugh's successor, Henry II, to his envoy at the Papal Court, some time before 1306, it would appear that, after Hugh took his vengeance on the Order, the Grand Master obtained letters from the Pope by virtue of which sentence was pronounced against the King by the Archdeacon of Tortosa and the Bishop of Sidon: *M.L.*, *H.* II, p. 109.

asked Charles to send his representatives to Rome, to compose the differences. But nothing was done until the Sicilian Vespers destroyed the power of Charles and thus settled the question.

After the death of Baibars, two weak successors reigned for a brief interval; but from 27 November 1277, a more efficient ruler, Kalaun, occupied the Mameluke throne. The ten years' truce concluded with Acre in 1272 was still in force, and Roger of Sanseverino declined to allow any part of the country under his control to be concerned in war with the Sultan. The truce, however, did not bind the other Franks, and once more there was an attempt at combination with the Mongols.<sup>1</sup> The invasion of northern Syria by the latter gave the Hospitallers of Margat the opportunity of a very successful raid into the surrounding country in October 1280. In Damascus the emir Sonkor had set himself up as Sultan in April 1280. In face of the Mongol peril, Kalaun came to terms with Sonkor (June 1281) and also made a truce for ten years with the Templars and Hospitallers (13 May) and Bohemund VII (16 July).<sup>2</sup> Roger of Sanseverino was on excellent terms with Kalaun. Thus, when the Mongols invaded Syria in September, only a few Syrian Franks joined them, although there was a strong force of Armenians under Leo III. In the battle of Homs (Emesa) on 29 or 30 October, Kalaun won a Pyrrhic victory. On his way back to Egypt, he received the congratulations of Roger in person.

An account of the battle given by one who was there, Joseph de Chanzy, Prior of the Hospital in England, in a letter to Edward I,<sup>3</sup> implies that Hugh III was expected to be present. He describes how the Saracens cut the connexion with the Mongols, so that neither 'we' nor Bohemund VII—the King of Cyprus had not yet come up—could join them. It is true that Hugh and Bohemund may not have felt themselves

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<sup>1</sup> For what follows to the battle of Emesa, see Röhricht, pp. 979–81; Grousset, III, pp. 697–701.

<sup>2</sup> Probably by a slip, 3 May is given by Röhricht, p. 979, and Grousset, III, p. 698; Makrizi, II, A, p. 28, gives Saturday, 22 Muharram = 13 May. See Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1447. Cp. *Ottokars Oesterr. Reimchron.* ed. J. Seemüller, 1890, vv. 44, 779 ff. (10 years, 10 months, 10 weeks).

<sup>3</sup> Letter to Edward I (Bréquigny, *Lettres des rois, reines, etc.* I, 1839, pp. 288–94, in *Doc. inéd. sur l'hist. de France*; Eng. tr. in *Pal. Pilgrims' Text Soc.* v, 1890, pp. 7–14), dated 31 March 1282 (see *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LII, 1891, p. 52 n.). Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1446. There is also a brief account of the battle in the letter of Nicolas le Lorgne, Grand Master of the Hospital, to Edward I, dated from Acre 5 March 1282 (*Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, III, 1891, p. 60).

bound by the recent truce, but there is no other evidence of the King of Cyprus being concerned in this campaign.

The Sicilian Vespers (30 March 1282), although they marked the collapse of the power of Charles of Anjou, did not improve Hugh's position. Roger of Sanseverino and his troops were, it is true, recalled; he left the government of Acre to the Seneschal, Eudes Poilechien.<sup>1</sup> The truce of Caesarea expired early in 1283, and on 3 June it was renewed by Eudes, on behalf of Acre, for another ten years.<sup>2</sup> The treaty covered all the territories of the Sultan from Egypt to North Syria, and all the towns of the Franks, Acre, Haifa, most of Carmel, Athlit and part of its territory, Sidon, etc.—all these are carefully defined. It is noticeable that in this treaty the authority of Charles and Hugh is equally ignored. Kalaun treats with Poilechien solely as the representative of the Commune of Acre and the Franks of Sidon and Athlit; there were present at the negotiations the envoys and high officers of Acre, two brethren of the Hospital and two of the Temple. If a new Crusade from the West is projected, or if the Mongols are preparing to attack Syria, the Franks of Acre undertake to warn the Sultan; and if there is an invasion by the Mongols or any other nation from Asia, the parties to the treaty are to warn each other. The measures of defence to be taken in case of such an invasion are described. The disintegration of Christian solidarity in the face of the Moslem peril could not be better illustrated.<sup>3</sup>

It was inevitable, therefore, that another attempt which Hugh made to restore his authority in Syria should fail. With his second and third sons, Henry and Bohemund, and 250 knights he sailed for Tyre, but was driven by the weather to Beirut, where he landed on 1 August 1283.<sup>4</sup> On the 6th or 7th he sailed for Tyre, to join his brother-in-law John de Montfort.<sup>5</sup> His troops went by land, having to fight their way, and suffering heavy losses in an attack by the Moslems of the region (though Hugh attributed the opposition to the Templars of

<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 418; Sanudo, p. 229. See the description of Eudes in Sanudo, *Chron. of Romania*, in M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Makrizi, II, A, p. 60. Text and translation, *ibid.* pp. 179–85, 224–30; commentary, pp. 230ff. Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, pp. 545–7.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., H. I, p. 470; Grousset, III, p. 702.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 419 (says John was left in Cyprus); *Ann. T.S.* p. 458. Amadi (p. 215) and Fl. Bustron (p. 116) make all three sons go with their father.

<sup>5</sup> *Gestes*, 419 (6 Aug.); Sanudo, p. 229; Amadi, p. 215.

Sidon).<sup>1</sup> Evil omens attended his arrival; as his ship came to port, a standard with the Lusignan arms fell into the sea; a cross carried in the procession of the clergy which came to meet him fell from its staff and broke the head of a Jewish doctor. The King, making little of these accidents, said his prayers in the church, and went to lodge with John de Montfort.

His troubles came thick upon him. On 3 November his youngest son Bohemund died;<sup>2</sup> and on the 27th his much-beloved brother-in-law John de Montfort.<sup>3</sup> As John left no issue, Hugh, in the presence of the Court and the Genoese and Pisans and Venetians, invested his brother Humfry of Beirut with the fief of Tyre, but on condition that Hugh should have power to purchase it back from him within the term of next May for 150,000 besants saracen.<sup>4</sup> Events nullified this arrangement. Humfry himself was only to survive a few months, dying on 12 February 1284.<sup>5</sup> He is described by the author of the *Gestes des Chiprois* as the most handsome knight of his time.

Hugh's misfortunes were ended only by his own death on 24 March 1284.<sup>6</sup> The Constable, Simon de Montolif, came to Tyre and took his

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, p. 229. According to Makrizi (II, A, p. 63) the Franks were making a raid on the territory of the *Sahel*. Other Arabic sources make the King himself lead the expedition; he had expected the Sultan to support him against Acre, and was offended when he learnt of the Sultan's agreement with that place. Driven by the winds to the coast of Beirut, he landed and raided the country, but fell into an ambush and had heavy losses. He re-embarked and went on to Tyre, where he soon afterwards died. Quatremère, note on Makrizi, *loc. cit.*; Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> *Gestes*, 422: 'le debonaire & large & courtois Beymont...il fu biau & bon & cortois'; Amadi, p. 215; Fl. Bustron, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 420; Amadi, p. 215 (26 Nov.); Fl. Bustron, p. 116 (no date).

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 421.

<sup>5</sup> *Gestes*, 423; Amadi, p. 215; Fl. Bustron, p. 116 (no date).

<sup>6</sup> *Gestes*, 424 (says Hugh, his father and his son were all three buried in Santa Sophia); Sanudo, p. 229 (26 March); Amadi, p. 216 (as in the text); Machaeras 41 (27 March). The earthquake of 1491, which threw down a great part of the Cathedral of Nicosia, laid open a tomb, containing the body of a king, wearing golden crown, gold-embroidered coat, boots and spurs, with gold-inlaid sword, and in his right hand his golden cruciferous orb. Dietrich v. Schachten, who saw it, says that with it were documents showing it to be the body of Hugh II, and that it was over two hundred years since he died (Röhrich-Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, p. 211). The date and place of burial indicate that this was the tomb of Hugh III. Lusignan (*Chor. f.* 54b; cp. *Hist.* 1579, f. 18 and *Descr. f.* 137b) says that Hugh was buried at Bellapaïs, which he built; and his tomb there was shown to Mariti (*Viaggi*, I, p. 130). But this story probably arose because Hugh was reputed, quite wrongly, to be the founder of the

body (as also those of his son Bohemund and his father Henry) to Cyprus, where the King was buried in the cathedral of Nicosia, his father in the church of the Hospital, and his son in that of the Franciscans.

Hugh III has been variously judged by posterity. The perhaps prejudiced historian of the Knights Hospitallers is hostile, attributing his failures in Syria to his own pusillanimity and careless indolence.<sup>1</sup> Others have been much more favourable, and with them we may incline to accept the estimate of the modern historian who calls him the last great king of Frankish Syria.<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Gestes des Chiprois* says that his death was a great loss to Christendom, 'for the great judgement (*sens*) and goodness that was in him. And he was so handsome and noble that among a thousand knights one would have known him for the King'<sup>3</sup> But he had an impossible task. He did his best to reconcile the quarrelling selfish factions in Syria, to unite them with the Mongols against Islam; he was thwarted at every turn by the narrow-minded commercialism of the trading communities, or by the ambitions of the Templars, without whose support it is probable that the usurpation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem by Charles of Anjou would never have been carried through. But a distant king, with a regent subservient to their designs, suited the Templars better than a king so near as Cyprus, who did not disguise his preference for a strong monarchical regime. Even his own Cypriote vassals stood upon their feudal rights to the detriment of the interests of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and, by implication, of the Kingdom of Cyprus itself. The Pope and Cardinals, who must have known what was best for those interests, lent themselves to the intrigues of a supplanter. In the face of this discouraging opposition, Hugh acted with pertinacity and dignity. The revenge that he took on the Templars seems to indicate a lapse from his usual magnanimity, but should not surprise any student of his times. Nor can he reasonably be blamed for bringing up his sons badly, or being too indulgent to them, even if they were, as later scandal reported, a dissolute company.<sup>4</sup>

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abbey, and it was right that he should be buried there. There may be some truth in the tradition reported by Lusignan that it was Hugh who gave to the Abbot of Bellapais the privilege of wearing a mitre, and, when riding, gilt sword and gilt spurs.

<sup>1</sup> Bosio, *Ist. della sacra religione*, I (1594), pp. 223, 226.

<sup>2</sup> Grousset, III, p. 679.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 424.

<sup>4</sup> The accusation is not contemporary, but may be found in the scandalmonger Loredano (Giblet, I, p. 194). The same writer, however, elsewhere speaks well of

JOHN I (1284-5). HENRY II (1285-1324)

Hugh's son John was crowned King of Cyprus at Nicosia on 11 May 1284.<sup>1</sup> Crossing to Syria, he was crowned King of Jerusalem at Tyre; but he soon returned to Cyprus and died, having reigned barely a year, on 20 May 1285.<sup>2</sup> He was succeeded by his younger brother Henry, a boy of fourteen, who was crowned on 24 June.<sup>3</sup> In the interval, Charles I of Anjou had died (7 January 1285). Charles II showed no signs of interest in the crown of Jerusalem, although he continued (perhaps not very regularly) to pay the pension of Mary. In Syria the net was closing round the Franks. Kalaun, it is true, granted a truce to the regents of Tyre and Beirut in 1285; but on 17 April of that year he attacked the tremendous fortress of the Hospitallers at Margat and was in possession of it by capitulation on 25 May 1285.<sup>4</sup>

Since the death of Charles I of Anjou, the population of Acre had begun to incline towards the acceptance of Henry as King of Jerusalem. William de Beaujeu, Grand Master of the Temple, and Eudes Poilechien remained to be won over. An envoy, Julian le Jaune, was sent

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Hugh, in connexion with the plague of 1268; the King, he says, did his best for the people by building hospitals and distributing alms, although to find the money he had to sell many of the fiefs of the crown, the treasury being empty, more because of the extravagance of Queen Plaisance than owing to the wars (Giblet, I, pp. 174f.).

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, p. 229 (11 May); *Gestes*, 425 (May, without date); Amadi, p. 216 (the same).

<sup>2</sup> *Gestes*, 431 (10 May); Sanudo, p. 229 (20 May); Amadi, p. 216 (20 May); Machaeras, 41 (10 May). Lusignan (*Descr. f.* 137b; cp. *Chor. f.* 54b) says that great hopes had been entertained of the young and handsome King. None of these bears out the stories in later writers (Loredano and Jauna) that John's brothers resented the succession falling on one who, owing to an incurable disease, was less able than themselves to bear the burden; that they declined to attend his coronation, and showed their feelings so openly that he hurried back from Syria without attending to the disorderly state of Acre, whither he had been invited, because he feared they would make trouble at home; and that when he died, the rumour that he had been poisoned was easily believed. The youth of the brothers, the charge of poison and the incurable disease do not fit too neatly together. Loredano's own remark (Giblet, II, p. 339) is to the point: 'selon la pensée du vulgaire un Roi ne meurt que de poison, quand il prévient par sa mort un âge avancé'. It might seem better, with a responsible writer like Mas Latrie, to ignore this sort of gossip. But it is eagerly swallowed by those who wish to justify the slanders current against Henry II; and the fact that Dante was among his calumniators makes it necessary to take notice of it. Of this again later.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 41.

<sup>4</sup> Pseudo-Jordan (M.L., H. II, p. 131) dates this in 1284.



to Acre. Received by the Hospital, he negotiated successfully with the Grand Master of the Temple.<sup>1</sup> On 24 June 1286 Henry, with a fleet carrying his knights<sup>2</sup> under the command of the Constable, his uncle Baldwin d'Ibelin, landed at Acre and was joyfully received by the people and taken to the church of Holy Cross. There Henry<sup>3</sup> made it known that he would lodge only in the castle, as his predecessors had done. But that was still held by Eudes Poilechien, who had garrisoned it with the French knights and put it in a state of defence.<sup>4</sup>

From the church Henry despatched to him the Franciscan Matthew, Bishop of Famagusta, and Martin, Abbot of the monastery of the Templum Domini at Acre, to enquire as to his intentions, and to announce Henry's determination to recover the Kingdom. Unable to persuade Eudes to surrender, they drew up on the spot a protest in legal form, and returned to Henry.<sup>5</sup> The King immediately issued proclamations, which were uttered on the 24th and again on the 26th and 27th, before the castle and throughout the city, to the effect that the French should leave the castle safe and sound with all their belongings, and that no one should do any hurt to the men of the French King or to any Frenchman.<sup>6</sup> Three days later he held a meeting of notables at the hotel of the late Lord of Tyre (where he had in the meanwhile taken up his lodging), and caused to be drawn up and witnessed a statement of the offer which he had made to the Frenchmen in occupation of the castle, guaranteeing their personal safety if they would give it up, and promising to return it to them if the King of France should declare that the place should be held by his men.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 435; Amadi, p. 216. The author of the *Gestes des Chiprois* tells us that the agreement was drawn up by his own hand.

<sup>2</sup> *Gestes*, 437; Amadi, pp. 216-17; Fl. Bustron, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this episode one speaks of Henry as taking action, but much of it was doubtless suggested by his uncle Baldwin.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 437; Sanudo, p. 229 (all who were at Acre in the pay of France, except a few who refused for love of King Henry); Amadi, pp. 216-17; Fl. Bustron, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> Original of the deed of protest, cited by M.L., *H.* i, p. 478, n. 3; *III*, p. 672, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Original of the proclamation of 24 June, cited by M.L., *H.* *III*, p. 672, n. 3; text: *Assises*, II, p. 357, tr. M.L., *H.* i, pp. 478-9. The reference to the French King in this proclamation and in the document of 27 June is explained by the fact that the French knights were his men. The castle was not held by Eudes on the ground that Philip le Bel had any claim to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The only claimant to whom he owed allegiance would be Charles II of Anjou; who is naturally ignored by Henry.

<sup>7</sup> The original, dated 27 June 1286, is printed by M.L., *H.* *III*, pp. 671-3.

The Grand Masters of the Temple, the Hospital and the Teutonic Order had at first abstained from joining in the reception of the King, pleading their religious profession and wishing to avoid giving offence to either side. When, however, they realized that serious fighting was threatened, and missiles had already begun to fly, they thought it time to intervene. After consulting with Henry they went to the castle and induced Eudes to hand it over to them. On the fifth day after his arrival Henry entered into possession.<sup>1</sup>

On 15 August Henry was crowned with much pomp at Tyre by the Dominican archbishop of that city, Bonaccorso de Gloria, as vicar of the Patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The event was celebrated at Acre with festivities that lasted fifteen days—the finest festival, we are told, for a hundred years. In the great hall of the Auberge of the Hospital, there were representations from the old romances of the Round Table, the ‘Queen of Femenie’<sup>3</sup> and the like; knights dressed as women took female parts; one saw Lancelot and Tristan and Palamedes; and there were ‘many other games fine and delectable and pleasant’—and a mockery to anyone who could have foreseen what was to happen in five years.

It was not the intention of Henry or his advisers that he should reside chiefly in Syria; the experience of his father showed that his present popularity might at any time disappear. Accordingly he returned to Cyprus, having appointed one of his uncles Bailie.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 438: ‘four days after’ (the arrival of Henry at Acre); Sanudo, p. 229 (having laid siege to the castle, he took it on the fifth day); Amadi, p. 217 (as the *Gestes*); Fl. Bustron, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Gestes*, 439; *Ann. T.S.* p. 548; Sanudo, p. 229; Amadi, p. 217; Fl. Bustron, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Femenie’ is the land of the Amazons. There seems, as Sir Harold Bell informs me, to have been no separate romance on this subject, but the histories of the Trojan War would provide material for the representation. If not available in the Troy book of Guido delle Colonne (who was a judge at Messina in 1276 and therefore may have already published his book before 1285), it would be accessible in his sources. We may recall that ‘les aventures de Bretagne et de la Table Ronde’ were the subject of representations on the occasion of the knighting of John d’Ibelin’s sons in 1224. Novare 112 (vi). Cp. A. Hatem, *Les poèmes épiques des Croisades* (Paris, 1932), pp. 323–4.

<sup>4</sup> According to Sanudo, p. 229, the uncle was Philip d’Ibelin; according to *Gestes*, 439; Amadi, p. 217; Fl. Bustron, p. 117, he was Baldwin. Now according to a charter (M.L., *H.* iii, pp. 669–70; Röhrich, *Reg.* no. 1461; *Reg. C.N.* no. 103) dated Jan. 1286, Henry founded at that date a daily mass for the soul of his uncle Baldwin. M.L., *H.* i, p. 481 (gives the date wrongly as Jan. 1285). However, if we may trust the *Gestes*, Baldwin was alive later and went to Syria with his nephew; and he is mentioned again

Of the Frankish settlements, besides Acre, there remained in Christian hands Tripoli (with Laodicea), Beirut, Sidon, Tyre and Château Pèlerin (Athlit). Laodicea, which had been spared by the agreement of 1275 (pp. 171-2), was attacked and captured by Kalaun on 20 April 1287.<sup>1</sup> At Tripoli itself, Bohemund VII died in October of that year,<sup>2</sup> without issue. The claimants to the succession were his sister, Lucy of Antioch, resident in Apulia, and his mother, Sibyl of Armenia. This is not the place to tell in detail the story of the struggle between these two;<sup>3</sup> how a commune arose on the pattern of that of Acre in 1232, with Bartholomew de Giblet as mayor, and placed itself under the protection of the Genoese (represented by the famous Admiral Benedict Zaccaria, with the title of podestà and all but plenary powers from the home government), who were granted all sorts of privileges and promised the return of the third part of the city which they had once possessed; how they came to an agreement with Lucy, to recognize her as Countess of Tripoli, on her countersigning the grant of their privileges; how certain Tripolitans whose interests were damaged by this agreement warned the Sultan of the danger to his commerce if the Genoese should hold Tripoli; how William de Beaujeu warned Tripoli of the Sultan's plans, and got no hearing, though on the approach of danger a great many Christians took refuge in Cyprus; how the factions tardily united and reinforcements came—among others, a body of Cypriote knights in four galleys<sup>4</sup> sent by Henry under his brother Amaury, Constable of Jerusalem;<sup>5</sup> and how finally the city was stormed by Kalaun on 26 April

in 1307 (*Gestes*, 684) and 1309 (699). The solution proposed by R. de Mas Latrie in his edition of Amadi (p. 216, n. 6), that 1286 is 1287 N.S., does not meet the case. Röhricht, *loc. cit.*, assumes that the foundation-charter is either false or misdated; although, p. 991, he accepts Philip as the Bailie.

<sup>1</sup> Sunday, 5 Rabi' I = 20 April. Michaud, *Bibliogr. des Croisades*, II (1822), p. 709; Sanudo, p. 229 (13 April); Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, p. 561.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo, p. 229 (19 Oct.); *Gestes*, 464 (19 Oct.); Amadi, p. 217 (28 Oct.).

<sup>3</sup> See Röhricht, pp. 994-6, 999-1002; G. Caro, *Genua u. die Mächte im Mittelmeer* (1899), II, pp. 120-33; Grousset, III, pp. 734-45.

<sup>4</sup> Abulfaraj, *Chron.* tr. Bruns and Kirsch, 1789, II, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Gestes*, 474; Jac. Auria, *Ann. (M.G.H. Scr. xviii)*, p. 323, ed. Imperiale, p. 94; Makrizi, II, A, p. 102. According to the *Gestes* (477) Henry made Amaury Seigneur (not Prince) of Tyre (by which title he came to be generally known) after the death of Humfry de Montfort. But this could hardly be if Margaret of Antioch-Lusignan, the widow of John de Montfort, had the regency. The statement in a later passage of the *Gestes* (657), which implies that the Lordship of Tyre given to Amaury was merely titular, since the city was then in Saracen hands (i.e. from 1291), is more correct.

1289 and almost completely destroyed. Amaury was one of those who escaped, and Zaccaria carried a great many refugees to Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

During the Genoese occupation of Tripoli, Zaccaria had crossed to Cyprus and made a treaty with King Henry, evidently involving Genoa in certain guarantees (21 September 1288).<sup>2</sup> It was not acknowledged by the Genoese home government, although it was not actually repudiated until 17 May 1292. As a result of that repudiation the King became hostile to the Genoese.

This agreement and Henry's help were grounds for complaints by Kalaun, which were conveyed to the King when he arrived in Acre three days after the fall of Tripoli.<sup>3</sup> The King and the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital, it was said, had given assistance to Tripoli, and thereby failed to observe the truce with the Saracens. They replied that they had faithfully observed the truce, which applied only to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Henry added that if the Sultan considered that the truce applied to Tripoli, he ought not to have attacked it, since he knew that it was subject to Henry. These compliments having been exchanged, and Henry having sent his own envoys to the Sultan, the truce was renewed for Syria and Cyprus, for ten years, ten months and ten days. The Sultan returned to Cairo in August, and Henry to Cyprus on 26 September, leaving as his Bailie in Acre his brother Amaury, the Constable.<sup>4</sup>

The advisers of Henry, although he himself retired for the time to Cyprus, were not neglectful of the needs of his Kingdom on the

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<sup>1</sup> Jac. Auria, *M.G.H. Scr.* xviii, p. 324, ed. Imperiale, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Caro, *op. cit.* II, p. 127; Jac. Auria, *M.G.H. Scr.* xviii, p. 322, ed. Imperiale, p. 91. That the conditions were onerous for Genoa is shown by her insisting on Henry's renouncing them in 1292 (*Liber Jurium*, II, p. 275; Heyd, II, p. 5). The objection of the Genoese was that in the agreement 'exceptati non erant reges et principes, cum quibus conventiones antea habebamus, et quia erat cum magnis expensis et detrimento comunis Ianue' (Auria).

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 479; Amadi, p. 218 (24 April 1288, an impossible date); Fl. Bustron, pp. 117-18.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 479; Sanudo, p. 230 (does not mention duration; but makes Henry return to Cyprus in August); Andr. Dandolo, *Chron. add.*, in Muratori, *R.I.S.* XII, col. 402 (10 years); Amadi, p. 218 (10 years, 10 months, 10 days); Fl. Bustron, p. 118 (10 years, 10 months, 10 days). The *de Excidio Urbis Aconis* in Martène, *Ampl. Coll.* v, col. 759 (2 years, 2 months, 2 weeks, 2 days and 2 hours). Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, p. 351, n. 3, observes that Makrizi (II, A, p. 109) does not mention any renewal of the peace with Acre. It is doubtful however whether, as Stevenson says, the different durations assigned to the treaties point to the existence of more than one.

mainland.<sup>1</sup> John de Grailly, captain of the French knights in Acre, was sent on a mission to the West, to explain the urgent need of succour, and ask for twenty galleys with full equipment. Except from Pope Nicolas IV he got little but words. The Pope's letters show how keenly he was interested.<sup>2</sup> It was due to him (Venice it is true was helpful) that any fleet ever went out at all; but the ships, which were quite inadequately equipped, returned, because their crews' pay was in arrear. The troops which they carried were not disciplined, but a rabble of Italians: 'mout de menues gens d'Italie',<sup>3</sup> who succeeded in precipitating the breaking out of hostilities. During the truce the peasants of the neighbourhood brought their produce to sell it in the outskirts of Acre and many Moslem merchants were to be found in the bazaars of the city. One day in August 1290 the undisciplined mob of 'pilgrims' began to rob and murder these peasants, and then went through the streets killing all whom they took for Moslems, including many Christian Syrians who wore beards. The knights saved a few of the merchants, but when the Sultan demanded that the guilty persons should be handed over to him, they made excuses and disclaimed responsibility. Kalaun asked no better reason for declaring war. But he died suddenly in November or December 1290<sup>4</sup> before he could start from Egypt, and it was his son al-Malik al-Ashraf who finally destroyed the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem in all but its name. Acre was invested on 5 April 1291. The defence covered the Christian arms with glory. After reading the record of the stupid disunion, amounting often to treachery, which ruined the cause of Christendom, one cannot avoid the judgement that nothing in the history of the crusaders in the Holy Land became them like the manner of their leaving it.

<sup>1</sup> For what follows, down to the fall of Acre, see M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 485-98; Röhricht, pp. 1005-24; Grousset, III, pp. 747-63. On the authorities for the siege of Acre, see Kingsford in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* 3rd Ser. III (1909), p. 142, n. 2. Extract from *Chronicles* of Christophorus Cyprius in Golubovich, II, pp. 204-8.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Oct. 1288 (Raynaldus, 1288, p. 43, § 39; Potthast, no. 22821; Langlois, *Reg. de Nicolas IV*, nos. 621-2) to the King of Cyprus, encouraging him to defend this spot of the Holy Land, all that remained in Christian hands. 13 Sept. 1289 (Raynaldus, 1289, p. 72, § 69; Potthast, no. 23078; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1496; Langlois, *Reg.* nos. 2252-7) to the Patriarch, the King, the Hospital and Temple, to Acre and John de Grailly, saying that he has ordered the twenty galleys. Other letters on the same matter, see Röhricht's note on the same item; Langlois, *Reg.* nos. 2258-60.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 480.

<sup>4</sup> Grousset, III, p. 771.

The double walls of Acre,<sup>1</sup> after running south-east from the sea at the northern point of the suburb of Montmusart to the Tour Maudite of the inner wall, and the Tower of King Henry and the Barbican of King Hugh on the outer, where there was a sharp salient, turned south to the shore of the bay. It was the sector about the salient that was defended by Amaury de Lusignan, in command of the knights of Syria and Cyprus, and by the Teutonic Knights, and it was this sector that was most heavily attacked. Attempts were made to evacuate the old men, women and children; an untrustworthy writer says that many fighting men took the opportunity to escape.<sup>2</sup>

On 4 May, a month after the beginning of the siege, Henry arrived from Cyprus with reinforcements; he was accompanied by the Archbishop of Nicosia, John of Ancona.<sup>3</sup> He was welcomed by the besieged with *feux de joie*, but he found them in sorry plight; for there was no agreement on a single command. The accusation of a Greek monk that the crusaders in Acre were given up to debauchery may be an exaggeration equally with his statement that the only person who showed any activity was King Henry.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Rey, *Colonies franques en Syrie* (1883), pp. 451 ff., and his articles on the topography of Acre in *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, xxxix (1878) and xlix (1888), and the plan in Grousset, III, p. 753. I note also the plan in the MS. of Sanudo's *Secreta fidelium crucis*, Bodley, 10016, f. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *De excidio urbis Aconis*, col. 770. This writer is obviously ill-informed, and ready to accept any charges of cowardice against the defenders. He was never there himself. Another writer who is almost as lavish with his accusations of cowardice is Thaddaeus of Naples (*Hystoria de desolacione et conculcatione civitatis Aconensis et tocius terre sancte*, ed. Riant, Geneva, 1873). Under his lash fall all the Templars except the Grand Master; all the Hospitallers except the Marshal Matthew of Clermont; and John de Grailly. The Pisans and Venetians fought well but fled shamefully, the city once taken. But he praises the Teutonic Knights, and excuses King Henry who, if he fled, did so because of his youth and physical defect, and is to be neither blamed nor praised.

<sup>3</sup> Sanudo, p. 231 (200 mounted and 500 foot); Amadi, p. 221 (40 ships, 100 horse-men, 200 foot); Fl. Bustron, p. 120 (42 ships, 100 knights, 2000 foot). Abu'l-Mahasin (Reinaud, p. 570) gives no figures.—On John Turco of Ancona, see Golubovich, II, pp. 447–51, and Ch. xvi of this volume.

<sup>4</sup> Arsenius, a Greek monk of the Order of St Basil, quoted by Bartholomew de Neocastro (Muratori, *R.I.S.* xiii, col. 1183; new ed. by Paladino, xiii, pt. III, p. 132). But he must be right in saying that the forces at the King's command were insufficient for the defence of the city. Had there been any truth in the charge of cowardice, a Greek monk, by profession hostile to the Latin Church, is not likely to have ignored it. Mas Latrie finds his praise of the King inexplicable. It is to be explained by the fact that the King, at least in some degree, deserved it.

Soon after his arrival, the King sent two envoys, William de Cafran, a Templar, and William de Villiers, to treat for peace with the Sultan. But they were merely asked whether they had brought the keys of the city. They begged only for mercy for the people; and the Sultan, professing respect for their King, because he had come, though he was but a child, replied that if he could have the stones of the city he cared not what happened to the rest. When they said that they could not hand over the city without being held for traitors, he bade them begone. At that moment a stone from an engine on the walls came so near that the Sultan laid his hand on his sword, and was only restrained from taking off the heads of the envoys by the admonition of one of his emirs not to soil his sword with the blood of swine. So the siege went on. On 8 May<sup>1</sup> the Cypriote knights burned the Barbican of King Hugh, since it was no longer tenable. On 15 May the attack developed again with great force. It was on the night of this day that King Henry is accused of having deserted, with some 3000 men;<sup>2</sup> and the breach of the salient is attributed chiefly to the defence being weakened by this desertion. But from the account of one who was present<sup>3</sup> it seems certain that the King did not retire until it was clear that the city was lost. On 18 May there was a general assault. The Mamelukes penetrated into the space between the inner and outer walls, and stormed the Tour Maudite, at the salient of the inner wall. While some of them went through the tower towards the church of St Romanus, driving the Pisans back, others forced the Cypriote and Syrian knights to retreat to the Porte St Antoine. It was there that the Grand Masters William de Beaujeu and John de Villiers were wounded, the former mortally. Through the Porte St Antoine (in the defence of which the Marshal of the Hospital, Matthew de Clermont, was killed) the enemy poured into the city. On their sector the French, under John de Grailly,<sup>4</sup> and the English, under Otho de Grandison,<sup>5</sup> were driven in by force of numbers, the

<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> *De excidio urbis Aconis*, col. 770.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 500. Cp. Sanudo, p. 231 (Henry was in the last fight on 18 May).

<sup>4</sup> On this man see Bémont, *Rôles Gascons*, III, pp. xxxiii–xlvi. The pamphlet by Col. de Grailly, *Jean de Grailly*, I have not been able to consult.

<sup>5</sup> On Otho de Grandison, see Kingsford in *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* 3rd ser. III (1909), pp. 125–95. The account in G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*, VI (1926), of the part he played at Acre is misleading. It misinterprets the story (in B. Cotton's *Edward I*, ed. Luard, p. 432) of the massacre of 15,000 slaves at the instance of the Master of the Temple and Grandison. These would be slaves captured from the Saracens and not Christians by birth. The story need not in any case be taken seriously.

former captain being wounded. The resistance had now broken down altogether. The King of Cyprus, and the seriously wounded Grand Master of the Hospital, seeing that the city was lost, went aboard their ships.<sup>1</sup> Otho de Grandison embarked as many as he could of the wounded, including John de Grailly, in Venetian ships.<sup>2</sup> These and the other few vessels that were available made for Cyprus with their sorry load of fugitives.<sup>3</sup> All who could not get aboard were massacred, men, women and children, except those who took refuge in the fortified house of the Templars, which the Marshal Peter de Sevry and the Commander Theobald Gaudin prepared to defend. From this, being on the seashore, others were taken off in ships. The Patriarch Nicolas de Hanapes was drowned when the ship in which he embarked, overladen with fugitives, sank. The fate of those who remained was postponed for a time. An offer from the Sultan to allow the Templars, if they would capitulate, to retire safely to Cyprus, was accepted; but, when the Mamelukes who were admitted to supervise the embarkation offered violence to the women, the knights slew them all, shut the gates and prepared to hold out to the death. The Commander Theobald Gaudin sailed for Sidon and Cyprus with the treasure and relics of the Order. Again the Sultan offered terms; the Marshal and some of the Templars accepted them and were promptly beheaded. The remaining few held out until on 28 May, on a general assault, the tower of the 'Master', which had been mined, fell, crushing alike its defenders and 2000 of the besiegers.

The poor epileptic King of Cyprus, whose youth, and perhaps his malady, seem to have excited the compassion even of the Sultan (p. 186), had, as we have seen, not gone on board his ship until the city was lost. To this the author of the *Gestes des Chiprois*, who was present, bears witness. It is not possible therefore to believe the charge that he left hurriedly on the night of 15 May;<sup>4</sup> still less that he stayed only three days in the city.<sup>5</sup> But even were these accusations to be believed, his retirement, judging from the spirit with which he faced the misfortunes

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<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 500.

<sup>2</sup> The *De exc. Acc.* (col. 781) also accuses these two of cowardly desertion of their posts.

<sup>3</sup> According to Jac. Auria (*Ann. ed. Imperiale*, p. 130) the captains of two armed Genoese galleys forced the masters of the ships available against their will to take the refugees aboard.

<sup>4</sup> *De exc. Acc.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Mahasin, in Reinaud, *Chron. arabes*, p. 570.



and ill-treatment which he was to encounter later, must have been against his will and under pressure from his advisers.<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the story of the Kingdom of Jerusalem can be briefly told.<sup>2</sup> Tyre, one of the strongest places in the world, fell without defence on 18 or 19 May. Sidon, to which Theobald Gaudin had gone with the treasure and relics of the Order, and a few of the brethren, it was at first intended to defend. The city was deserted, the inhabitants taking refuge in the island castle, from which they escaped to Cyprus; Theobald Gaudin, now Grand Master, went thither also, promising to return with help; but he never came again. Once in safety himself, he did nothing, and the Templars in Cyprus sent to Sidon advising evacuation. The garrison slipped away quietly one night to Tortosa first and then to Cyprus,<sup>3</sup> and the castle was taken and destroyed (14 July).<sup>4</sup> The garrison of Beirut (which had its private treaty with the Mamelukes) was captured by treachery, the city occupied and the walls and castle razed.<sup>5</sup> There was no defence of Haifa (30 July), and the monasteries of Mt Carmel were destroyed and the monks slaughtered. The Templars evacuated Tortosa on 3 August and Château Pèlerin (Athlit) on the 14th.<sup>6</sup>

But they held the little island of Ruad (the ancient Aradus) until 1303. It was the last spot to be kept by the Franks, and the spot at which, as a modern historian has not failed to observe, the 'Franks' set foot once more in Syria—in 1914.<sup>7</sup>

Cyprus went into mourning for the loss of Acre and the other cities of Syria. In 1335 James of Verona noticed that the ladies of Cyprus when they went out of doors wore long black cloaks over their heads

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Kingsford, *op. cit.* p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see Röhricht, pp. 1025–6; Grousset, III, pp. 762–3. Lusignan (*Descr.* f. 139b) says that Acre was destroyed to the foundations; all that survived to his time was some walls of the Dominican church of St John, with the tomb of Jordan of Saxony, first general of the Order after its founder; his tomb continued to be respected by the Turks, because owing to his holiness his body remained for a long time uncorrupted.

<sup>3</sup> Sanudo, p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 509–10.

<sup>5</sup> *Gestes*, 511; Sanudo, p. 232. On the date, 21 July, Röhricht, p. 1025, n. 6. The ornaments of the church were saved and taken to Nicosia. They were afterwards given to Balian, archbishop of Rhodes, on condition that he should return them if Beirut were ever recovered. Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* no. 16029 (24 Aug. 1322).

<sup>6</sup> *Gestes*, 512; Röhricht, p. 1026, notes 1, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Grousset, III, p. 763.

and reaching to their feet, showing only their eyes. Still later, in 1394, Martoni observed the same fashion; and both give the same reason.<sup>1</sup>

The refugees who found their way to the island were to live for years in great poverty and distress.<sup>2</sup>

NOTE I. THE DATE OF ST LOUIS'S EXPEDITION  
TO EGYPT (p. 145)

Most of the sources agree that the King embarked on Ascension Day, 13 May 1249 (letter of Robert, Count of Artois, in Matth. Paris, vi, p. 153; letter of the King's chamberlain, John Sarrasin, in *Eracles Rothelin*, p. 571). Vincent of Beauvais (*Spec. hist.* xxxi, c. 97) says that Louis went aboard about Ascension Day, but did not sail until the Wednesday, 19 May (cp. Nangis, *Gesta S. Ludov.*, in Bouquet, xx, p. 371, and *Chron.* ed. Géraud, p. 203). By the bad weather he was driven to Paphos, but returned to Lemesos; then came the Prince of Achaia and the Duke of Burgundy. Finally they sailed on Trinity Sunday (30 May) and sighted Egypt next Friday (4 June). Amadi (p. 199) agrees with these dates for sailing and arrival; so, too, William de Sonnac, in Matth. Paris, vi, p. 162. Sanudo (p. 218) alone makes Louis leave Lemesos on 15 May. Joinville (146-8) gives the following dates: the King embarked on Friday before Whit Sunday, i.e. 21 May; on Saturday the 22nd he set sail; on Whit Sunday the 23rd he anchored at C. Gata, landed and then re-embarked, and a storm scattered the fleet; next day, the 24th, he started again and met the Prince of Achaia and the Duke of Burgundy, and on Thursday after Whit Sunday (27 May) he reached Damietta. Joinville seems to be a week out at both ends, although *Eracles* (p. 437) and the *Gestes* (263) nearly agree with him about the start, dating it 20 May. (Possibly Joinville meant to write Thursday after Trinity instead of Thursday after Pentecost.) *Eracles*, the Count of Artois, and Sanudo agree on 4 June for the arrival, and John Sarrasin, who says that embarking on 13 May they were at sea 22 days, confirms them. The *Gestes* give them 14 days at sea (starting on 20 May). Makrizi (tr. Blochet, p. 509) dates the arrival on Friday, 9 days remaining of the month of Safar, which gives 4 June, and the landing on Saturday. Jamal ad-Din ibn Wasil (in Reinaud, *Chron.* p. 448) says St Louis arrived on Friday, 21 Safar, and landed on Saturday. Abulfeda (*Rec. Cr. Or.* i, p. 126)

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<sup>1</sup> Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* pp. 17, 22; Talbot Rice, *Icons of Cyprus*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo, p. 232: 'in multa angustia multoque tremore miseram vitam agunt'.  
Written between 1306 and 1321.

and Abu Shama (*ibid.* v, p. 195) both say that the Franks landed on 20 Safar. Mr J. Allan, to whom I owe some of these references, observes: 'it looks as if the fleet had all arrived and anchored very early on Friday morning, 20 Safar = 4 June; but to be accurate, 20 Safar began at sunset on 3 June, so that any time in the night of Thursday to Friday 3-4 June is to the Muslim Friday 20 Safar. Ibn Wasil has Friday correctly, but the 21st was Saturday.' We must accept 13 May for the first attempt at starting, which was delayed for something like a fortnight, and 4 June for the arrival.

## NOTE II. THE CONTRACT BETWEEN CHARLES I OF ANJOU AND THE DAMOISELLE MARIE (p. 164)<sup>1</sup>

A charter of 29 March 1277 confirms the purchase.<sup>2</sup> It mentions an annuity of 4000 livres tournois, secured on the revenues of Anjou. Actual records of orders for payments in 1278 are: on 7 January, 400 ounces;<sup>3</sup> on 31 January, 400 ounces of gold in florins or augustales (of about five to the ounce); on 21 March, another 400 ounces of gold; on 29 March, 500 ounces of gold.<sup>4</sup> The wardens of the passes of the Terra di Lavoro had orders to allow Mary's messenger, Br. Peter di Manso, free passage to and from the Regno, doubtless in connexion with this business. The later deed of agreement

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Miss Evelyn Jamison for much kind help in connexion with the literature of the Angevin records bearing on this subject.

<sup>2</sup> Minieri Riccio, *Genealogia*, p. 142, no. xvi; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1411. Alexis de Saint-Priest (*Hist. de la Conquête de Naples*, III, p. 291) refers to documents in the Naples Archives, viz. ten diplomas dated from Lagopesole, 1277, and rescripts of Charles I of March and April 1278. The Naples Archives were deliberately destroyed on 30 Sept. 1944 by a German incendiary squad, which burned the Villa Montesano near Nola where they had been removed for safety. The researcher who was working for me had not had time to do more than copy the rubrics of fourteen documents bearing on the present subject. I have given references to these.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. Ang. N.* 34 (1279 A), f. 85.

<sup>4</sup> A. Boüard, *Documents en français des Archives Angevines de Naples, Règne de Charles Ier, Les Mandements aux Trésoriers* (Paris, 1933), pp. 55, 66, 68. Entries relating to the last two of these payments were in *Reg. Ang. N.* 34 (1279 A), ff. 87, 87v°. On 6 Apr. and in May 1278 payments were ordered for various sums required for the Princess: *Reg. Ang. N.* 32 (1278 D), ff. 351v°, 355. On the value of the florin and the Venetian and Genoese ducat (they were about the same weight of 3.537 grammes), see K. H. Schäfer, *Die Ausgaben der apost. Kammer unter Johann XXII (Vatikanische Quellen zur Gesch. d. päpst. Hof- und Finanzwesen*, II, Paderborn 1911), pp. 38\*-70\*. The gold value was equivalent to rather less than half a sovereign, but the purchasing value was of course higher.

between Charles II and Mary, dated 20 June 1289,<sup>1</sup> says that Mary had been promised by Charles I not only the annuity of 4000 livres tournois from the revenues of the county of Anjou, but also 'in the city of Acre ten thousand besants annually'; but this money had not been paid for four years. As to other authorities, the *Gestes* (375) say merely 'a quantity of money', from the revenue of Charles's lands in Anjou, but afterwards he assigned it to land in Apulia. This last detail, however, may refer to arrangements made by Charles II in 1289, when part of the payments to be made to Mary were to be drawn from the revenue of Trani.<sup>2</sup> The *Chronicon S. Laudi Rotom.*, under 1278,<sup>3</sup> mentions the annuity of 4000 livres tournois from Anjou (the text has *quatuor libras Turonenses*, an obvious slip). Amadi<sup>4</sup> has an annuity of 4000 gold besants; Florio Bustron<sup>5</sup> 4000 ducats. The Chronicle of 'Fr. Jordan'<sup>6</sup> says that Mary received the county of Hainault (a mere slip for Anjou) which was redeemed for an annuity of 300 ounces in the Kingdom of Sicily, afterwards increased to 400. In the face of these statements it is puzzling to read in Röhricht,<sup>7</sup> that the amount promised by the King in 1277, besides the annuity of 4000 livres tournois on Anjou, was 80,000 besants on the revenues of Acre; and again,<sup>8</sup> that there was a payment in 1277 of 1000 gold pieces in addition to the Anjou annuity (a lump sum, evidently; no mention of an annuity in Acre). I take it that all that is certain is the figures given in the documents cited above; those of Amadi and Bustron are due to a blurred memory of the money from Acre.

Further records concerning Mary are the following:

20 May, indict. vii (1279): note of receipt for the first payment.<sup>9</sup>

15 May 1294: grant of the Castello of Canosa, for which she did homage.<sup>10</sup>

26 December 1294: order to Henricus de Hervilla, secretus, magister portulanus, et procurator ac magister salis Curiae in Apulia, to pay her annually 800 ounces of gold.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Syllabus membranarum* (Naples, 1832), II, pt. I, p. 225; M.L., H. II, pp. 85-9; Röhricht, *Reg.* no. 1486.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> In Bouquet, *Recueil*, xxiii, p. 396. Cp. Primat, *Chron.*, in the same volume of Bouquet, p. 100, and Nangis, *ibid.* xx, p. 566. The *Anon. Chron.*, *ibid.*, xxi, p. 126 gives no figures. Reference may also be made to the *Chron.* of Andr. Dandolo in Muratori, *R.I.S.* xii, col. 393.

<sup>4</sup> P. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 113-14.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 130.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. de l'Or. lat.* I, p. 641n.

<sup>8</sup> *Gesch. d. Kön. Jer.* p. 976.

<sup>9</sup> Minieri Riccio, *Genealogia*, p. 143, no. xviii; Fasc. Ang. N. 88, f. 129.

<sup>10</sup> Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplom. Supp.* I (1882), p. 78.

<sup>11</sup> *Syllabus Membr.* II, pt. I, p. 151. Same date, order to same, ut satisfaciatur provisionem...super iuribus et proventibus fundici et dohane Trani: *Arch. R. Zecca*, vol. II, perg. n. 1074.

4 May 1297: payment of her annual pension, 800 ounces.<sup>1</sup>

27 December 1297: payment of her annual pension in Apulia.<sup>2</sup>

1299: transumpt of the deed of the pact between Charles II and Mary; in this the figures given in the document of 1289 are repeated;<sup>3</sup> and a record of the grant of the transumpt in the same year.<sup>4</sup>

Mary was still living on 10 December 1307.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fasc. Ang. N. 77, f. 65v<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Minieri Riccio, *Studi storici su' fascicoli Angioini* (1863), p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Minieri Riccio, *Genealogia*, p. 142, no. xvii; Röhricht, *Arch. de l'Or. lat.* I, p. 642n.

<sup>4</sup> *Syllabus Membr.* II, pt. I, p. 225.

<sup>5</sup> Minieri Riccio, *Genealogia*, p. 51.

## CHAPTER IV

# FROM THE FALL OF ACRE TO THE RESTORATION OF HENRY II (1291-1310)

The collapse of Christian rule in Syria-Palestine, humiliating as it may have been to all those for whom the crusading ideal still survived, had another side to it.<sup>1</sup> At one stroke a great burden of responsibility seemed to be lifted from the shoulders of the ruler of Cyprus. The island's re-

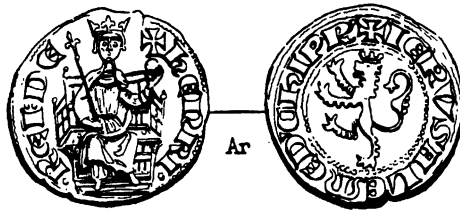


Fig. 4. Silver gros of Henry II.

sources needed no longer to be wasted on futile expeditions, although it was some time before this lesson was learned. It is true that the condition of the refugees from the mainland must, for some time, have lowered the general level of prosperity; true that some of the revenues had to be diverted to the support of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> now

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<sup>1</sup> On the background to the history of the 14th century, see M.L., *H.* 1, pp. 499-514; Atiya, pp. 3-25. Atiya (p. 44) corrects the description by Mas Latrie and Delaville Le Roulx of the condition of the West at the end of the 13th century as favourable for a Crusade.

<sup>2</sup> The Patriarchs lived in a house in the Citadel of Nicosia, adjoining the Dominican monastery (Lusignan, *Raccolta di cinque discorsi, Corona terza*, f. 158). Peter de Plaine-Cassagne, Raymond Bequin, and Peter de la Palu, successively Patriarchs of Jerusalem, were given the administration of the see of Nimocium (Lemesos), which carried with it exemption from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan at Nicosia, and from payment to Nicosia and Paphos of tithes on certain estates, such as Psimolofu. Hackett, p. 571; Papaïoannou, III, p. 117; Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* nos. 15615 (19 June 1322); 17484 (28 May 1323); 19158 (19 March 1324); 26338 (27 Aug. 1326); cp. nos. 26343, 26346-8, 28759, 45473, 45475. Cp. also Benedict XII, *Lettres comm.*, ed.

transferred to Nicosia, although endowments from Europe were also forthcoming. The great feudatories had lost their possessions on the mainland; but the process had been gradual, and accompanied by the acquisition of estates in Cyprus. The perpetuation of the titles formerly borne by such nobles,<sup>1</sup> long after the original fiefs had been lost, was not therefore always a meaningless show.<sup>2</sup> Cyprus was thus, at the end of the thirteenth century, in a very strong position. Interference from would-be suzerains in the West was no longer serious.<sup>3</sup> The Kings formed useful alliances with Armenia and royal houses of Europe.<sup>4</sup>

Vidal, no. 21. The reason given for granting these exemptions is that while Jerusalem is in Saracen hands, and there is no revenue from it, the church of Nicosia is very rich. E. Rey, *Recherches*, pp. 66-7, prints the instructions to the Bishop of Paphos and the Abbot of St Paul of Antioch, to enquire whether the Psimolofio tithe exceeds 120 gold florins a year; if it does not, the Patriarch and his successors are not to be exempt (27 Aug. 1326). Mollat, more rightly, interprets the document (his no. 26346; cp. 45473) to mean that they are to be exempt, provided it does not exceed that amount. The dispute went to arbitration and was settled thirty years later (8 March 1356, Rey, pp. 67-8). Tortosa, being also lost, was combined with Famagusta, and Guy d'Ibelin elected to the joint see in 1298 (*Reg. de Boniface VIII*, nos. 306, 2633).—Even before the loss of Syria it had become customary to draw on Cyprus to supplement the resources of mainland sees; we have seen that Aimery had twice to go to the rescue of Tyre in this way (p. 60, n. 2). Similarly in 1256 the Patriarch of Antioch, Christian, had been given the administration of Lemesos.

<sup>1</sup> Such as Princes of Antioch, Galilee and Montreal, Counts of Tripoli, Roucha and Jaffa, Barons of Sidon, Caesarea and Thoron. King Henry II made his brother Amaury Lord of Tyre in 1291. Official titles such as Seneschal, Constable, Marshal and Chamberlain of the Kingdom of Jerusalem had less meaning. On these titular baronies, see Lusignan, as above, f. 157b.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. M.L., *H.* III, p. 366, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted, as a curiosity, that in the treaty of 19 Aug. 1302 between Frederick II of Sicily and Charles II of Naples, Charles undertook to induce the Pope to invest Frederick with either Sardinia or Cyprus. *Reg. de Boniface VIII*, no. 5348; Giannone, *Ist. Civ. del Regno di Napoli*, v (1821), p. 430; Reinhard, I, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> Some of these have already been mentioned. On 23 May 1286 Honorius IV granted a dispensation for the marriage of one of the daughters of Hugh III to a son of the King of Armenia. This may have been either Margaret (Mariette), who married Hayton II (succeeded to the throne in 1289), or Héloïse (Helvis), who married Hayton's brother Thoros II (succeeded 1294). See M.L., *H.* I, p. 501; II, p. 85; *Gén.* pp. 12f.; Potthast, no. 22453; Prou, *Reg. d'Hon.* IV, no. 512. Yet another sister of Henry II, Isabel, married Oshin, King of Armenia; she died in 1310 (M.L., *Gén.* p. 13). Amaury, brother of Henry II, who usurped the government from 1306 to 1310, was married to Isabel, sister of Hayton II.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 195

Immigration from Karamania was encouraged.<sup>1</sup> There was still hope of joint action with the Mongols against Islam,<sup>2</sup> and Islam's unfortunate recent experience in a naval expedition against Cyprus seemed to have removed the threat of danger from that quarter. Internally, there had for some years been comparative quiescence in the disputes between the two Churches; the Greeks were cowed, if not contented.<sup>3</sup> Cyprus could turn all its energies into one channel, that of commercial development. From the purely material standpoint, the fourteenth century was the most flourishing period in the island's history. A longer view might have detected the prospect that, with the withdrawal of the frontier of Christendom from the mainland, the new frontier, island though it was, would inevitably come to be attacked, and, since there would be no ideal, such as had inspired the Crusades, to spur on the Western Powers to its defence, it would as inevitably fall. Occasionally we may detect a note of apprehension, as when an orator speaks of Cyprus as 'a poor island and an orphaned realm, built upon a rock in the midst of the sea and surrounded by the infidels, Turks and Saracens',<sup>4</sup> or as when the monk Arsenius says that if God, for the sins of the people, permits it, the island of Cyprus will inevitably be devoured by the fury of the Egyptians under their raging Sultan.<sup>5</sup> Nemesis however was for the time slumbering, and it took nearly two centuries to wake her.

Although the idea of the Crusades was by no means dead, the only effective action of the West towards the eastern Mediterranean was directed to commercial ends. Only in such ends did the communities which possessed ships—the Italians of Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Ancona,<sup>6</sup> the

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<sup>1</sup> Those who came to Cyprus from Romania and Satalia and from Scandalore as far as Latakia were excepted from the ban against marrying female serfs of the royal domain without the King's commands. This ban was ordered in 1297 to be published by the Viscount every 26 November (*Assises*, II, p. 360, no. vii). The reason for the ban was that if serfs married Christians they got their liberty.

<sup>2</sup> In 1293, James II of Aragon sent Peter Desportes to try and arrange for help from the Mongols, and alliance with the Kings of Cyprus and Armenia; this and a second embassy to the Mongols in 1300 were fruitless. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> But the statement of M.L., *H.* I, p. 515 that the Lusignans maintained the complete submission of the Greeks without attacking their cult is hardly borne out by the facts related in Ch. xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 489.

<sup>5</sup> Bartholomew de Neocastro, in Muratori, *R.I.S.* XIII, pt. III (ed. Paladino), p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> Heyd, I, p. 364 (merchants of Ancona in 1272 arrive with letters of recommendation to the Cyprus government from the King of Naples).



French of Marseilles and Montpellier, the Catalans—take any interest. Venice and Genoa were content to waste on quarrels with each other the energies which, combined, might have contributed much to the preservation of the Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus. The papal prohibition of trading with Egypt, supplying munitions, timber, foodstuffs and recruits for the Mameluke army, was without effect.<sup>1</sup> The trade was so profitable that it was worth risking excommunication, especially if you could buy yourself off by paying a fine towards the defence of the Holy Land. That this had become a regular practice appears from the fact that in 1329 John XXII in granting a faculty of absolution on these terms limited it to a single time. The trade in

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the bulls of Nicolas IV (Raynaldus, 1291, pp. 103 f., §§ 26, 28; Heyd, transl. Raynaud, II, pp. 25 f.; D.L.R., *La France en Orient*, I, p. 15) and Boniface VIII in 1295, 1296 and 1299 (M.L., H. II, p. 92; Digard, etc. *Reg. de Boniface VIII*, no. 778, 12 May 1295 = Potthast, no. 24091; no. 1591, 3 May 1296; no. 1654, 20 Nov. 1296; no. 3354, 16 April 1299 = Potthast, no. 24814; and no. 3421, 20 Nov. 1299). Cp. Benedict XI's prohibition of Venetian commerce with Moslem countries, in 1304 (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, 1880, pp. 19–20), and John XXII's exhortation to Henry II (24 April 1323 and 3 June 1324, Mollat, *Lettres comm.* nos. 18119, 20386). Cp. also the Constitutions of the Church of Nicosia, Mansi, *Conc.* xxvi, col. 314. It was possible however, having offended in this way, to escape excommunication by paying a subsidy to the defence of the Holy Land. Thus in 1265 Clement IV allowed the Archbishop of Tyre to absolve a number of persons, who had supplied iron, arms, timber and other prohibited articles to the Saracens, on this condition (Jordan, *Reg. de Clém. IV*, no. 1609, 7 May 1265). In 1329 Peter de la Palu, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was similarly allowed to give absolution once to forty such offenders, and to convert to his own requirements the subsidy paid by half the number 'towards the defence of the Holy Land' (Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* nos. 45366, 12 June, and 45955, 8 Aug. 1329). The King and his officials, when they had incurred excommunication by failing to proceed against subjects who had gone to prohibited lands, might also obtain absolution, doubtless for a consideration (*ibid.* no. 18100, 9 April 1323). A Catalan merchant, James Dolvan, in 1326 obtained absolution for such illicit trading from the King of Aragon by paying a fine of 2500 solidi of Barcelona (M.L., H. III, pp. 721 ff.). His method was to tranship his wares in Cyprus and return to Barcelona in the same ship in which he went out. Cp. M.L., H. III, pp. 732–4 (18 May 1335), p. 734 (8 April 1388). Generally, on the transport of arms and slaves to Egypt, see M.L., H. II, pp. 125–8. Sanudo (*Secreta*, pp. 26–7) insists on the importance of cutting off all relations with the Saracens. But everyone did not agree with Sanudo; thus John XXII gave Hugh IV permission to send envoys and *exploratores* to Saracen lands, provided they did not carry prohibited goods, in order to discover the plans and intentions of the enemy (Mollat, no. 24541, 3 March 1326). We shall meet later with frequent granting and rescission of licences to the trading communities, according as the tension between the Christian Powers and the Sultan increased or was relaxed.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 197

'spices'—all of which came from the East, except the sugar and salt<sup>1</sup> which were provided by Cyprus—was much too profitable. In spite of the prevalence of piracy, Cyprus, situated at a point where all the trade-routes from the East converged, flourished, as the chief entrepôt in the Levant, equalling in importance for a century Constantinople and Alexandria. It had also, of course, its own needs, which had to be supplied by imports from the West. Provisions for the horses of the mounted troops had to be fetched by the military Orders from their estates in Europe (below, p. 202). And the horses themselves were supplied from abroad, partly if not chiefly, from Spain.<sup>2</sup> Commerce therefore prospered. But as to a Crusade, even had the western kingdoms possessed navies of their own, instead of being dependent on the trading communities of Italy, France and Spain, even had the religious enthusiasm which had inspired the earlier Crusades survived, political conditions were too troubled to allow of any but abortive movements in that direction in the fourteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Thus all the propaganda in favour of Crusades, whether it proceeded from religious enthusiasts or from men of action, ended only in disasters like the loss of Alexandria immediately after its capture in 1365, or the defeat of Nicopolis in 1396, to be followed in the fifteenth century by the triumph of Islam.

When the undertaking of a pilgrimage or a Crusade to the Holy Land, in fulfilment of a vow or as a penance, became no longer possible, or

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<sup>1</sup> Salt was imported in large quantities, for re-export, by the Venetians. When in 1301 the Venetians found that the price of salt from the Cypriote salines had risen by 150 per cent, one of them wrote to his brother in Cyprus to exert his influence with the King to relax this and other burdens, otherwise there might be a serious breach of friendly relations. *M.L., H. II*, pp. 99–100. In 1479, the salines not having been properly managed had not yielded as much as usual, and on 11 May the Venetian Senate ordered the Queen's Counsellors to have them cleaned out, the work to take precedence of everything else, so that they should provide the usual amount for Syria and Venice. *M.L., Doc. Nouv.* p. 496. Nevertheless, Venice sometimes found it more necessary to import grain from Cyprus than salt. Thus on 20 May 1509 ships coming from Cyprus with salt were ordered to throw it overboard and return, to load with grain for Venice. Sanudo, *Diarii*, viii, 292.

<sup>2</sup> *M.L., H. III*, pp. 679f. *Cp. Reg. de Boniface VIII*, no. 1784 (1297). Licences for the export of Spanish horses to Cyprus have been noted by Mas Latrie in the registers of the Chancellery of the Crown of Aragon from 1301 to 1336, and were, as he says, doubtless continued later. A letter of Amaury, Lord of Tyre, some time during his usurpation (1306–10) recommends his envoys to James II of Aragon, and asks for licence to export six horses.

<sup>3</sup> Atiya, pp. 5ff.

was considered undesirable because of the profits which pilgrims brought to the Saracens,<sup>1</sup> Cyprus was occasionally substituted. Thus in 1301 Henry III, Count of Bar le Duc, who had rebelled against Philip the Fair, offered in expiation to go to Cyprus with 2000 men at his own cost.<sup>2</sup> On his way thither, however, he died at Naples in 1302.<sup>3</sup> When in 1324 Amanieu, the son of Count Bernard of Astarac, was condemned by the French King's court to go to Cyprus or Armenia and stay there for two years, Pope John XXII made a piteous appeal to Charles IV on his behalf, apparently without effect, for he followed it up later by letters of recommendation to the King of Cyprus and some of his officers.<sup>4</sup>

The plight of the refugees from the mainland to Cyprus was pitiable.<sup>5</sup> They were in great poverty, for, even if they had been able to save any of their possessions, the price of living rose enormously. The King and Queen did their best, enlisting the poor knights and sergeants in his army, and distributing alms to those in distress.

Of the military Orders which had lost their possessions at Acre, the Hospitallers had already, from early in the century, owned establishments at Lemesos and other places in the island, notably Kolossi (above, p. 22). But the acquisition of more estates by this Order, as by the Templars, was prohibited, except with the sanction of the King and the Pope. In 1299 Boniface VIII protested that, although the prohibition had had the approval of the Holy See, it had been interpreted too strictly;<sup>6</sup> the acquisition of modest estates and buildings ought to be permitted. Relations between the King and the Orders were also made more difficult by disputes about the poll-tax. The Third Lateran Council (1179) had decreed that the laity could not force the clergy to

<sup>1</sup> Excommunication was the punishment for undertaking such pilgrimages without express permission. Jordan, *Reg. de Clém. IV*, no. 1609 (1265); Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Aven.* 1 (1693), p. 836 (1337); M.L., *H. III*, p. 736 (1345); Benedict XII, *Lettres comm.*, ed. Vidal, nos. 4803 (1337), 6063 (1338).

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H. II*, pp. 98f.

<sup>3</sup> Reported on 19 Oct. 1302. C. Minieri Riccio, *Saggio di Codice Diplom. Suppl. II* (1883), p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> A. Coulon, *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes et curiales*, nos. 1951 (8 Feb. 1324, to King Charles), 2000-3 (27 March, to the King of Cyprus, Constable Hugh, Humfry de Montfort, one of the King's Council, and John Picquigny, Bailie of the *Secrète*).

<sup>5</sup> *Gestes*, 516; Sanudo, p. 232. See above, Ch. III, p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> 10 June, ann. v. Raynaldus, 1299, p. 278, § 38. Reinhard, I, Beyl. 32; Potthast, nos. 24835-6. Digard, etc. *Reg. de Boniface VIII*, nos. 3060-2.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 199

pay taxes; the Fourth (1215) had renewed this prohibition.<sup>1</sup> Innocent III had had trouble with the Lombard communes over this matter. Boniface, therefore, was not raising a new question. In 1298 (13 June)<sup>2</sup> he allowed the King certain concessions in regard to the exaction of the poll-tax of two besants from the clergy and Orders; Henry had acted contrary to the papal constitution forbidding it; but, as he had freely confessed his fault, and in view of its necessity for the defence of the realm, he would be allowed to levy the tax. Yet twelve months later (11 June 1299)<sup>3</sup> the King is bluntly forbidden to extend the *testagium* to members of the Orders in question or to any other persons of religious or ecclesiastical status; in fact the imposition of such taxes, even on persons subject to the King, required, said the Pope, the licence of the Holy See. The superiors of the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian communities in Nicosia were instructed to see that this order was carried out.<sup>4</sup> And finally on 19 December 1300<sup>5</sup> the Pope addresses to the King a more general rebuke, for not observing the ordinances made with the object of composing the differences between the King, the prelates, and the religious of the Kingdom. It is clear that the King, resenting interference, with what he considered to be his sovereign rights, by persons who were not his subjects but dependent directly on the Pope, took no notice of these admonitions; the matter was probably not pursued by Boniface, fully occupied as he was at the time with his dispute with Philip the Fair. Such circumstances cannot have made the reorganization of the shattered system of the Order any easier. There are records of two general chapters held by the Grand Master, John de Villiers, at Lemesos in 1292 and 1294, at which steps were taken towards this end.<sup>6</sup> They do not at first seem to have been very successful. For it appears that in 1295 some high officers of the Order made a complaint to the Pope of the conduct of the affairs

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<sup>1</sup> Mansi, *Conc.* xvii, col. 1030, Canon 46.

<sup>2</sup> Digard, etc. *Reg. de Boniface VIII*, no. 2609.

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, 1299, p. 277, § 37; Reinhard, I, Beyl. 31; Digard, etc. *Reg. de Boniface VIII*, no. 3114; Potthast, no. 24838.

<sup>4</sup> Hackett, p. 620; Papaïoannou, III, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> Raynaldus, 1300, p. 300, § 35; Reinhard, I, Beyl. 33; Potthast, no. 25000; Hackett, pp. 619 f.; Papaïoannou, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 89; D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* p. 244; *Cart.* III, nos. 4194 and 4234. It is noted that the Order continued for years to cherish hopes of the recovery of the Holy Land, and was prepared to take part in expeditions for that purpose, and above all to share in the defence of Cyprus and Armenia.

by Eudes des Pins, who had succeeded John de Villiers at the end of 1293 or early in 1294. The plans for reform, involving the control of the Grand Master by a council of seven members, including himself, and representing each one of the Langues, were not carried out; but Pope Boniface VIII wrote in very severe terms to the Grand Master, enjoining him to renounce the error of his ways.<sup>1</sup> We have no details of that error; but the Grand Master refused to obey. He was summoned to Rome, but died suddenly before he could leave Lemesos.<sup>2</sup> He was succeeded, on 26 March 1296,<sup>3</sup> by William de Villaret, Prior of Saint Gilles. Finding, it is thought, that he could serve the Order better (especially in connexion with the pressing question whether it should transfer its headquarters from Cyprus elsewhere) by remaining in the West,<sup>4</sup> William refused to go beyond seas, and actually summoned the chapter general to Avignon for 1 August 1300. This provoked a vigorous protest, to which the Grand Master was obliged to yield, because according to the constitution a chapter could only be held at the seat of the Order; and that, since the loss of Acre, was in Cyprus. William came out and the chapter met at Lemesos on 5 November 1300.<sup>5</sup> The Order was at this time taking part once more in action against the Saracens, as in the expeditions to Rosetta and Tortosa which will be described later. The reorganization of administration, due to the transfer to Cyprus, was a complicated matter, of which the ordinances issued from 1300 to 1304 give many details. Of special interest is the constitution of Kolossi as the centre of the conventual life of the Order.<sup>6</sup> William died between 23 November 1304 and 3 November 1305, and was succeeded by Foulques de Villaret, perhaps his nephew, during whose tenure of the magistracy two events of signal importance in the history of the Order took place. The abolition of the Order of the Temple will be described later; it threw the greater part, if not the whole, of the Templars' immense estates in Cyprus into the

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<sup>1</sup> D.L.R., *Cart.* III, nos. 4267 (proposals for reform), 4293 (letter of the Pope, 12 Aug. 1295); *Hosp. T.S.* p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi p. 233 (17 March 1296—not 1295, see D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* p. 249, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 258.

<sup>6</sup> Statute of 22 Oct. 1301, art. 20 (M.L., *H.* II, p. 91; D.L.R., *Cart.* IV, p. 19). Kolossi, it was ordered, should be managed, in regard to costs and everything else, just as Manueth (the casale near Acre, south-west of Casal Imbert) had been.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 201

hands of the Hospital. More important still was the capture of Rhodes,<sup>1</sup> up till then a possession of the Byzantine Empire. An opportunity of acquiring for the Order headquarters where they would be their own masters, and not subject to interference from Nicosia, came when, in May 1306, a Genoese pirate, Vignolo de' Vignoli, met the Grand Master secretly (encouragement of pirates was against the law) at a point on the coast near Lemesos, and concerted with him a plan for seizing certain of the islands of Romania. Rhodes, in particular, was to fall to the share of the Hospital.<sup>2</sup> An expedition accordingly started from Lemesos on 23 June—the little fleet carried 35 knights, 6 mounted turcopoles, and 500 foot—and was joined at C. Arnauti by two Genoese galleys. The siege of Rhodes, to which they proceeded, is said to have lasted at least two years, perhaps even four. Its conclusion was precipitated by the seizure of a Genoese ship, which had been despatched to the relief of Rhodes by the Emperor Andronicus II, but was driven by a gale to Famagusta. There Sir Peter le Jaune,<sup>3</sup> a Cypriote knight commanding an armed vessel of the Hospitallers, seized it and its captain and brought them to the besiegers at Rhodes. The captain, in fear for his life, offered to act as a go-between, and a capitulation was arranged, the gates being opened on 15 August, probably of the year 1310.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For details, see C. Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times*, pp. 10f.; D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* pp. 273-9; Atiya, pp. 287-9. The authorities (*Gestes*, 672-8; Amadi, pp. 254-9; Fl. Bustron, pp. 141-3; Pseudo-Jordan (Paolino Veneto) in Muratori, *Ant. Ital.* iv, cols. 1028, 1032) present some difficulties, chronological and others, which hardly concern this history.

<sup>2</sup> The agreement was signed on 27 May 1306 at St George of the Greeks near Lemesos (D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* p. 274, n. 2). Two-thirds of the revenues and produce of all the islands to be acquired were to go to the Hospital, the other third to Vignoli. But Rhodes, Cos (Lango) and Leros were excluded from this division, and were allotted to the Hospital, Vignoli reserving only a casale in Rhodes which he already possessed, and another to be acquired with the capture of the island. These details are not quite accurately given by Atiya, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> It was probably for this service that Peter was granted by the Grand Master an annual life pension of 500 white besants; the grant was confirmed by Elion de Ville-neuve, and again by John XXII (2 May 1323, Mollat, no. 17252).

<sup>4</sup> D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.*, *loc. cit.*, prefers 1308. The year 1310 however is given by the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Jordan (*loc. cit.*), Christophorus Cyprius and Bernardus Guido (Golubovich, iii, p. 144), and this is accepted by Golubovich. It is hardly possible to solve the discrepancy by assuming that the garrison capitulated in 1308, while the complete subjugation of the island took another two years.

The Grand Master had left Cyprus at the end of 1306.<sup>1</sup> How long he was at the siege is not known, but he went on to the West. On 5 September 1307 the Pope confirmed the Hospital in the anticipated possession of Rhodes.<sup>2</sup> Foulques returned thither before July 1310, but did not visit Cyprus again.

Before he had originally left for Rhodes, he had intervened, as will be told later, in the struggle between the King and the Lord of Tyre. In his absence, the Hospital had at first endeavoured to mediate; but when neutrality became impossible it was forced on to the side of the King; doubtless, because the Temple supported the usurper.<sup>3</sup>

The provisioning of the forces of the Hospital—as also of the Templars—in Cyprus was not a simple matter, for, as we have already remarked, fodder for the horses had to be brought from overseas, from the possessions of the Order. The grain thus exported was subject to export regulations, as in Apulia, where on occasion duties were remitted by special order.<sup>4</sup>

Such of the Templars as had escaped from Acre and Sidon also took refuge in Cyprus, where Boniface VIII granted them the same privileges as they had enjoyed in Syria.<sup>5</sup> James de Molay, Grand Preceptor of England, was chosen Grand Master. The Order was fortunate in the possession of extensive estates in the island, especially in the district of Lemesos; those with fortresses at Gastria, Kolossi, Yermasoyia and Khirokitia are perhaps the most frequently mentioned. The Templars were, like the Hospitallers, called upon to assist in the war against the Saracens. In 1293 they equipped six galleys at Venice

<sup>1</sup> He held a chapter at Lemesos on 3 Nov. (D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* p. 278).

<sup>2</sup> On 8 May 1308 Guy de Séverac, Grand Commander of the Hospital, brought to the chapter of the cathedral of Nicosia a letter from the Pope appointing Peter d'Erlant, Bishop of Lemesos, to be Vicar of Nicosia (the Archbishop Gerard de Langres being absent and in disgrace with the Pope), drawing its revenues and handing over what remained, after payment of the canons' salaries and other assignments of the church, to the Hospital for the expenses which the Order had incurred and was incurring in Rhodes. For the same object the Hospital also received the 60,000 white besants which had been deposited by the Templars with the Bishop of Lemesos. Amadi, p. 283, (where 60 is evidently an error for 60,000); Fl. Bustron, pp. 164f.

<sup>3</sup> D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> See generally, D.L.R., *Hosp. T.S.* p. 262: examples of export licences; 12 Jan. 1295, M.L., *H.* II, p. 91; 15 May 1299, *ibid.* p. 97; D.L.R., *Cart.* III, no. 4460. This order concerns Temple as well as Hospital; the grain was carried in a ship belonging to the former.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg.*, no. 487 (21 July 1295).

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 203

for the protection of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> In 1298 Pope Boniface VIII reminded the King of their great sufferings in the Holy Land and of their faithful service to his Kingdom, and urged him to treat them with favour.<sup>2</sup> But the friction between the Order and the King, which has been mentioned above in connexion with the Hospital, and which provoked the protest of Boniface VIII in 1299, continued. It is true that in 1300 we find both Orders taking part in the expeditions which the King sent to Syria and Egypt. At some time before 1306 Henry addressed to the Pope a formal complaint against the Grand Master. The document<sup>3</sup> recalled the hostility of the Order to Hugh III (p. 174), after whose death, it said, the Grand Master continued his vindictive course, and interfered with armed force to wreck the negotiations for peace between King Henry and the King of Sicily.<sup>4</sup> In the usurpation of the Lord of Tyre in 1306, the Temple openly sided with him against the King.

The division of effort caused by the rivalry between the military Orders had, ever since the time of Saint Louis, filled thoughtful minds with anxiety. The plan of merging the Templars and the Hospitallers was discussed at the Council of Lyons in 1274, but dropped because it was pointed out that the King of Spain, who had three such Orders in his kingdom, would not consent. The most far-reaching scheme, involving the fusion of not only Templars and Hospitallers, but all the other Orders, was put forward to Nicolas IV by Charles II of Anjou. It failed, like all other such proposals. One reason for the opposition to it may have been fear of the power which it would have placed in the hands of the commander of this combined force, who was to be someone of indisputable authority, the son of a king or at least of royal lineage, and was to have the crown of Jerusalem—a *dominus bellator rex*, as Ramon Lull put it later in advocating the same plan. There was also the jealousy of the Orders themselves. So the fusion, which

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<sup>1</sup> Jac. Auria, *Ann. Jan.*, in *M.G.H. Scr.* xviii, p. 352; Heyd, II, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Raynaldus, 1298, p. 258, § 21; Reinhard, I, Beyl. 30 (19 March 1298); Digard, etc. *Reg. de Boniface VIII*, no. 2439; cp. his letter to the Grand Master (20 March 1298), *ibid.* no. 2438.

<sup>3</sup> Only a précis of Henry's instructions to his envoy survives, printed by Dupuy under the date 1307, although it must be earlier. *M.L., H.* II, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> This can hardly refer to any occasion but the negotiations at Acre in 1285 (above, p. 179 f.); and yet it would appear from the other authorities that the Grand Master did not actively oppose the peace.



would have saved the Templars, at the expense of their independence, from the dreadful fate which awaited them, was not to be.<sup>1</sup>

Although the shock of the catastrophe in the Holy Land cannot be said to have profoundly affected the West, if such action as was taken is any indication, yet from now on for many years there was no lack of plans for the best way to redeem the situation.<sup>2</sup> One slight but fruitless effort was made.<sup>3</sup> Nicolas IV quickly fitted out ten galleys in Ancona and as many in Genoa, and sent them out to Cyprus for its protection—for it was feared with good reason that the Sultan in his pride would attack the island; Nicolas even entertained the idea of going out thither himself. On the arrival of this fleet, the King equipped another fifteen galleys. The combined force sailed for the coast of Karamania and attacked the fortified port of Scandelore (Alaya).<sup>4</sup> It took the tower which was on the sea-front, but failed at another, against the attack on which the Turks had made better preparations. Unable to make any further progress, the fleet abandoned its capture, and sailed for Egypt. After besieging Alexandria for a few days, it returned to Cyprus, having done nothing but irritate the Sultan. But this attack on Asia Minor, like the earlier expedition to Adalia by Walter de Montbéliard, was a forerunner of the Crusades in the middle of the fourteenth century, when Adalia and Smyrna were captured.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On these plans for the fusion of the Orders see Delaville le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1886), I, pp. 17ff. Cp. Atiya, p. 78. James de Molay's reply to Clement V on the proposed union of the two Orders is printed and translated in G. Lizerand's *Le Dossier de l'affaire des Templiers*, pp. 1-15.

<sup>2</sup> See especially the analysis of all this propaganda down to the fifteenth century by Atiya, pp. 29-230. Cp. also D.L.R., F.O. I, pp. 13-102 for the period 1290-1350.

<sup>3</sup> Sanudo, p. 232; *Gestes*, 524-5; Amadi, pp. 228-9; Fl. Bustron, p. 128; G. Caro, *Genua u. d. Mächte am Mittelmeer*, 1257-1311, II, p. 176, n. 9; F. Heidelberger, *Kreuzzugsversuche um die Wende des 13. Jahrh.* 1912, p. 3. Nicolas ordered that twenty armed galleys should be constantly on service in Cyprus to protect it and Armenia, and appropriated funds of the Temple and Hospital for the purpose. After the Pope's death, the cardinals made Manuel Zaccaria admiral of the fleet; there was some objection to this appointment on the part of Genoa, and he was only allowed to hold the office for one year (Jac. Auria, *Ann. Jan.*, in *M.G.H. Scr.* xviii, pp. 342-3, ed. Imperiale, p. 143). Boniface VIII prolonged the indulgence granted by Nicolas to Henry for the succour of Acre (*Reg.* no. 124, 24 Apr. 1295).

<sup>4</sup> On the site of the ancient Coracesium. See Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* xi (11), col. 1371; Dawkins on Machaeras, 33, n. 5. On the history of the emirate of Scandelore, Aimilianides in *Κυπρ. Σπ.* III, pp. 77-108.

<sup>5</sup> Atiya, p. 46.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 205

Al-Malik al-Ashraf,<sup>1</sup> indignant, summoned a council of his emirs, and laid before them an ambitious scheme. 'Cyprus, Cyprus, Cyprus', he cried, should first be conquered, and he ordered a hundred ships to be built. But his ambition was not to be satisfied with merely conquering Cyprus; he would attack Baghdad, and seat himself on the throne of the Caliphs. His schemes came to naught, for the emirs, unwilling to enter on so vast a campaign, assassinated him, on 13 December 1293.<sup>2</sup> A series of claimants for the succession followed him; that they were murdered one after the other, while Egypt was visited by a severe famine and plague, was attributed by the Christian chroniclers to divine vengeance.<sup>3</sup> For the next six years, the Saracens left the Christians in peace.

Needless to say, the calamities of the Holy Land had not had any effect in appeasing the hostility between the Venetians and the Genoese. Rivalry in trade led inevitably to armed conflicts. The incessant clashes between the two fleets could not but affect Cyprus directly or indirectly.

The Venetian records especially, giving details of the commercial relations with Cyprus and Armenia, show how great the volume of trade must have continued to be;<sup>4</sup> Armenia and Cyprus both profited by the falling off of trade with Syria.

But if the Venetian trade was important, so also was that of Genoa. A picture of the activity of the Genoese colony in the island and, at the same time, of the motley crowd of merchants, bankers, etc., from Italy, France and Spain, who flourished there, may be drawn from the register of the deeds executed at Famagusta before a Genoese notary in the years 1299 to 1301. This was a time, as we shall see, of strained relations between the Genoese and the government of

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<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 526-7; Thaddæus of Naples, p. 43; Sanudo, p. 233; Amadi, p. 229; Fl. Bustron, pp. 128-9.

<sup>2</sup> Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe*, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> Another famine afflicted Egypt in 1296, costing 100,000 deaths; there would have been more, had not grain been imported from abroad: Cilicia or Sicily ('Cicilia'), Constantinople and Rhodes (Amadi, p. 233).

<sup>4</sup> During the 13th century the Venetians had established themselves in great numbers in Cyprus and were on the same footing as the Genoese. A report written about the middle of the 13th century, or at any rate not later than 1277, gives details of property held or formerly held by them; they had many private houses and estates, though some had been lost to people of other nations. Their chief centre was Lemesos; next came Nicosia; there was little in Paphos. G. Thomas in *Sbr. Münch. Akad.* (1878), I, pp. 143-57. Heyd, I, p. 364. Extracts from the registers of the Pregadi from 1293 to 1330, M.L., H. II, pp. 133-6. An embassy sent at the beginning of this period probably prepared the way for the treaty of 1306. Documents concerning Pisan trade, 1296-1320, *ibid.* pp. 93-7.

Cyprus,<sup>1</sup> and probably some of the arrangements were temporary, such as the office of the rectors who administered justice when there was no podestà or consul. The documents of the grants of 1218 and 1232 show that the Genoese had not at that time their own consul in Famagusta. In the years concerned there were three rectors, one in Famagusta, the others presumably in Nicosia and Lemesos or Salines. The colony in Famagusta, centred in its loggia, had also its own physician, surgeon, doctor of liberal arts and marshal.<sup>2</sup>

The other trading communities were less active, or quieter, than the Venetians or Genoese. Important privileges however were granted by Henry in 1291, to the Pisans and Catalans. The two grants ran in some respects parallel. Both communities were to pay only half the usual duty (2 besants per cent instead of 4) on goods brought in or taken out, and only 1 besant on transshipping in a Cypriote port for despatch to another country. The tax of the fifth payable on chartering of vessels was reduced to a tenth. The Pisans were granted a consul with jurisdiction, before whom actions brought against a Pisan were to go; if he condemned anyone to imprisonment, the Cypriote officers were to take charge of the prisoner. Estates of Pisans who died intestate were to go to the Pisan Commune. The right of the King to wrecks was waived in favour of the owners of Pisan ships. In the case of Pisans who committed robbery or other crimes, they and their accomplices but no others were to be punished.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Henry, as a matter of fact, had always been hostile to Genoa since it forced him (on 17 May 1292) to revoke the agreement which had been made with Zaccaria in 1288 (above, p. 183). That he revoked this absolutely is clear from the *Liber Jurium*, II, col. 275. As Auria says, Henry's representative, the Franciscan Matthew, Bishop of Famagusta, failed to obtain ratification. It is difficult in the face of this to understand the statement of M. G. Canale, *Nuova Ist. d. Rep. di Genova*, II, p. 229, said to be based on a Cicala MS., that Zaccaria's agreement, far from being revoked, was actually ratified, William Doria having been sent with full powers for that purpose.

<sup>2</sup> *Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto*. C. Desimoni in *Arch. Or. lat.* II (Documents); *Rev. Or. lat.* I and II. See also Heyd, II, pp. 7-8; Caro, *Genua u. d. Mächte am Mittelmeer*, 1257-1311, II, pp. 312-15.

<sup>3</sup> For Pisa see G. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll' Oriente Cristiano e coi Turchi fino all' anno MDXXXI* (Florence, 1879), pp. 108-9. The Pope gave permission to the Pisan community in Cyprus as elsewhere to build churches for baptisms (*Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* no. 14476, 22 Sept. 1321). For the Catalans, A. de Capmany, *Mem. hist. sobre la marina comercio y artes de... Barcelona*, II (Madrid, 1779), p. 56. Both grants are given by the hand of Henry de Giblest, Archdeacon of Nicosia and Chancellor of Cyprus, in Oct. 1291.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 207

The existence of German (perhaps Hansa) traders at Paphos in 1297 is indicated by an epitaph of that date on Bernard the son of a Sire Yorge, *escrivain des Alemans*.<sup>1</sup>

A toll called the *missa* was levied for the security of Cyprus waters on ships bringing merchandise from Turkey, Syria, Rhodes, and elsewhere. It was paid by the owners of the ships, who passed it on to the merchants whose goods they carried, adding it to the cost of freights. Venetian and Genoese owners however did not pay this toll; nevertheless it was extracted by the bailie in charge from the merchants whose goods came in Venetian or Genoese bottoms.<sup>2</sup>

The great prosperity which Cyprus enjoyed in the fourteenth century was largely due to these trading communities; indeed would never have come to it otherwise, for neither the Greeks nor their French rulers had the genius for such enterprise. Nevertheless, these colonies were a parasitic growth, sapping the cohesion of the realm, and reducing its revenues by their manifold exemptions from taxation; and they and their governments not only damaged the land by encouraging piracy, but actually comforted the enemy by supplying him with men and munitions.<sup>3</sup>

Cyprus waters, as already remarked, were frequently the scene of encounters between the fleets of the great trading republics. In 1292<sup>4</sup> four Venetian ships (on one of which was Philip d'Ibelin, uncle of the King) and two ships of the Templars were on their way to Cyprus and fell in with seven Genoese merchant vessels on the voyage from Romania to Genoa. In the engagement, which was forced by the Venetians, their ships were captured, and more than 300 of their men killed. Philip's safety was secured by the Genoese captain, and the victors seem to have

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<sup>1</sup> Iorga, *F.d.C.* p. 33 (after Mas Latrie); C. Enlart in *Syria*, viii (1927), pp. 237-8. Enlart, who explains *escrivain* as chancellor, thinks that the consulate or loggia of the Germans must have been destroyed when the Genoese sacked Paphos in 1310 (1312?). Iorga's idea that the *escrivain* may have been one of the secretaries of Frederick II's Bailies, who had remained in the island, will hardly, for chronological reasons, bear examination.

<sup>2</sup> F. Balducci Pegolotti (first half of 14th century), *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Zannetos, I, pp. 764f.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 537; Amadi, p. 230; Jac. Auria, *Ann. Jan.* (*M.G.H. Scr.* xviii, pp. 352f.; ed. Imperiale, p. 167). The last dates the encounter in July 1293, and says that there were four Venetian ships equipped for the custody of Cyprus, with arms and men for six vessels, since they had two more there. Caro, *Genua u. d. Mächte am Mittelmeer*, 1257-1311, II, p. 182.

behaved well; they picked up the Venetians who had jumped overboard and restored them their belongings, and although Philip was robbed of his silver plate, he was indemnified from Genoa.

In 1294<sup>1</sup> the Venetians sent a fleet of twenty-five galleys under Mark Marcello to Cyprus with the express object of attacking their enemies. At Lemesos they destroyed the battlements of the tower of the Genoese, razed their loggia, broke down their flagstaff and dragged it along the ground, and threatened them so that they dared not show themselves. Sailing on to Salines (Larnaka) they found there King Henry with Philip d'Ibelin and many other knights. The Captain delivered to the King letters from the Doge. The author of the *Gestes*, who was present, relates how the Captain declared that they had come to avenge various injuries that the Genoese had done them and boasted that they were not afraid of twice their number of Genoese ships. They went on the same night to Famagusta. The Castellan of that port, Philip de Brie, advised the Genoese to fly, for he could not guarantee their safety if the Venetians attacked them; and this although by the terms of the Genoese charter the King was bound to protect them to the best of his power. The Genoese fled to Nicosia and other places; but the Venetians sailed past Famagusta to Lajazzo in the Gulf of Alexandretta, where they seized a ship and did much damage and outrage to Genoese property. The news of these events was brought by one Giulio Doria from Famagusta to a Genoese fleet of fourteen sail which was on its way to Constantinople with merchandise. This fleet, having done its business, sailed on to Lajazzo, where in an engagement it utterly defeated the Venetians, capturing twenty-five galleys and all the merchandise which they were carrying from Armenia.

On their way to Lajazzo, the Genoese had found at Gorhigos, in an armed Cypriote galley carrying Syrians, Pisans and Venetians, Sir Otho de Grandison, the friend of King Edward I, who had fought at the siege of Acre, and was returning from a mission to the King of Armenia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 538-45 (1293); Amadi, pp. 231-2. Jac. de Varagine in Muratori, *R.I.S.* ix, col. 14 (1294); Stella, in Muratori, *R.I.S.* xvii, col. 984, fixes the date of the battle of Lajazzo on the feast of St Germanus, i.e. 28 May 1294. See Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, I, Intr. pp. 43-4. The accounts differ considerably as to what happened outside the waters of Cyprus, but both agree about the utter defeat of the Venetians. Caro, II, pp. 185-90.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 186. On 24 May 1293 Otho, 'going to the Holy Land', had a safe-conduct granted to him for three years (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I, III, p. 17). But the

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 209

He begged to be allowed to accompany them, to act as mediator, but was warned to remove his ship; for his sake, the Venetians and Pisans in his crew were not molested. He returned to Cyprus.

The Pope's efforts to make peace between the rivals were unsuccessful, except in so far as he contrived to delay their preparations for further conflict in 1295 until the season was too late. Most of the fighting in the following years took place far from Cyprus waters.<sup>1</sup> But one affair at Famagusta had serious results, and that was the exploit of Frosio Morosini, who in 1297 cut out a Genoese ship which was lying under the fort of Famagusta, and burnt it under the noses of the Genoese and the Cypriote garrison;<sup>2</sup> after which he went on to Armenia and destroyed the loggia of the Genoese at Lajazzo. This incident provoked a crisis. However, on 26 March 1298 Henry made an agreement with two Genoese envoys, Bishop Lanfranc Spinola and Giles di Quarto, indemnifying the Genoese for their losses and settling questions about their consulate and jurisdiction.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, fresh Genoese envoys arrived early in 1299, to claim compensation from the King for the damage done to their shipping, 'both within and without the chain'. One of the envoys was probably the Salveto Pessagno whose arrogant demands are recorded as having embittered the situation. Unable to obtain satisfaction, the Genoese officers, on 6 March, proclaimed a boycott of trade with Cyprus, to take effect on 1 August. By

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*Placita de Quo Warranto* 354 of the same date show that he was still in the East. Kingsford (*Trans. R. Hist. Soc.* 3rd ser. III, 1909, p. 150, n. 6) supposes the safe-conduct was a renewal of that which had been granted for a like term on 10 June 1290 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Edward I, II, p. 362). It was in 1294 that Thoros of Armenia invited him and others from Cyprus, and the Grand Masters of the Temple and Hospital, to help to bring order into his Kingdom. He was associated in this with the historian Hayton, Lord of Gorchigos. Kingsford thinks that he may have gone home in one of the Genoese galleys that fought at Lajazzo.

<sup>1</sup> For which reason Amadi (p. 233) does not describe it; but there is a long account covering the years 1295 to 1298 in the *Gestes*, 554-69.

<sup>2</sup> Dandolo, *Chron.*, in Muratori, *R.I.S.* XII, col. 407: 'Frosius Mauroceno...navim quamdam Januensem subtus turrim Famagustam, secus catenam subtractam invitis Januensibus et Cypriis foris extraxit, ipsamque in eorum oculis cremari jussit.' On Frosio (Theophilus) Morosini, see Cigogna, *Inscr. Ven.* III, p. 187. Romanin, II, p. 335, wrongly calls him Enrico. Laurence de Monacis, *Chron. de rebus Ven.* ed. Flam. Cornelius (1758, p. 202), attributes the destruction of the loggia to Roger Morosini called Malabranca.

<sup>3</sup> Pagano, *Delle imprese*, p. 24; M. G. Canale, *Nuova Ist. d. Rep. di Genova*, III, p. 230; Heyd, II, p. 5.

then all Genoese were to leave the island, except those who had really become burgesses of Cyprus. The podestà was to levy fines for breach of this order, of which half was to go to the Commune, half to those who had suffered loss. Interim rectors were appointed to exercise jurisdiction until 1 August or until the Commune should make fresh orders. Genoese in receipt of salaries from the King or barons were to resign them, unless they were actually burgesses. If subjects of the King brought actions against Genoese, the rector, while formally explaining that there was no longer any podestà or consul, was out of courtesy to the King to administer justice.

Henry seems to have countered by ordering a boycott of all Genoese goods; no Genoese (the ambassador and his suite excepted) or property belonging to them were to leave the island; and the property of all Genoese merchants was seized. Further it was proclaimed, on 13 May 1299, that all who had suffered at the hands of the Genoese were to report their losses and make their depositions on oath, and a schedule was to be drawn up.

Probably neither party intended to carry out all these measures wholeheartedly. It is certain that Genoese trade did not stop on 1 August. At the end of the year Genoese representatives came to treat with the King: with what result is not recorded.<sup>1</sup>

These years are full of piratical adventures round the coasts of Cyprus, in which the Genoese play a leading part. On 2 September 1298 the Venetian merchant Mark Michiel 'the Tatar', being in Famagusta, heard that the Genoese, Franceschino Grimaldi, who was accustomed to plunder both friend and enemy indifferently, was at Lemesos and was coming to Famagusta. As he had a cargo on the way, he persuaded the Castellan of Famagusta to send a ship to find his captain wherever he might be and tell him to land his cargo at once. This was done at Pistachi; but Grimaldi put in and transferred the goods to his own galley. Mark complained to the King without effect, and even when the Admiral of Cyprus captured Grimaldi he could not get restitution of his merchandise, which Grimaldi seems to have been actually allowed to

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<sup>1</sup> The evidence about these happenings is confused; see G. Caro, *Genua u. d. Mächte am Mittelmeer*, 1257-1311, II, pp. 312-15. It is Amadi who gives us the name of Salveto Pessagno (p. 255), but he says the breach happened just before Henry was deposed by Amaury, that is, in 1306. But Pessagno died in Jan. 1300 (Caro, II, p. 315, n. 3). Amadi also (p. 241) speaks of an order to expel the Genoese in Jan. 1306, which was rescinded; possibly this date is also wrong. For the King's proclamation to Cypriotes to report their claims, see *Assises*, II, pp. 363f.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 211

keep. The matter was reported to Venice, and the Senate instructed its ambassador who was going to Cyprus to demand satisfaction for Mark. We do not know the outcome.<sup>1</sup>

Another piratical adventure<sup>2</sup> which caused a sensation was undertaken in March 1302 by two Genoese galleys and a foist from Malvasia and Rhodes. These raided at dawn the casale of Guy d'Ibelin, titular Count of Jaffa, at Episkopi. They killed one of his servants, and carried off the Count himself, who was lying ill in bed, and was wounded in the face when he attempted to resist; also his wife, eldest son and daughter; and took much plunder from the house. Philip d'Ibelin, the Constable,<sup>3</sup> who was present on a visit, escaped, with the sister and two younger sons of the Count. The prisoners were ransomed for 55,000 silver pieces<sup>4</sup> by the intermediation of James de Molay, Grand Master of the Temple.

In 1303 the Venetian Bailie reported that the Genoese, Percival de la Turcha and James Bianco, had attacked a Venetian ship near Lajazzo. The podestà of the Genoese Commune at Famagusta excused himself, saying that he had not the pirates in his hands. Again, on 23 April of the same year, the Bailie reported that he had legal proof that last March a ship belonging to the Venetian Michael of Lemesos had been captured by the same Percival. The pirate had now himself been taken near Rhodes, and the Bailie recommended the case to the Doge's attention.<sup>5</sup>

We have seen that these pirates did not always escape; in 1303, we are told, many were caught and hanged.<sup>6</sup>

Piracy was thus a pursuit to which, at least in the opinion of the King's government, the Genoese were specially addicted. One of the most notorious offenders was Vignolo de' Vignoli,<sup>7</sup> already mentioned. His nephew Andrew Moresco was hanged at Famagusta with the rest of the men of a Genoese pirate galley which had been captured.<sup>8</sup> Vignoli took

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, pp. 50-4; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levant.*, pp. 39-42. The question was still unsettled in 1302; M.L., *ibid.* p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 238; Fl. Bustron, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Uncle of the King; he succeeded his brother Balian, who died in Feb. 1302 (1301 o.s.), as Seneschal of Cyprus: Amadi, pp. 238, 241.

<sup>4</sup> *Tornesi d'argento*, presumably silver gros, of which two went to the white besant.

<sup>5</sup> *Libri Comm.*, Reg. I, p. 27, no. 111 and p. 35, no. 149.

<sup>6</sup> Amadi, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> Amadi, pp. 254-6.

<sup>8</sup> Amadi relates this just before his story of the breach between the King and the Genoese, which as we have seen was in 1299. Caro (II, p. 311, n. 4) points out that Andrew Moresco cannot have been hanged before the summer of 1306, because he was a free man in that summer and was later in the service of the Emperor.



his revenge by doing as much harm as he could to travellers to Cyprus and to the peasants of the island. When he appeared off the coast, and the King sent in pursuit of him, he would be warned by his fellow-countrymen, and slip away to Rhodes or other Greek islands, only to return as soon as his pursuers gave up the chase.

Measures had to be taken against the Genoese again in 1306. For we have the actual text of a proclamation issued on 11 February 1305 (that is to say 1306 N.S.) ordering the Genoese to swear loyalty to the King and his realm and people; at the King's request they must leave the coast towns and live at Nicosia, where they may enjoy their franchises, as long as they do not offend against the laws of the realm or its people.<sup>1</sup>

Catalan pirates were also troublesome. On 6 September 1307 the Venetian Bailie at Famagusta had to report to the Doge that three Venetians, on leaving Chiarenza (in the Gulf of Patras), evidently on their way to Cyprus, in a ship laden with cloth and arms, had been robbed by a Catalan pirate, James Formican.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the Saracen War.

The struggle with Egypt began again in 1299. The Mongol Khan of Persia, Ghazan, invaded Syria with an army of 100,000 men; with him was Hayton II of Armenia (at whose instance indeed he had come)<sup>3</sup> with 3000 more. Probably from some place between Aleppo and Damascus, on 21 October, the Khan sent an invitation to the King of Cyprus and the Grand Masters of the three Orders to join him. The messenger arrived in Cyprus on 3 November. But the King failed to agree on a plan with the Temple and the Hospital, even when the Khan sent another messenger at the end of November. On 23 December 1299,<sup>4</sup> Ghazan, without Cypriote aid, routed the Egyptian forces at Salamia near Homs, and drove them as far as Gaza. After accepting the

<sup>1</sup> *Assises*, II, p. 318. This is probably the order of expulsion which, according to Amadi (p. 241), was issued in Jan. 1306 and shortly afterwards withdrawn.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. II, p. III.

<sup>3</sup> Hayton (*Rec. Cr. Arm.* II), pp. 191-3; Makrizi, tr. Quatremère, II, B, pp. 146-51. Amadi (p. 234) says Ghazan marched on 4 Oct. (1298 should be 1299). Tournèize, *Hist. pol. et rel. de l'Arm.* p. 225; Röhrich, *Arch. Or. lat.* I, p. 644; Sir W. Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 54; Atiya, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> The *Gestes*, Amadi and Fl. Bustron have 20 Dec. The correct date appears to be 28 Rabi' I, 699 (i.e. 23 Dec. 1299). The note *c* in *Rec. Cr. Arm.* II, p. 191 (followed by R. de Mas Latrie in his note on Amadi) is one day out. Hayton himself (p. 193) dates the battle on the Wednesday before Christmas 1301.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 213

surrender of Damascus he returned to Persia in February 1300.<sup>1</sup> The Cypriotes had apparently done nothing to help in this campaign. An expedition sent by the King to Butron<sup>2</sup> consisted of only forty mounted men (knights and turcoples) and sixty arbalesters and archers; their instructions were not to move from Butron, but to work at the castle of Nefin, until the arrival of the King's forces. The captain was however tempted by the Christian peasants of the neighbouring hills to move out against the castle of Mont Pèlerin at Tripoli. A league from Butron he was attacked by a force of 400 Saracen horse and many archers, and killed, with a knight named Beltram Faissan or Fassan, while they were covering the retreat of his little company; the survivors retired to Butron and then sailed back to Cyprus.

Another incident of the same kind is related<sup>3</sup> as taking place after Ghazan had retired. Guy d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and John of Antioch with some knights went to Giblet and Nefin, intending to join Ghazan in Armenia, but were too late. The captain of a Genoese galley had seized Giblet, but the Saracens of the neighbourhood attacked. The Christians were taken off and carried to Cyprus by the Genoese galley and other small vessels, but not before they had suffered heavy losses in the embarkation.

An expedition to Egypt and Syria in 1300 was hardly a more serious affair, so far as results went.<sup>4</sup> Sixteen galleys with other smaller vessels<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In connexion with this episode, it is recorded that Ramon Lull, hearing of the Tatar invasion, came to Cyprus full of hope (not earlier, apparently, than 1301), but he found that his expectations were false. Nevertheless he asked the King to allow him to gather together the heretics of his kingdom and preach to them. He was not enthusiastically welcomed by Henry, and the result of this effort is not known. He made himself ill by preaching, and a clerk and a servant of his also attempted to poison him. He had a better reception from the Grand Master of the Temple, in whose house he recovered his health. His *Rhetorica Nova* was written at the monastery of A. Chrysostomos, and dated Sept. 1301; his *Liber de Natura* is dated Famagusta, Dec. 1301. *AA.SS.*, 30 June, vii, 513, 611, 616; E. Alison Peers, *Ramon Lull*, pp. 304-5.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo, p. 242; Amadi, p. 235; Fl. Bustron, p. 130. The name of the commander is given by the first as Polo de la Naento, by the second as Polo del Anacto. The expedition is narrated after the defeat of the Saracens, and can hardly have taken place before 1300. According to Fl. Bustron it was the report of this failure that caused the King to arrange the expedition to Rosetta.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 614; Sanudo, pp. 241f.  
<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 615-19 (Giblet an obvious misprint for *Egypte*); Sanudo, p. 242; Amadi, p. 236; Fl. Bustron, pp. 131f.

<sup>5</sup> Sanudo has 7 galleys and 5 *sichiae* (i.e. small fast vessels, *saities* or *saetties*, i.e. 'arrows'); the *Gestes*, 16 galleys, 5 *saities* and some *panfles* (Ital. *panfano*, *panfletto*,

were equipped by the King, the Temple and the Hospital, and placed under the command of Baldwin de Picquigny<sup>1</sup> as admiral; the troops they carried were captained by Raymond<sup>2</sup> Visconte. With the King were his brother Amaury, Lord of Tyre, the Grand Master of the Temple, the Commander of the Hospital, and an envoy of the Khan Ghazan.<sup>3</sup> The expedition left Famagusta on 20 July, sailed to Cape Chelidoni<sup>4</sup> and thence made for Rosetta. Five Saracen galleys which they encountered retired upstream. They landed some hundred horsemen and sacked and burnt a village.<sup>5</sup> Four Tatars who were with the Saracens, seeing the banner of Ghazan (which was flown on the ship in which his envoy was), escaped and joined the Christians. From Rosetta the fleet sailed to Alexandria and entered the port, but remained only until the next day, when it made for Acre, capturing and burning on the way a Moorish ship, coming from Scandelore, from which thirty prisoners were taken.<sup>6</sup> At Acre the expedition landed and found thirty horsemen and 300 foot of the Saracens, whom they routed, killing six or seven; sailing on to Tortosa, they again put to flight some hundred horsemen, killing six. Next day the Hospitallers landed at Maraclea from two small vessels, raiding and indulging in food and drink; seeing that they were separated from the rest of the fleet, the enemy surprised them and drove them back to their ships, killing a knight and twenty foot-soldiers. The whole fleet then sailed by way of the Armeno-Cilician coast to Cyprus. This marauding expedition may not seem worth mentioning, except as an example of the methods of petty warfare in those days.

In the same year (1300) an envoy from Ghazan reached Cyprus, announcing that the Khan intended to make an expedition to Syria in

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another type of small vessel); Amadi 16 galleys and *saetie* and 6 *panfletti*; Fl. Bustron 16 galleys and 6 *fuste* (foists).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Baldwin II (Du Cange-Rey, p. 585).

<sup>2</sup> So the *Gestes* (Raimon); Amadi and Fl. Bustron call him Bohemund (*Beimonte*, *Beimondo*). A Raymond Visconte owned the casale of Nisou near Dali in 1308 (Amadi, p. 285).

<sup>3</sup> Called *Chiol*. by Amadi and Fl. Bustron.

<sup>4</sup> *Capo Chilidoni*, Amadi; *Chilodoni*, Fl. Bustron. Cilidonio (Celidonio) or Punta Melonta, was the ancient C. Zephyrium on the south coast near Old Paphos, according to Porcacchi (in *Exc. Cypr.* p. 163, repeated by Dandini, *ibid.* p. 183). Cotovicus calls it C. Malotas (*Itin.* p. 91).

<sup>5</sup> *Lagidie*, the *Gestes*; *Lachidia*, Amadi; *Lagidia*, Fl. Bustron.

<sup>6</sup> Whom, according to Sanudo, the captors slew.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 215

the coming winter, and inviting the King and all the Franks to await him in Armenia, whose King and people were making preparations for the campaign.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly Amaury de Lusignan sailed with 300 mounted men, and as many or more of the Templars and Hospitallers, to the island of Ruad (Aradus) off Tortosa (Antaradus). Thence they made a descent on Tortosa itself, remaining there for some days. When, however, the Mongols failed to come, and the enemy was seen to be gathering to attack them, they returned to the island.<sup>2</sup> It was not until next February that the Tatar emir, Kutlugh-shah, arrived in the region of Antioch with 40,000 horse. Summoning Hayton, the King of Armenia (who had with him Guy d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and John, Lord of Giblet), he explained that the Khan had been prevented from fulfilling his promise by illness and bad weather. After raiding the territory of Aleppo as far as La Chamele (Homs) he returned to his country. Amaury and his Cypriotes thereupon retired from Ruad to Cyprus, but not before they had suffered considerable losses at the hands of the Saracens.<sup>3</sup> But Ruad was not yet to fall into the hands of the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

The King's enemies later accused him of refusing supplies to this expedition, which would have starved had he not eventually been persuaded to allow the members of it to obtain supplies at their own expense. It is possible, therefore, either that the whole idea of the expedition originated with Amaury rather than with the King, or that, seeing it was bound to fail, Henry refused to maintain it any longer.

The Grand Master of the Temple saw that Ruad would be a useful point from which to annoy the Saracens, and put up buildings to shelter a garrison, consisting of the greater part of the Brethren, whom he left

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<sup>1</sup> *Gestes*, 620. Sanudo, p. 242: he describes Amaury's force as consisting of some 200 of the best mounted men of Cyprus. Hayton (*Rec. Cr. Arm.* II, pp. 199, 320-1: date 1301). Ghazan's envoy may have been the 'Zolus (Jolus or Ozolus) de Anestasio' whom we find at Famagusta on 25 May 1301, some time before which he had despatched one Viscard thence on an embassy to the Pope. Messengers from the East had brought the news of Ghazan's victories to Rome early in 1300, as appears from a letter of Boniface VIII to Edward I dated 7 April 1300. Kohler, *Mélanges*, p. 275; Rymer, *Foedera* (1816), I, p. 919; Potthast, no. 24937.

<sup>2</sup> *Gestes*, 621; Hayton, p. 199. Amadi (p. 237) and Fl. Bustron (p. 132) do not mention the presence of the Hospitallers.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 622-3; Amadi, pp. 237f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 132f.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 635-8 (the Saracen emir—he was a renegade Christian—is called *Sandamour*); Sanudo, p. 242; Amadi, pp. 238f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 133. These last three relate the fall of Ruad in 1302, the *Gestes* in 1303. Muir dates the attack on it in Oct. 1302.

behind under the command of the Marshal Bartholomew. The numbers of the Christians in the island are given as 120 knights, 500 archers and 400 other men and women of the *menu peuple*. They had some transports, but no galleys.

The Sultan despatched a fleet of sixteen galleys and smaller ships to Tripoli. There the emir to whom the command was entrusted manned them, and himself marching to Tortosa landed on Ruad at two points. There was stiff fighting, the Syrian archers making a fine defence, but the Templars were forced to take refuge in a tower. At last, trusting in the enemy's promise to let them depart in safety whithersoever they wished, Brother Hugh de Dampierre<sup>1</sup> came to terms with the enemy, and the defenders yielded. All the Christian Syrian foot-soldiers were at once cut to pieces, and also some 300 of the *menu peuple*<sup>2</sup> and the Templars were carried off to Egypt. Thus was lost the last foothold of the Christians in Syria. It was, we have already observed, the point at which they were to enter Syria again more than six centuries later.<sup>3</sup>

The severe earthquake—the worst in memory, it is called by the Cypriote chronicler—of 7 or 8 August 1303 did not do any notable damage in Cyprus, as it did in Crete and Rhodes. But many processions were made, and order was given that every day at sunset a bell should be tolled thrice and every Christian should say thrice the Paternoster and Ave Maria.<sup>4</sup>

The year 1306 brings us to a painful episode in the reign of the unfortunate King Henry, in which the chief part was played by Amaury, the 'Lord of Tyre'.<sup>5</sup> Amaury was a younger brother of King Henry,

<sup>1</sup> See Chamberlayne, *Lacr. Nic.* p. III.

<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Muir, *Mameluke Dyn.* p. 57, only 280 who occupied the tower survived as captives.

<sup>3</sup> On 1 Sept. 1915 the French occupied Ruad. On 22 Jan. previously H.M.S. *Doris* had distributed food to its destitute inhabitants. Sir H. Luke, *More Moves on an Eastern Chequerboard* (1935), p. 224. *Times Diary and Index of the War* for these dates.

<sup>4</sup> *Gestes*, 656 (7 Aug.); Amadi, p. 239 (8 Aug.); Fl. Bustron, p. 134 (8 Aug.). One version of the Report attributed to Attar says it caused damage in many places throughout the island (Κυπρ. Χρον. XIII, p. 10).

<sup>5</sup> Authorities for the events from the usurpation of Amaury to the King's return: *Gestes*, 657–68, 679–84, 696–701 (the MS. ends with Amaury's plan for sending the King to Armenia); Sanudo, pp. 242–3; Machaeras, 42–63; Amadi, pp. 241–54, 259–69, 271–7, 298–379; Strambaldi, pp. 18–26; Fl. Bustron, pp. 135–41, 148–62, 176–235. The text of the declaration read on 26 April 1306 by the Constable, Aimery de Lusignan, to the King, giving the reasons for depriving him of the government,

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 217

who had granted him the lordship of Tyre and made him Constable of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The grant was purely titular, for both Tyre and Jerusalem were held by the Saracens.<sup>1</sup> He was married to Isabel, the daughter of Leo III and sister of Hayton II and Oshin, Kings of Armenia.

The chronicles and histories which tell the story of this episode are in all but complete agreement<sup>2</sup> in taking the side of the King against his brother, to whose sinister ambition to be the ruler of the Kingdom they attribute the whole of the blame. The only extant documents<sup>3</sup> which state the views of Amaury and his party set forth their grievances, and assign as the cause of the bad government of the Kingdom the 'divers dangerous maladies' which have long afflicted the King and attack him daily more and more—infirmities too horrible to describe, although known not only to physicians but throughout the Kingdom. They emphasize the King's failure to take active measures to protect the realm against the Genoese and the Saracens;<sup>4</sup> to help Armenia against the incursions of the latter; to acquire new friends for the Kingdom (rather he makes enemies of those who might have been friends) or to make war against its enemies; to provide remedy for the

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and of the agreement on the details of the administration, was found by Giraud in the Vatican and is printed by R. de Mas Latrie in *Rev. des questions hist.* XLIII (1888), pp. 524-41 and in his notes to Amadi, pp. 242-8. The Latin text of the charter of the same date creating Amaury Governor is in *Rev. Or. lat.* XI (1908), pp. 444-52. The chronology of the events is often difficult to fix, confused sometimes by uncertainty as to the beginning of the year. In the *Gestes* the events leading up to the final submission to Amaury of the Seneschal and all Henry's following are dated in 1306, much too early; and Fl. Bustron seems generally to date events a year earlier than Amadi. I have not discussed each difficulty, but have adopted what seems to me the most probable sequence. It may be mentioned that the text of Machaeras is wildly out in the dates: it was not in 1300 that the King was arrested; Amaury held the power not for nine years but for little more than four; and the King was restored in 1310, not 1309.

<sup>1</sup> The *Gestes* and Amadi have this correctly. He is commonly, but wrongly, called the Prince of Tyre. Above, p. 182, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> We must except the Armenian chronicle of Dardel (*Rec. Cr. Arm.* II, p. 23), whose brief account is confused and inaccurate. He begins by saying that Henry, because he was growing old (he was about 36), wished to resign his Kingdom to Amaury as next heir; but when Amaury came at his summons he had changed his mind; so he was deposed and sent to Armenia. The lords of Cyprus killed Amaury *faulusement*, etc. etc.

<sup>3</sup> To wit, the declaration of 26 April 1306 and the charter of the same date.

<sup>4</sup> The King, says the charter, takes no more notice of the preparations of the Sultan and his arrival in Syria than as if they did not concern him at all.

state of famine, which becomes worse day by day (ships bringing relief having been actually prevented from discharging their cargoes of grain), so that many of the King's people have fled overseas to Saracen lands, where they think they are less likely to starve; to provide garrisons and munitions for the fortresses;<sup>1</sup> and to administer justice, making himself very difficult of access, so that many have been deprived of their rights for from ten to twenty years. They specify the Temple and the Hospital and all the clergy as having suffered injury from this cause, and for no other reason than the King's spite. The King, they say, has been frequently admonished, by the barons themselves, by men of religion, and by his mother, but refuses to reform his ways. The charges, as stated, are mostly too vague to be impressive; although they show that the government was inefficient, they do not make it clear how much of the blame could justly be laid to the door of the King. They do not include (as they must have done, had there been any ground for doing so) the accusation mentioned by Machaeras,<sup>2</sup> that the great poverty which prevailed was due to the King, who was rich, spending the wealth of the Kingdom in an unseemly way and, when he needed anything, taking it from the people. As to Amaury himself, he rebutted the charge of desiring the crown, when he was able to point out that he was strong enough to take it when he wished, but contented himself with the governorship. No one can tell how far he was influenced by fraternal feeling (the histories would have us believe that he had little) or by affection for his mother on the one hand, and, on the other, by knowledge that extreme measures would throw the sympathies of the majority on to the King's side. He had a strong following.<sup>3</sup> There was, in the first place, his younger brother, Aimery or Hamerin, Constable of Cyprus.<sup>4</sup> Other members of his party were the Prince of Galilee, Balian d'Ibelin, great grandson of the Old Lord of Beirut and brother-in-law of the King;<sup>5</sup> Baldwin d'Ibelin, brother of Queen Isabel and so

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<sup>1</sup> In particular, when the expedition under Amaury to Ruad (p. 215) was short of supplies, he would not allow them to be sent, only finally allowing the members of the force to obtain them at their own cost.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 42, 49.

<sup>3</sup> For some of his party not mentioned here, see Machaeras, 59, with the notes of Dawkins.

<sup>4</sup> Succeeded his brother Guy as Constable in 1305.

<sup>5</sup> Prince of Galilee, Lord of Tiberias, of Morphou and Akaki. He married Henry's sister Alice (M.L., *Gén.* p. 12; Dawkins on Machaeras, 44, n. 1 and 55, n. 4).

uncle of the King;<sup>1</sup> John IV d'Ibelin, Lord of Arsur; Philip d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa; Philip the Younger (perhaps the son of Guy, Count of Jaffa, and nephew of the Prince of Galilee); Hugh d'Ibelin, grandson of the Old Lord of Beirut, and uncle of the Prince of Galilee; the knights Sir Hugh of Peristerona, Sir John le Tor and Sir Hugh de Four; the Grand Master of the Temple, James de Molay,<sup>2</sup> and its Marshal, Ayme d'Oselier; and the Latin Bishop of Lemesos, Peter d'Erlant.<sup>3</sup>

On the King's side were his mother, Queen Isabel; her brother Philip d'Ibelin, Seneschal of Cyprus;<sup>4</sup> and John de Dampierre, son of Queen Isabel's sister Alice, and so cousin of the King. 'And there were many other vassals and retainers who did not consent to this evil deed', says Machaeras, but the balance of numbers, so far as the members of the Haute Cour were concerned, seems to have been on the other side.<sup>5</sup>

For some six months Amaury had been making preparations for his stroke. The King refused to believe the reports of this treachery which were brought to him by some of his knights. The Seneschal, however, whom they also warned, came from his country estate and, after consulting with the King and his mother, went to Amaury and appealed to him to desist; but in vain.

On Tuesday, 26 April,<sup>6</sup> Sir Hugh of Peristerona summoned to the house of Amaury all the knights, vassals, retainers, burgesses and lieges who could be found. Order was given that no one who entered the house was to be allowed to leave. There all present took an oath (some

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<sup>1</sup> See above, Ch. III, p. 181, n. 4. He afterwards, with Rupin de Montfort and Hugh de Bessan, went over to the King (Machaeras, 59).

<sup>2</sup> He was the creditor of Amaury for a loan of 40,000 white besants (Machaeras, 47). Some accused him of fostering the quarrel between the King and Amaury in the interests of his Order (Amadi, p. 261; Fl. Bustron, p. 149). The hostility of the Templars dated from the reign of the King's father, Hugh III.

<sup>3</sup> Appointed to Lemesos, 28 Feb. 1301 (*Reg. de Boniface VIII*, no. 3951); Hackett, p. 570; Papaioannou, III, pp. 115-16.

<sup>4</sup> He married Alice, daughter of the Baron Hayton, Lord of Lambron. She is mentioned in an Armenian MS. of the Gospel of St John which was written at her bidding in Famagusta 'under the shadow of Sourp Asdvadzadzin' (the Armenian church of Our Lady) about 1312 by the scribe Stephen Kouiner Yeritsants: *Hai-Kibros*, p. 28; Mogabgab, *Supp. Exc.* II, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Gestes*, 661: 'trouva la plus grant partie de son assent'. Machaeras says (42) that the majority of the lords and vassals and retainers were of Amaury's party, but maintains they had been deceitfully won over by him.

<sup>6</sup> The date 27 April given by the *Gestes* and Amadi must be corrected. Sanudo and Machaeras have it right.



not willingly) to guard the Lord of Tyre, as much as they were bound to guard the King, against the face of every man, except against the person of the King, to whom they were bound by oath. The formula was cleverly conceived for, while giving the Lord of Tyre a special pledge (to which he had no legal claim unless and until he was elected Governor), it preserved the appearance of personal loyalty to the King. The Seneschal—who was not present at this meeting—went with the Queen to protest. The Queen reproached the assembled company for going against their lord the King, and inciting all the people to rebel, and they admitted 'Very ill would it be for us to go against the face of our lord'; but Amaury intervened with a bitter attack on the Seneschal. Thus neither the Seneschal's words nor the Queen's tears had any effect<sup>1</sup> and the Seneschal returned alone to be with the King, for whose personal safety he feared. The Seneschal's companions were detained, in accordance with the order aforesaid; but Amaury sent the Queen home with an escort.

On the same evening the leaders of the movement went to the palace. Baldwin d'Ibelin found the King lying sick in his room: 'And you too', said the King, 'are among them! Well done!' The rest of the party then entered; the King sat up in a chair, leaning on a staff, to receive them. The declaration, of which details have already been given, was then read to him by Hugh d'Ibelin; it ended with the resolution that the King's men, considering the commonweal to require that the government should be placed in other hands, had chosen the King's brother Amaury to be Rector and Governor of the realm, and had sworn to guard and preserve him for the government thereof, without prejudice to the King himself, to whom they promised that all his needs should be honourably and liberally supplied from the revenues of the Kingdom. This declaration was signed and sealed, on behalf of all the commonalty of the land, by the Constable, Aimery de Lusignan, and by Balian d'Ibelin, Prince of Galilee, and dated Tuesday, 26 April 1306. The Latin charter of the same date, recording that the barons have unanimously elected as 'Rector, Governor and Administrator of the whole Kingdom',<sup>2</sup> Amaury, Lord of Tyre, the heir and successor to the Kingdom

<sup>1</sup> According to Amadi, this protest was made before the oath above mentioned was taken; and Amaury laid the blame for all the trouble on the Seneschal; the Queen, fearing they would come to blows, persuaded the Seneschal to retire.

<sup>2</sup> The coins issued by Amaury sufficiently describe his status (Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient lat.*, pp. 190-1). They fall into two classes. (1) *Obv.* Name and title

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 221

(in the absence of any issue of the King), that Amaury has, after much solicitation, accepted the office, and that all have sworn obedience to him (saving always the person of the King), was sealed by Amaury with his great seal, and with their seals by Aimery de Lusignan (here called Marshal of the Kingdom), Balian d'Ibelin, Prince of Galilee, Baldwin d'Ibelin, and John d'Ibelin, Lord of Arsur.

The King replied that the action of the malcontents was illegal, since it was taken without his consent. His illness did not justify the appointment of a Governor, seeing that none had been appointed in the case of Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, who was a leper. The scandal of the Genoese

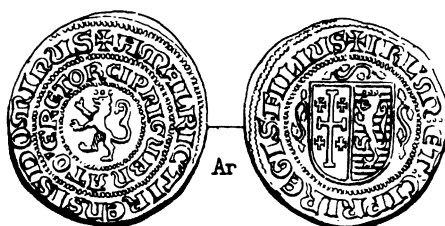


Fig. 5. Silver gros of Amaury.

was not his fault but Amaury's. He did not believe that all his men had taken the oath to Amaury. For none of the reasons given had they the right to take away his power; and if they were false to their oath, he would leave it to God to judge them. Amaury retorted that all had sworn to him, and anyone who had not would do so, 'or I will lay this staff across him and all his generation, to the third degree'.

Retiring from the King's presence, Amaury and his followers took up their quarters in the palace or the precincts. A seal was set on the chancery and the treasury. A proclamation was uttered in Nicosia that Amaury was Governor of the Kingdom, and that no one should go out into the streets to make a tumult, on pain of being hanged. Sir John le Tor and Sir Hugh de Four, sitting in the church of St George of the

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of Henry; type, arms of Jerusalem. *Rev. Amalricus Gubernator Cipri*; type, the lion of Cyprus. (2) *Obv. Amalricus Tirensis Dominus Cipri Gubernator et Rector*; type, lion. *Rev. Ierusalem et Cipri Regis Filius*; shield of Jerusalem impaling Lusignan-Cyprus (Fig. 5). I have failed to trace the authority for Schlumberger's statement (*loc. cit.*) that Amaury was addressed by the royal title in a bull of 13 Dec. 1306. The Cartulary of S. Sophia to which he refers contains no such document. He was addressed as Governor; see below, p. 240, n. 2.

Half-castes,<sup>1</sup> received the oaths of the burgesses and people. Amaury also sent knights to Lemesos and Famagusta and Paphos to proclaim his governorship and administer the oath. There seems to have been no opposition at these places; at Kerynia also the officer in charge of the castle, Sir Eudes de Vis, and the garrison, though they at first would have nothing to say to Amaury's messenger, were persuaded to hand over the keys and take the oath. All the other castles now yielded, and the Lord of Tyre sent castellans and bailies to all the cities and castles in the Kingdom, and took possession of all the estates and revenues of the royal domain.

During all these proceedings the Queen made great lamentation, crying as though the King were dead, beseeching everyone to do no hurt to him, and cursing her two other sons, the authors of all the mischief.

The King sent two Dominicans, a knight and a notary, to take a copy of the heads of the accusations which had been brought against him, but they were roughly refused admission.

Three days later, that is on 29 April, the Grand Masters of the Hospital and Temple came to mediate between the parties.<sup>2</sup> For more than twenty days the negotiations went on; at last agreement was reached on the terms that the King should retain from his revenues what was necessary for his expenses, the rest remaining in the hands of the Governor for the administration of the realm. An annual income of 100,000 besants was assigned to the King, and annuities to the Queen-mother and others, coming in all to 148,000 besants.<sup>3</sup> These payments were secured on the revenue of certain casali, selected by the King. This

<sup>1</sup> Dawkins on Machaeras, 51, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi (p. 251) says the mediators were the Master of the Hospital, with some of his house at Lemesos, and the Master of the Temple. Machaeras (55) says they were the Master of the Hospital who was at Lemesos, and fourteen bishops and abbots. (In 47, Machaeras wrongly uses Hospital for Temple; so, too, Strambaldi, p. 20. Dawkins assumes the same mistake here.)

<sup>3</sup> The Queen-mother had 20,000; the King's two unmarried sisters 8000; his nephew Hughet (son of the late Guy de Lusignan, Constable of Cyprus), afterwards King Hugh IV, 10,000; his aunt Margaret, Princess of Antioch, 6000; and the Demoiselles de Montfort, 4000. Margaret had married John de Montfort (the dispensation for the marriage was granted by Clement IV on 23 Sept. 1268: M.L., H. II, p. 73; Potthast, no. 20462; *Reg. de Clém. IV*, no. 673); and the Demoiselles de Montfort were daughters of John's brother Philip. Amadi speaks incorrectly of three unmarried sisters, and omits the Demoiselles, giving 10,000 besants to Margaret. Fl. Bustron (p. 139) follows him in these errors; Machaeras and Strambaldi (p. 23) give the details correctly.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 223

agreement was afterwards (in 1307) confirmed by a charter, which was read to and approved by the community of the knights and nobles of the Kingdom, that is by the Haute Cour, sealed by the King and Amaury, by the Grand Masters of the Temple (James de Molay) and the Hospital (Foulques de Villaret), and signed also by a number of abbots and representatives of religious bodies. The King however did not sign it, but put off doing so.<sup>1</sup> The text of this charter is preserved in a notarial copy attached to that of the original declaration, which the King later entrusted to an adherent who carried his complaint to the Pope (below, p. 226). The King by this charter reserved to himself the homages of his lieges, and the annuities already mentioned; and movable property of which an inventory was drawn up in the chancery. All debts due from the King's father or from himself were to be paid, doubtful cases being decided by the competent authorities.<sup>2</sup> Portions (amounting to 400,000 besants) were assigned to the unmarried sisters. If the King's personal possessions did not suffice for these various payments, the deficiency was to be met from the royal domain. All that remained over from the revenues of the domain was assigned to the Governor and the common benefit of the country; and all that remained over from the personal property of the King, after the above-mentioned payments had been satisfied, was also to be for the common benefit of the country. Both parties promised not to dispute the agreement, or to accuse each other before the Roman curia.

For his household, the King was allowed twelve<sup>3</sup> vassal knights, ten salaried knights, twenty turcoples, ten squires<sup>4</sup> and all his usual retinue of pages and servants. These knights guarded the King day and night.

After twenty days Amaury and his companions left the palace and returned home, taking the chancery with them to Amaury's house. Before going Amaury forced the Seneschal and John de Dampierre to take the oath to him. On the other hand, three of Amaury's party

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 56.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ce qui ne sera cler soit esclarci et déterminé, ce qui apartiendra à la haute court par la haute court, et ce qui apartiendra à raison de droit par gens de droit, et ce qui apartiendra à conscience par gent de religion', etc.

<sup>3</sup> The charter says ten, but Machaeras, Amadi, Fl. Bustron and Strambaldi give the names of twelve, especially the King's faithful uncle, the Seneschal, Philip d'Ibelin.

<sup>4</sup> Amadi (p. 252): 'diese homini ligii fanti ha cavallo'; so, too, Fl. Bustron (p. 140); Strambaldi (p. 24) gives him fifteen salaried knights.

repented and came over to the King, who received them gladly.<sup>1</sup> But Amaury's followers were otherwise solidly united. When the King protested<sup>2</sup> Amaury went through the form of consulting them and offering to resign, and they affirmed that if he resigned they would elect someone else in his place.

The King, in order that the Governor should not be able to touch his property, arranged for the Dominicans to hold it in trust, and to put up to auction his estates, the stock on his casali, his stud, and his gold-embroidered robes and his jewels, in order to raise the money for the various payments which had been ordered. The melancholy sight of the King's possessions being publicly sold during his lifetime moved the compassion of all the city.

One of the first acts of Amaury as Governor was to make a treaty with the Venetians.<sup>3</sup> Negotiations had been going on for many years; the registers of the Pregadi for 1293-1302 note that an embassy was sent to the King to discuss many points connected with the legal position of the Venetians in Cyprus,<sup>4</sup> and the instructions to the ambassador are contained in a decision taken on 2 June 1302.<sup>5</sup> He was to recall to the King's memory the fact that Venice and Venetians had possessed in Cyprus, even before the Frankish period, property and jurisdiction and franchises, especially at Nicosia and Lemesos. It was traditionally believed, and was probably true, that during the minority of Henry I (1218-33) liberal privileges had been granted to the Venetian Commune and individual Venetians, and renewed under Plaisance when she was regent of Cyprus (1253-61), and again by Hugh III. The instructions then give details of the claims which the ambassador is to make.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras (59) and Strambaldi (p. 25) seem to imply that before joining the King they tried to persuade him to yield, but failed.

<sup>2</sup> On 16 June 1306 according to Sanudo, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> *Gestes*, 668.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> M.L. *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, pp. 54-6. Heyd, I, pp. 359 f., 363; II, p. 6. *Arch. Ven.* 30 (ann. xv, 1885), p. 160, no. 140.

<sup>6</sup> (a) Venetians, and White Venetians, are to have franchise throughout the island, and none of them are to pay tax or toll on entering, staying in, or leaving the island. (b) They are to have churches, a street (*ruga*), piazza and lodge, in Nicosia, Lemesos and Famagusta. (c) Or at least to be allowed to acquire such by purchase. (d) A plea or litigation between two Venetians to be decided in the Venetian court; so, too, an action brought against a Venetian by a non-Venetian; one brought by a Venetian against a non-Venetian, in the King's court. (e) If a Venetian dies *ordinatus vel inordinatus*, i.e. testate or intestate, his property to pass to the Venetians. [Why this should happen in

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 225

Most of them were granted when on 3 June 1306 Vitale Michiel, the ambassador of the Doge, Pietro Gradenigo, concluded with the Governor a treaty of peace and commerce.<sup>1</sup> This was the real foundation of the Venetian franchises in Cyprus. The privileges which Venice had obtained from the Byzantine Emperor in 1148,<sup>2</sup> although they gave her a footing in the island, would doubtless not have been regarded as valid by the Lusignans. The charter was confirmed by Henry after his restoration, by Hugh IV in 1328, and in 1360 by Peter I, who afterwards extended its privileges.

The King now retired with his household to his country estate at Strovilo, a league from Nicosia, where he passed his time with his falcon. But in the capital it was reported to Amaury that knights who sympathized with the King were communicating with him secretly by night. The Governor and his party accordingly decided to take possession of Henry's person. To this end, one evening they occupied all the roads between Strovilo and Nicosia; but, being warned in time, the

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the case of a person dying testate, it is not easy to understand.] (f) If a Venetian is wrecked, he is to suffer no loss as regards his property; but if he perishes in the wreck, his property is to go to his heirs or the Venetians. (g) If the King asks anything in return, he is to be promised that the Venetians will always be his friends and never side with anyone else against him. If he is not content therewith, he is to be promised that all Venetians in the Kingdom will serve in defence of the places where they are, provided they be not prevented from travelling on their own business. (h) The ambassador is to do what he can for the claims of Marinello Greno and Michiel the Tatar (p. 210).

<sup>1</sup> The text in M.L., *H.* II, pp. 102-8 and *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levant.*, pp. 42-5. The privileges granted are, among others: in Nicosia, Lemesos and Famagusta, a church, loggia, house for their consul or bailie, and a piazza, not enclosed, in which the consul and officials of the Commune could live; other Venetians to be free to buy houses, under certain conditions, but not to fortify them. Freedom to trade without paying customs or tolls in all cases where other Cypriote Franks did not pay (certain reservations being made where barons or knights of the Kingdom had local jurisdiction). Actions between Venetians, or brought by a non-Venetian against a Venetian, to be tried in the Venetian court; one brought by a Venetian against a non-Venetian in the King's court or elsewhere as required by the *ordo juris*; the Venetian consul to be competent in cases between his nationals, except of homicide, theft, violent assault, or any crime for which by the custom of the Kingdom the punishment was mutilation or death. In case of a wreck, the government to assist in salvage; if the person wrecked was drowned, his property to go to his heirs, or, failing heirs, to the Venetians in those parts (cp. the grant to the Genoese in 1218, p. 85). An embassy went from Venice to the King after his restoration to obtain confirmation of the pact which had been made by Vitale Michiel (M.L., *H.* II, p. 134).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, p. 306.

King with the Seneschal and Hugh Beduin took mules and rode across country and passing through a lane entered his palace secretly by the gate of the bath;<sup>1</sup> the rest of his household and their equipment came the next day. Amaury now set a regular guard over the city, and especially round the palace, to prevent any sympathizers from entering it by night. The King's household likewise kept guard over him. This state of siege seemed likely to go on indefinitely. In spite of the agreement not to appeal to the Pope, rumour spread that the King was doing so. The fact was that the first to break the pact was Amaury or his agent. His envoy was Hayton 'the Monk', the Lord of Gorhigos,<sup>2</sup> who, having fallen out with King Hayton II, whom he had embroiled with his brother Thoros, retired from Armenia to Cyprus in 1305 and entered the Premonstratensian Order at Bellapais.<sup>3</sup> He has been accused of fomenting the quarrel between King Henry and his brother;<sup>4</sup> he at least sided with Amaury, and represented him at the papal court at Avignon.<sup>5</sup> The King had not, it appears, sent special envoys; but he had representatives at the court for other purposes;<sup>6</sup> and when they heard of the activity of Hayton, they took steps to meet the charges which he brought. They were able to lay before the court copies of the declaration of 26 April 1306 and the charter of the first agreement which have already been mentioned. The news of their intervention reached Amaury, who in his annoyance wished to seize and imprison the King. However, the question having thus come before the papal court, though it may have

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras (61) says the castle gates did not yet exist. Later King Henry began to build the castle wall (Machaeras, 41).

<sup>2</sup> See Hackett, p. 612, n. 3 (Papaïoannou, III, p. 160, n. 76) and Dawkins on Machaeras, 62, n. 1. Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 401-5, may also be consulted. Hayton became widely known as the author of the book *de Tartaris*, which he dictated in French when in France.

<sup>3</sup> As he himself informs us, *Rec. Cr. Arm.* II, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> So Machaeras, 62. But, as Dawkins points out, Lusignan says the instigator was Thoros, who hoped that the children of his sister Isabel, who was married to Amaury, would thus succeed to the throne (*Descr.* f. 140b and *Hist.* f. 32).

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras (cp. Strambaldi), Amadi and Fl. Bustron say that it was Amaury who sent him to the Pope. But in fact it was at the summons of Clement V that he went to France in 1306. On Hayton's character, so adversely judged by the Western writers, see the note of R. de Mas Latrie to Amadi, pp. 278f. On his project for a Crusade, D.L.R., F.O. I, pp. 65-70; Atiya, pp. 63-4.

<sup>6</sup> Envoys from Henry at the papal court are mentioned in a letter of 23 Jan. 1308 of Clement on the dispute between the brothers (Raynaldus, 1308, p. 457, § 37; *Reg. Clem. V*, no. 3543).

## Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II 227

been irregularly, Bishop Guy of Famagusta<sup>1</sup> intervened as peacemaker on 18 April 1307, and persuaded the King and Amaury to sign an agreement to wait until the end of August for the Pope's reply.

In connexion with this truce the Italian chronicler<sup>2</sup> mentions the interesting fact that the King was cured of his disease, which never attacked him again; he became lively and in good spirits, as never before in his life, and showed withal patience to a degree that could not be surpassed by any man. He was now about thirty-six years old. At the same time it must be admitted that, even if he was cured of his epilepsy, his health in later years was bad; thus in 1316 Sir Peter le Jaune wrote to the King of Aragon that he had been seriously ill in April, and James II's own envoy Francis des Forn found him difficult of access (one remembers the charge brought against him by Amaury's party), and described him as *senyor de fort flaca persona*.<sup>3</sup>

The reply from the Pope was long in coming. Meanwhile Amaury renewed his efforts to move the papal court to approve his acts and confirm him in the office of Governor of Cyprus for life. In December 1307 a ship carrying his envoys, a friar minor called Nicolino, his companions Sir Hugh Pisteal and Sir William de Villiers, and the sacristan of Famagusta, with rich presents for the Cardinals, was wrecked on Lango (Cos), only the last-named escaping alive.<sup>4</sup>

Hayton, for all his efforts, though he was received with much honour, failed to obtain more than a non-committal response to his appeal, in spite of bringing all his wits, his bribes, and the influence of Amaury's friends to bear.<sup>5</sup> Other representatives of Amaury<sup>6</sup> were equally unsuccessful. Moving to Genoa, Hayton confirmed a treaty of peace

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<sup>1</sup> Called by Amadi *de Trenti*, by Fl. Bustron *di Trento*. But the Bishop of Famagusta at this time is generally supposed to have been Guy d'Ibelin. Hackett, p. 579.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., H. III, pp. 703, 704. Malipiero, *Ann. Ven.* p. 593, says that he died in an epileptic fit; but this writer is a poor authority for the period in question.

<sup>4</sup> Amadi, p. 267; Fl. Bustron, p. 154. The loss of this embassy is mentioned in a letter from Amaury to James II of Aragon, M.L., H. III, p. 680.

<sup>5</sup> He did, however, obtain from the Pope favours for a number of persons and churches in Cyprus (*Reg. Clem. V.* 2435-7). Of three entries, dated 8 Feb. 1308, the most interesting is that recording the Pope's permission for the Greek monastery of St George of Mangana in the Nicosia diocese, which Hayton complained had been mismanaged by the Greeks, to be united with the monastery of St Mary, and supplied *de personis latinis idoneis* to reform it.

<sup>6</sup> John de Brie and John Lombart (*Gestes*, 700).



between Amaury and the Commune. Then he returned to Cyprus, reaching Famagusta on 6 May 1308, with a letter from the Pope dealing with the question of the Templars.<sup>1</sup> After a stay of six days in Nicosia, he left for Armenia, having heard of the death of his enemy King Hayton.

Meanwhile, on 17 January 1308, it had been reported to Amaury that a party of sixteen knights with some turcoples and foot-soldiers, commanded by James d'Ibelin and John Lase,<sup>2</sup> were coming from Paphos to succour the King—whether with Henry's knowledge or not is uncertain. This alarmed Amaury, who immediately armed some of his own and his brother the Constable's men. This measure, the reason for which was not generally known, was reported to the King, who suspected a second attempt to seize his person. The bell was rung, summoning all his men to arms; they were drawn up in the courtyard, under the King's banner, ready to repel an attack. Amaury for his part caused his bell to be rung, and had it cried in the streets that no one should leave his house, until the great bell of the cathedral should sound to arms, when all should, under pain of death, present themselves armed before the Governor's house. He occupied all the ways leading to the palace, with the result that many who would have joined the King were unable to do so. This alarm illustrates the state of tension prevailing in the city.

It was reported to the Seneschal and the Queen that the Templars meditated treachery;<sup>3</sup> the Marshal, the Grand Commander and some twenty-five or thirty mounted men, who were in the house of the Templars near the palace, stood to arms, intending, if the King came out, to seize the palace and prevent him or any of his followers from returning to it. The King consequently remained within the security of his gates. Aimery, the Constable, with others of Amaury's party took up a position in a house opposite the gate of the palace, with banners flying and sound of trumpets and drums; and sacked the house of the Seneschal and his country estates. The Genoese on this occasion showed

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Clement V to King Philip of France, Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Aven.* ed. Mollat, III, pp. 84ff.; Reinhard, I, Beyl. 35, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 259. Fl. Bustron (p. 148) has fifteen knights with some sixty horsemen.

<sup>3</sup> The Templars were suspected, as already remarked, of encouraging the quarrel between the King and the Governor's party, in the hope that it might lead to the ruin of the barons and knights. Amadi, p. 261; Fl. Bustron, p. 149.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 229

their hostility to the King. One James Pansan,<sup>1</sup> described as vicar of the Genoese, summoned a number of his compatriots from Famagusta, who paraded daily before the palace, threatening the King and showing their delight in the fraternal quarrel. This state of siege lasted for four days.

The Bishops of Famagusta and Lemesos, the vicar of the cathedral of Nicosia, the Commander of the Hospital and other men of standing now made another attempt to bring about an accord. The result was the complete collapse of the King's resistance. All his supporters, from his uncle the Seneschal and John de Dampierre downwards, were compelled to go afoot, unarmed and in humiliating guise, to the house of the Lord of Tyre, kneel before him and beseech his pardon. The knights, it is true, mistrusting the Lord of Tyre as a traitor and breaker of his word, at first meditated resistance, and having made their confession and communicated and kissed each other, were ready to go out and fight to the death. The King wished to share their fate, and would not indeed let them go without him. But the Queen and the Seneschal, considering how small was their force, and foreseeing a civil war and the ruin of the whole land as a result, dissuaded them. The Seneschal was the first to go forth and submit. Amaury had given his oath to the intermediaries to respect the lives and limbs of all those who submitted, and not to imprison any knight on land or water, but only keep them in his house for a few days. How far he was to abide by his word was soon seen. The Seneschal, on arriving at the house, was not allowed to speak; he and John de Dampierre were at once confined in a room for two days, and then sent off, the Seneschal to his estate at Alaminos, Dampierre to the Karpas; they were forbidden, on pain of death and loss of property, to move thence without leave of the Governor. A number of the salaried companions,<sup>2</sup> the pages, turcoples and other lesser members of the King's household, were sworn not to bear arms against the Governor, and then allowed to return to their service. Of the knights holding fiefs from the King, Amaury released only four, whom he himself selected, to bear the King company. All the other knight-companions holding fiefs, and all the other knights who resorted to the palace when the bell had rung to arms—they were thirty-nine in all—

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<sup>1</sup> The *Gestes* (679) says that he had suffered injury from the King, and had been imprisoned by the Viscount of Famagusta.

<sup>2</sup> Sixteen according to Amadi, ten according to Fl. Bustron.

were imprisoned and strictly guarded in various castles for a long time. Shortly afterwards two of the salaried knight-companions and two turcoples (one a liege, the other serving for pay) were dismissed by the King on suspicion of treachery, and were taken by Amaury into his service.

After this settlement, there could be little resistance by the remaining supporters of the King. Nevertheless the same knights under James d'Ibelin and John Lase who had previously been reported to be making a move in his favour from Paphos had actually risen. Amaury's Bailie in Paphos, Simon de Montolif, fled for his life. The knights rode for Nicosia. Certain others from Lemesos had intended to join them, bringing their numbers up to about forty; but were deterred by the comparative insignificance of their leaders, who were knights holding fiefs of the King, whereas they had expected to see barons from his actual suite. The Paphos knights came, under the King's banner, to within six leagues of Nicosia, where they learned that the King was besieged in his palace. Sending a messenger who, disguised as a peasant, penetrated into the palace, they were given a letter from Henry thanking them for their loyalty, but advising them, since they were so small a force, to turn back. They scattered in all directions, but were in the end forced to throw themselves on the mercy of the Lord of Tyre, who cast them into prison like the other knights. They were twelve in number, seven holding fiefs and five salaried.

A few days after this incident, a deputation consisting of the Lord of Tyre, the Constable, the Prince of Galilee, the Bishops of Famagusta, Lemesos and Beirut, the Marshal of the Temple and the Commander of the Hospital, representatives of the religious Orders and all the Latin Abbots, came to the King and forced him to sign a patent investing the Lord of Tyre with the Governorship of the Kingdom of Cyprus for life. His signature was extorted by menaces;<sup>1</sup> had he withheld it, his personal liberty was at stake. The Franciscans, alone of all those taking part in the deputation, refused to put their seal on the document; and the Marshal of the Temple openly expressed his malignity towards the King, saying, as he signed the document, *Quod scripsi, scripsi*.

<sup>1</sup> 'Litteras per vim et metum extortas sub armorum tumultu et bellico apparatu.' See the letter of Clement V of 23 Jan. 1308 above cited (p. 226, n. 6) in *Reg. Clem. V*, ann. III, p. 327, no. 3543. Fl. Bustron gives a long speech by the King, appealing to Amaury to be content with a promise to invest him with full authority without exacting a written patent on this occasion.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 231

It was Amaury's policy gradually to remove to a safe distance all the important adherents of the King, although it must be admitted that he restrained the desire of some of his party to take extreme measures. This is illustrated by the case of John de Dampierre who had been banished to the Karpass, and attempted to write to the King. His messenger with the letter having been intercepted, he was brought to Nicosia and imprisoned in the Governor's house. The Governor's Council and the Constable proposed to put him to death, but Amaury banished him to his estate at Mamogna near Kouklia (Old Paphos). There, a broken-hearted prisoner in his own house, he died on 5 April 1308.

The Governor, on hearing of the death of Dampierre, sent an armed galley from Famagusta on 8 April<sup>1</sup> to a point on the coast near Alaminos, where the Seneschal Philip d'Ibelin was confined, and Anfroid de Scandelion brought from Nicosia an order from Amaury that Philip should go on board. On his refusal to obey, his nephew Aimery, the Constable, arrived next day with some hundred and fifty horsemen. Protesting fiercely and only under the threat of having his house, with his wife and children, burned over his head, Philip at last obeyed and went on board, with two or three retainers. He had feared that the intention was to drown him, and requested that his servants should be sent back to land since he did not wish to have their sins on his head; but he was reassured on this point, and was carried off to Armenia, where King Oshin received him and (for the time) treated him honourably.

Baldwin d'Ibelin,<sup>2</sup> who was at first actually of Amaury's party, fell under suspicion of communicating with the King. Warned of Amaury's intention of arresting him, he took refuge in the Archbishop's palace. Amaury sent a force under Philip d'Ibelin the Younger to surround the house and demand that he should surrender. Baldwin appealed in vain to the assizes and customs of the Kingdom; the canons of the church, being on the side of Amaury, were disinclined to defend the inviolability of their house. Baldwin had to yield. He was strictly confined in the house of the Governor, and then banished to his estate at Korakou

<sup>1</sup> 1308, Amadi and Fl. Bustron. In the *Gestes* the date is, less probably, 1309. According to Fl. Bustron, Philip was deported eight days before Baldwin d'Ibelin (see below).

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps to this incident that the mutilated passage in the *Gestes* (684) relates, under the year 1307.

in the Solia valley. Some eight other knights holding fiefs of the King, and nine serving for salaries, were imprisoned at the same time.

A week later, on 15 April,<sup>1</sup> Baldwin at Korakou was informed that he was to be deported. Warned by the example of the Seneschal, he made no difficulty, and was taken with his family to Kerynia and thence in an armed galley to Lajazzo, where he was likewise well received by Oshin.

Both these prisoners were innocent of any attempt to violate the conditions under which they had been confined by the Lord of Tyre, and his treatment of them caused much indignation among the Franks in Armenia. Their lot was made easier thanks to the intercession of the Princess Eufemia. This lady, at the time a nun of Our Lady of Tyre in Cyprus, was a daughter of Hayton I, sister of Leo III, and aunt of Oshin and his brother Alinakh, and at the same time grandmother of Mary de Giblest, the wife of the Seneschal. At her request, her nephews allowed the two prisoners full personal liberty, on condition that they should not communicate with the King of Cyprus.

Another who fell under the displeasure of Amaury was Rupin de Montfort, son of Échive d'Ibelin and Humfry I de Montfort. He was accused of a plot to seize the person of the Governor. His cousin, the Marshal of the Temple, interceded for him, and he was only banished to an estate of his mother at Lapithos.<sup>2</sup> Later, when that lady went to Athens to claim the Duchy, he was released at her request and allowed to go with her. When, however, she came back, he, having spoken against Amaury and his party, did not venture to return to Cyprus, although his mother obtained his pardon, but remained at Rhodes until after the murder of the Governor.<sup>3</sup>

The year 1308 was marked in Cyprus by the measures taken against the Order of the Temple, measures which intimately concern the

<sup>1</sup> 1309, according to the *Gestes* (699); Amadi and Fl. Bustron date it, more probably, in 1308. In the *Gestes* it is also said that a number of other knights were at the same time sent to Armenia, but the names given seem to be those of the knights who were imprisoned at the time of the first arrest of the Seneschal.

<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of June 1308 (Amadi, p. 267). Fl. Bustron (p. 154) puts this incident, like much else, a year earlier than Amadi. Échive married *en secondes nocés* Guy de Lusignan, and was the mother of Hugh IV. She died in 1312. For her tombstone see Jeffery, *Ann. Rep. of Curator of Anc. Mon.* 1929 (Nicosia, 1930), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, pp. 295, 297, 354; Fl. Bustron, pp. 173, 175.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 233

history of the island.<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary here to go into the rights and wrongs of this case, of which the view now generally taken is that the Order was the victim of the machinations of Philip of France, which the Pope, Clement V, a man of poor health and weak character, was compelled to subserve.

James de Molay, Grand Master, had been summoned to France by Clement on 6 June 1306, in connexion with the proposals for a new Crusade. He demanded an enquiry into the charges against the Order; but the King acted too quickly for them, and the members of the Order in Paris were arrested on 13 October 1307. The first burnings took place in Paris on 12 May 1309. Finally the Order was formally abolished by the Pope in private consistory on 22 March 1312. James de Molay, after several confessions and retractations, was burned in March 1314.

We have seen that Hayton returned from France to Cyprus on 6 May 1308 with a letter from Clement V to the Governor on the matter of the Templars. The Governor was ordered to arrest the members of the Order, their treasure and movable property, at once and in a single day, since the Pope had found them to be heretics and unbelievers in the Catholic faith. Annexed to the letter were the articles of the examination by the King of France of the Templars in his Kingdom. No time was lost in making a show of carrying out the order. The Brethren, as Amaury explained to the Pope, had got wind of the coming danger, and made ready to resist by force. They had some excuse for military preparations, since the Saracen threat to Cyprus was stronger than it

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Gestes* (694-7) there is nothing of what passed in Cyprus in this connexion. For this see Amadi, pp. 283-91; Fl. Bustron, pp. 164-71. Machaeras and Strambaldi ignore the matter. Amaury's letter to Clement describing the action taken by him is preserved in a letter from Clement to Philip IV, 20 Aug. 1308, in Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Aven.* ed. Mollat, III, pp. 84ff. Reinhard, I, Beyl. 35. The citation of the Templars resident in Cyprus and elsewhere to the Council of Vienne is dated 8 Aug. 1308 (*Reg. Clem. V*, no. 3585). The fullest and most important modern treatment of the subject, so far as Cyprus is concerned, is to be found in K. Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, 2v. (Berlin, 1887). See also, for Cyprus, Hackett, pp. 620-9; Papaioannou, III, pp. 174-81. H. Prutz, *Entwicklung u. Untergang des Tempelherrenordens* (Berlin, 1885) is biased against the Order. The treatment by D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.*, and in his earlier article in *Rev. qu. hist.* XLVIII (1890) should also be consulted. An account of the sources and modern literature, with a selection of documents concerning the whole affair, is given by G. Lizerand, *Le Dossier de l'affaire des Templiers* (Paris, 1923).

had been for a long time. The Governor, who was greatly in debt to the Templars for their support, sent the Prince of Galilee to Lemesos to arrest them, professing with many apologies that he had endeavoured to cover up their offences as long as possible, but that in the face of the Pope's decree he was forced to put them and their possessions under guard. His own seal and theirs should be set upon their property and treasure; and they were to give up their arms and their horses, and to be confined in the Archbishop's palace in Nicosia. In the absence of the Grand Master, the Marshal, Ayme d'Oselier,<sup>1</sup> after taking counsel with the Brethren, refused to give up their arms and horses; the Governor might sequester their estates and revenues pending the decision of the Pope; they were willing that their treasure should be sealed up, provided that it should be where they themselves were; as to their persons, let him send them to one of their estates, and give them a guard of mounted men, without whom they would promise not to ride out. There they would await the decision of the Pope, and accept for themselves whatever should be meted out to their Brethren oversea. If the Governor refused to grant this prayer, they would suffer death rather than do otherwise. This reply enraged the Governor, who on 19 May issued a proclamation that no one should take salary from the Temple, or give pay in its name; anyone who had received salary from the Order might keep it and be quit. The same night he sent Baldwin, Canon of Nicosia, to summon the Templars on pain of death and utter annihilation to present themselves to obey the commands of the Church and receive their sentence. The reply this time was that they would come in four months; meanwhile the Governor should send a galley to convey messengers from both parties to the Pope, whose decision they would await and obey. This did not satisfy Amaury, who sent another summons by Andrew Tartarol, Canon of Famagusta. Meanwhile the Templars had changed their minds, and at the estate of Raymond Visconte at Nisou Tartarol found the Marshal and the Turcopolier.<sup>2</sup> On the 24th there was a conference between the Constable of Cyprus, the Prince of Galilee, Raymond Visconte and Canon Baldwin, and the Templars, as a result of which the Constable and the Prince returned to Nicosia and assured the Governor that the Templars would

<sup>1</sup> The name is spelt in wildly different ways: Chieme d'Oselier, Chemi d'Oseliers, Heme de Usellet, Hemo de Usellet, Haume de Seliers. I have used the form found in the *Processus Cypricus*.

<sup>2</sup> Commandator di turcopullieri (*leg. turcopuli*); Amadi, p. 285.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 235

come, as they did on the 27th. The Marshal, Preceptor, Turcopolier, Drapier, Treasurer and some ten other Brethren came to the Governor's house, and presented a written statement, which was read by a notary to a meeting of all the knights, prelates, members of the Orders, and clergy and many laymen, containing the articles of the Catholic faith; it was interpreted in French by Canon Baldwin, who declared on behalf of the Order that all its members were good Christians and believed all those articles, as they had shown by their constant devotion to the Christian cause. The officers of the Order then took an oath to the same effect, on behalf of all the Brethren of the Order in the Kingdom, numbering eighty-three knights and thirty-five sergeants. Meanwhile the Governor sent privately from Famagusta a force of knights and foot-soldiers to occupy Lemesos. On the night of the 28th at a meeting at his house of the prelates, members of Orders, knights, burgesses and other members of the public, he caused to be read the Pope's letter above-mentioned. On 29 May, he ordered the Viscount of Nicosia to proceed next day with some knights, the Prior of the Hospital, the Franciscans and Dominicans, to make an inventory and seal up all the contents of the Temple in Nicosia; but they found little, the plate and treasure having been secretly removed to the house at Lemesos. The Marshal, irritated by this intrusion, went off with most of the Brethren to Lemesos, leaving the Grand Commander, the Commander of Psimolof, and another behind. The chapel was locked and sealed, and the bell-ropes removed, so that mass could not be said or the bell rung. When all had been valued and inventoried, the Commander and the others who had remained behind went away to Lemesos. The houses of the Order at Paphos and Famagusta were similarly closed and sealed; the country estates were valued and Bailies appointed to control the revenues.

Three days later, the King, though he had been stripped of his authority, reproved the Brethren for consenting to the closing of the chapel, and consequent cessation of the divine service, and gave orders that the chapel should be reopened, and the priests who received salary from him and especially the two chaplains who said mass for the soul of Henry I, should officiate there; and this was done, apparently without opposition from the Governor.

At Lemesos, the Templars, seeing the armed forces of the Governor ranging the country, armed themselves on 29 May and rode out, with the intention of provoking a conflict. The Governor's captains,



however, being themselves not too well prepared, prudently avoided a clash, but when night fell they surrounded the Templars' house; in the morning they summoned the Brethren to surrender their arms and horses. Besieged in their house, the Brethren resisted for two days, but on Saturday, 1 June, sent their arms and horses to the King's palace in Lemesos. The Governor's officers entered the house of the Temple and took possession of all their property.

A great quantity of arms and provisions was seized (the King himself possessed less munitions than the Templars), but the treasury contained little, not more than 120,000 white besants in value, the remainder having been concealed so effectually that it was never traced.

Of the Brethren themselves, half, with the Marshal, were sent to their estate at Khirokitia, the Commander with the other half to Yermasoyia, turcoples and foot-soldiers being set on guard. The treasure, plate and works of art from the house at Lemesos were removed to the Governor's house at Nicosia, 'where they would be in greater safety'—a phrase which is still commonly employed as a mask for the appropriation of the possessions of the vanquished. The greater part of the horses, the stock from the estates, the provisions and movable property, were sold; the arms of the Templars, defensive and offensive, were sent to Famagusta, and put in safety with those of the King. The slaves were sent to work on the fortifications of Famagusta. Later, it was reported to the Governor that the Marshal and Commander had written to Genoa, and sent money to equip galleys to come secretly and carry them away (a senseless plan, if it was ever conceived, for they must have known that there was even less chance for them in the West). He therefore sent all the chief officers, the Marshal, the Commander, the Drapier of the land-forces, the Turcopolier, the Treasurer and the Commander of Apulia, to Lefkara, where they would have less opportunity of making trouble. There they remained for some three years.<sup>1</sup> Their final fate will occupy us in the next chapter.

Thus, within a few years of each other, of the two chief military Orders one transferred its headquarters from Cyprus to Rhodes, and the other ceased to exist altogether. There is little doubt that the history of the resistance of Christendom to the Turkish domination of the Levant was thereby materially weakened.

We return to our annals.

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<sup>1</sup> Not five, as Fl. Bustron says.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 237

The year 1308-9 added to the troubles of the inhabitants one of the worst seasons on record.<sup>1</sup> First came a bad drought in summer. In November there were good rains, which encouraged the peasants to sow not only the fields which were prepared for sowing, but also others. The rains ceased, and all December, January and February the weather was as hot and sunny as usually from June to August. The fields and gardens were scorched, and many made preparations to leave the island. Processions of all sects were made to pray for rain; the King and his court joined in them, and masses were sung in both Latin and Greek churches. On 27 February it rained again, and the crops revived, and promised a better harvest than ever. But, says the chronicler, for the sins of the people, God sent 'fire in the form of rain',<sup>2</sup> which burned up all the wheat. This visitation lasted until mid-May, and was followed by fog, and then thin rain, to which succeeded heavy rain and thunderstorms. All the crops and trees were destroyed. It is noted as a sign of the shortage that the retainers of gentlemen were reduced to eating barley-bread,<sup>3</sup> and that grain had to be imported for the people.

Relations between the Governor and the King in the year 1309 went from bad to worse. Amaury continued his measures of repression of the King's sympathisers. Among these were the Franciscans; it will be remembered that they had refused to seal the patent appointing Amaury Governor of the Kingdom for life (p. 230). On St George's Day, 23 April, an English friar of the Order, Adam, preaching in the church of the Saint, bitterly aspersed the Governor, and made many allusions

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<sup>1</sup> Amadi, pp. 292 f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 172 f.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fogo in forma de acqua', Amadi; 'in loco d'acqua piove tanto fuoco', Fl. Bustron. Zannetos, 'ιστ. 1, p. 754, explains this as red blight (*miltos*). It is, he says, generally believed in Cyprus that this disease falls in the form of a very fine rain on a hot, misty day of spring. [On 22 April 1459 'it rained a little blood from heaven on the grass and walls of the orchard' of Benedict de Ovetariis in Nicosia (M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* p. 392).] The *orzo*, of which the bread of the gentlemen's servants was made, according to Amadi and Bustron, does not mean *oryza* (rice) as Zannetos renders it but barley.

<sup>3</sup> That barley should be used for bread, instead of brewing, was a sign of poverty or scarcity. Cp. *Piers Plowman*, A Text, Passus vii, l. 130, ed. Skeat: 'Or ye schulle ete barly bred and of the brok drynke'. So, too, in the 17th century; it is noted in *Cal. St. Papers Dom.* James I, p. 455 that barley was the usual bread-corn of the poor in times of scarcity; Traill and Mann, *Social England*, iv, p. 197; cp. Trevelyan, *Eng. Social Hist.* p. 144; N. S. B. Gras, *The Evolution of the English Corn Market* (1915), pp. 37-8.

to the virtue and sufferings of the King under the guise of St George. On St Peter Martyr's Day, 29 April, another friar minor, Matthew the Picard, preaching before the Governor himself, covertly attacked him and praised the King, under the name of St Peter. The two offenders were promptly deported to Armenia, and the Governor and his friends cut off the alms which they had been accustomed to give to the Franciscan monastery.<sup>1</sup>

Others who were banished to Armenia were Henry Tape, Abbot of Beaulieu in Nicosia,<sup>2</sup> who died at Sis in June 1309; and six knights, who were deported on 1 June, and immediately thrown into prison by Oshin.

Another cruel blow was struck at the King's most intimate feelings when his eight-year-old nephew Hughet, son of Guy de Lusignan the Constable, was taken away from him.<sup>3</sup> Henry had taken the little boy, the future Hugh IV, into his charge on the death of the Constable in 1305, and had cherished him as if he were his own son. He was now carried off to the house of the Governor.

The King found a means of expressing his resentment at the treatment to which he was subjected by consistently refusing to accept the homage which was formally offered to him by various persons to whom grants involving the doing of such homage had been made by the authority of the Governor. Such were the cases of Philip d'Ibelin, when he acquired a new fief by marrying an heiress, Gilia, the daughter of Peter Chappe;<sup>4</sup> and of Margaret, widow of Guy d'Ibelin, when she offered homage which she owed the King for her dowry and the guardianship of her sons.<sup>5</sup>

The King's refusal to acknowledge Amaury's authority was very unsatisfactory from the Governor's point of view, especially as a new Crusade was expected, and he wished to be securely seated in his position as Governor. Otherwise he had good reason to fear that his usurped authority would not survive the arrival of the *passagium*. His subsequent actions show that the idea of this Crusade threw him into something like a panic.

Pope Clement V, it will be remembered, had made plans for a new Crusade; to this end he accumulated a large sum, 300,000 gold florins.

<sup>1</sup> Amadi, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 299.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> The Pope gave dispensation from objections on the ground of affinity to this marriage on 27 Feb. 1308 (*Reg. Clem. V*, no. 2470; R. de Mas Latrie, note on Amadi, p. 304).

<sup>5</sup> Amadi, p. 302; Fl. Bustron, p. 176.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 239

The Hospital, in whose favour he suppressed the Temple, was to lead the expedition. In May 1309,<sup>1</sup> the Commander of the Hospital, Guy de Séverac, presented to all the prelates a bull informing them that the Pope with the King of France had ordered a new Crusade, to be commanded by the Grand Master of the Hospital, and exhorting the Christians of Cyprus and Armenia to contribute to the holy undertaking in money and person; many indulgences were granted for the loan of money for the purpose. The Governor towards the end of July summoned all the knights and lieges of the Kingdom to present themselves at Nicosia on 10 August without their horses and unarmed. Two or three days after their assembling on that date, he announced that the crusaders were soon to be expected, and ordered preparations to be made for their reception, by providing good horses and weapons, and increasing the number of retainers, according as the revenues and fiefs permitted. Such an honourable reception would thus add to the good reputation of the lieges of Cyprus, should the intentions of the crusaders be good; 'but if they come with a mind to injure our country, we shall be prepared to defend our property, our wives and children, our honour and our lives'. To control the situation, he ordered the election of a Council from among their elder and more experienced members, and the Constable and the Prince of Galilee, with forty<sup>2</sup> others, were chosen to form this body.

Such, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, was the view taken by a practical ruler of the dangers of entertaining a *passagium*. But Amaury had special reasons for his fears. In the first place, he knew that the general feeling in the papal court was hostile to him. In the second, he must have known that, according to one school of politicians, a Crusade, though ostensibly for the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens, did not exclude the acquisition of the crowns of Jerusalem and Cyprus for one of the sons of the King of France. This suggestion had been put forward by Peter Dubois in his tract *On the Recovery of the Holy Land*, which was composed between 1306 and 1308, as well as in a special memoir.<sup>3</sup> No wonder Amaury was nervous.

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<sup>1</sup> Amadi, pp. 298f., 300f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 175f.

<sup>2</sup> So Amadi, p. 301. Fl. Bustron, p. 176, makes the forty include the Constable and the Prince, but later (p. 180) agrees with Amadi.

<sup>3</sup> Dubois's tracts, ed. by Ch. V. Langlois, in *Coll. de textes pour servir à l'étude et l'enseignement de l'histoire* (Paris, 1891). Atiya analyses them, pp. 51f. The special tract also, as anonymous, in Reinhard, 1, Beyl. 34.

On Thursday, 21 August, the Governor made a fresh attempt to induce the King to acknowledge his position, sending a deputation of clerics and religious, who begged him to make peace with his lieges in order that the crusaders when they arrived should find a settled state of affairs, and the Governor might be able to do his duty to them. The King replied that he was glad to hear of the coming of good men from oversea, and that, if there were no peace, it was not owing to his opposition; he for his part was content to abide by his word and to act in accordance with the advice of a few good counsellors whom he trusted. This reply was put in writing. The Governor next day sent the same messengers to say that the reply was not what they wanted; their intention was that he should confirm the Governor and give willing consent to his governing the country by the time of the coming of the Crusade. The King asked for a written statement of their demands, which they gave. It stated that the election of Amaury as Governor had been confirmed and reconfirmed by the King, by a written deed, bearing the seals of the parties; but since then there had occurred many difficulties, which had hindered the Governor in the due exercise of his powers.<sup>1</sup> Also it was pointed out that the Pope had actually addressed Amaury as Governor,<sup>2</sup> and was sending forces to help in the recovery of the Holy Land; but difficulties made by the King's representatives 'at Rome' had hindered the Pope's action.

The discussions continued for a week, the King standing firm, and protesting that he was not interfering with Amaury's government, and that if he had affixed his seal to the patent, it was because he was held a prisoner and deprived of all legal advice. On 27 August, unable to move the King, the Prince of Galilee and his companions broke off the discussions and left the royal presence.

On 30 August<sup>3</sup> Amaury himself, with his brother the Constable, the Prince of Galilee, Peter d'Erlant, Bishop of Lemesos, and the other

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<sup>1</sup> Amadi, p. 303: the editor corrects the MS. reading *nostro* (*scrittura segillata col nostro sigillo et col sigillo de tutti li prelati et religiosi*) to *vostro*, and the correction is supported by Fl. Bustron, p. 177. It is to be noted however that according to Machaeras the King had put off signing the charter of 1307 (p. 223).

<sup>2</sup> Instances are cited by the editor of Amadi, p. 303, n. 3. Cp. too, Clement's letter to Philip IV, 20 Aug. 1308, in Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Av.* ed. Mollat, IIIP. 84. See above, p. 228, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 308, says Saturday, 20 Aug. The editor would correct to 23 Aug., but since the discussion had gone on until the 27th, the right reading must be 30 Aug.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 241

members of the previous deputations, presented themselves at the palace. The four leaders and the whole of the Council entered the King's chamber, and made a fresh attempt to move him. But Henry, who had behaved throughout with dignity and firmness, was immovable. 'In so far', he said, 'as you say that you have governed the country well and without unrest among the people, we are still pleased, and tell you that we in no way interfere with your government.'

The Governor, having failed to induce Henry to confirm him in his office for life, now took up his residence in the palace, and forbade admission to all persons, even the friars or other religious. Three of Henry's company of knights were removed; also his legal adviser, Giustino de' Giustini,<sup>1</sup> though he protested that he had not given other aid to the King than in interpreting a few difficult passages in Latin letters which had come from abroad; indeed, the King was so wise and practical, that all the doctors and notaries of Rome could not advise him better. Four of the King's six chaplains were also dismissed, as well as all the Frankish and Syrian foot-guards who preceded him when he rode out, and all his turcoples. These were deprived of their arms and mounts, but, though they went home, they continued to receive their pay from the King. Sentries were posted at the gate; the Governor's associates took up their lodging in the immediate neighbourhood; more and more of the King's adherents were expelled from Nicosia, or even deported from the island. Simon Le Rat, Marshal of the Hospital, was fetched from Lemesos, in the hope that he might appease the King, and he approached the Queen on behalf of the Governor, but even so the King refused to listen. He was still more strictly confined, and unable to leave his chamber except for the chapel or to visit his mother; his only companions were Balian d'Ibelin, called Malgarni, and Peter de Giblet, bailie of the royal estates. Even ladies were no longer permitted to visit the Queen. On 24 September the Governor took the even bolder step of breaking the seals of the King's deposit with the Franciscans,<sup>2</sup> who had charge of it against the marriage of the princesses (p. 224), and removing it to his own house, causing a notarial instrument to be drawn up to the effect that it was required for the needs of the realm—he thus became possessed of 114,000 white besants, which remained

<sup>1</sup> See M.L., *H. II*, pp. 202, n. 4 and 272. He came from Città di Castello near Perugia, and was still in the counsels of King Hugh IV in 1342.

<sup>2</sup> According to Machaeras (56) it was the Dominicans who had received these funds in trust.

after all the debts and obligations of the King and his father had been paid.

The Governor pursued his enemies even into the land of their exile, Armenia. King Oshin sent for Philip d'Ibelin the Seneschal, and Baldwin d'Ibelin, who were hostages at Tarsus, and told them that the Governor had intercepted a letter from Philip to King Henry, suggesting that he should escape to Rhodes; the Seneschal himself, and Baldwin, were to do the same. Oshin endeavoured to involve the hostages in a confession that they had such intentions; but, failing to do so, removed them from Tarsus to Sis, on the pretence that the latter was a healthier place. This was in October 1309. Meanwhile the Governor's wife, the Princess Isabel, had been sent on 10 October to her brother Oshin, to persuade him to accept the custody of King Henry if he were sent to Armenia; in this she was seconded by Hayton, Lord of Gorchigos, whom the chroniclers describe as consistently hostile to Henry. She returned successful, but avoided Nicosia until the King should be deported.

On 21 January 1310, having on the previous day vainly sought an audience with the King, the Governor and the Constable gained admission to his chamber by surprise. The usual recrimination followed, the King complaining bitterly that he was being treated worse than any Christian captive had been treated by the Saracens. But he refused utterly to give way, and the Governor and Constable left him, saying that, since he refused to restore order, they must do so themselves as best they could.

On the last evening of the month<sup>1</sup> the Governor and the Constable again entered the King's chamber. There was more violent argument, the King appealing to some of his men whom he found in the *loggetta* of his chapel; the Governor accusing Henry of plotting his death and the Queen retorting that on the contrary the Governor was plotting Henry's.

The King again appealed to his men to defend him, and returned to his chamber. The Governor and the Constable seated themselves at the door, forcing their company on the King, who seized a stick and threatened to break the head of anyone who came near him. One of the King's sisters began to abuse her brothers as assassins and Judases. The King retired to the far side of the chamber, and said his mattins, and

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras and Strambaldi date the arrest of the King on 7 February 1300 (the year an obvious slip for 1309 O.S.).

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 243

got into bed, as though feeling sure that no one would dare to touch his person. But the Queen and her daughters remained, feeling less confident. When the Governor and the Constable made to enter, she pushed them out. After midnight, however, they forced their way in. The Queen, attempting to detain them, was seized and her arms pinned against the wall by two Ibelins, Philip, Count of Jaffa, and Philip the Younger. She fell in a faint under the feet of passers-by; her daughter Héloïse ran to wake Henry, who could not believe that his brothers or any of his men would lay hands on their anointed King and liege lord. But the Governor and the others were upon him; Lanfranc Carmain, a Genoese, taking hold of his clothes to dress him, received a blow in the face, and laid his hand on his sword, but was restrained by the Governor. One of the King's sisters persuaded him to dress; another, Mary, was held apart, cursing her brothers roundly. Finally the King, being dressed, was taken out and the doors locked so that the Queen and her daughters should not come near him. The Queen meanwhile blasphemed and cursed the Governor in French, Arabic and Greek. As he was led away the King said to the Governor, 'I pray God that he may not do to you or your children that which you are doing to me'. He conjured those present to bear witness that he had not granted and would not grant to the Lord of Tyre any of the things which he had demanded. To the Prince of Galilee he said 'Are you not my man?' The Prince answered 'Yes, my Lord'. 'Then why do you not defend me?' 'I do not interfere between you and your brothers.' Descending the stairs, Henry refused to mount a horse, asking why he was being hunted out of his house so vilely and led away like a robber. Told that he could go back, on condition of granting the governorship to Amaury, he made no reply. He was then set on a horse, but refused to touch the saddle-bow or take the reins, but told Nicolin Chappe to ride behind him; the Constable however made one of the Governor's own men, John Lombard, take Nicolin's place.

It was chilly, and the King, who was lightly clad, asked for a furred cloak, hood and cap; these were provided, the Governor giving him his own hood. Then the King turned to the Governor and said: 'Amaury, Amaury, you are sending me out of the land, but you will last but a short while in the Kingdom of Cyprus, for you have laid your foundations in bad ground, and your building will quickly fall into ruins.' And so the Constable, with a strong guard of armed knights, turcoples, and arquebusiers on foot, led the King away.



Next day, 1 February,<sup>1</sup> they went by Lefkoniko to Gastria, whither the Governor sent the King three friars minor, two of his priests, the salaried knight John de Mimars and a small retinue; the rest of the King's household were dismissed after a few days.

On Wednesday, 4 February, two galleys and a foist came from Famagusta. The King embarked, calmly and without any sign of displeasure. Looking towards the land, he made the sign of the cross three times, then crossed his own face, and went below, remaining there until the ship reached Lajazzo.

The young Lord of Gorchigos with thirty knights was sent to meet Henry, who had no reason to welcome the son of his enemy Hayton. On the way inland, the King of Armenia met the party, greeting Henry with great professions of friendliness. The Constable, who had ridden a league behind Henry, now returned and sailed back to Cyprus. The King was at first taken to a place called Trabesic (?);<sup>2</sup> rather more than a month later he was strictly confined in the fortress of Lambron, no one, Armenian or other, being allowed to speak to him or his household, and was subjected to much harsh treatment, in the hope of inducing him to grant the desired confirmation to the Lord of Tyre.

In Cyprus, the knights who had been imprisoned were released.<sup>3</sup> Two of them, however, James de Montolif and John Lase, fearing to fall into the Governor's hands, fled in a galley from Paphos to Rhodes. The Queen's court was much frequented by ladies who came to console her, but after three days the Governor put warders at the door, and she was left in solitude. The Bailies of the King's court and estates were superseded by others of the Governor's appointing.

Now, in March, the papal nuncio, Raymond de Pins,<sup>4</sup> charged by the Pope and the King of France with the duty of reconciling the King and his brother, arrived at Famagusta. The Governor, supposing that an armed force of crusaders was following him, received him with much honour, and in hot haste made improvements in the fortifications of the port. The money for this he extorted, to the amount of 100,000

<sup>1</sup> It is on this day (1 Feb. 1309 O.S.) that Sanudo dates the banishment of the King (p. 243).

<sup>2</sup> So Fl. Bustron; Amadi has *Trapesie*.

<sup>3</sup> According to Amadi, those whom Amaury suspected at the time of the King's departure had their beards shaved and their hair cut short, and were threatened with the loss of their fiefs if he received credible evidence of their hostility.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond de Pins, canon of Bazas, and domestic chaplain to Clement V.

ducats, from the Jews of Nicosia and Famagusta, and raised another 200,000 ducats saracen by a double forced loan from the burgesses of Nicosia, Famagusta, Lemesos and Paphos. The nuncio made it clear to the Governor that he was generally blamed throughout Christendom for his treatment of the King. Amaury made humble excuses, alleging that the governorship had been forced upon him by the barons, who saw that the King was incapable of governing. Nevertheless if the King should recover his health, his authority should be returned to him. But, knowing his character, Amaury's men dared not put themselves in his power again; they knew from experience that he never forgave an injury. If the King returned to Cyprus, Amaury would provide liberally for him, but never give up the governorship. The nuncio was now sent on by the Governor to Armenia, with the Bishop of Lemesos<sup>1</sup> and a canon of Nicosia. He landed on Monday, 22 March, at Malo and proceeded to Adana, where he was received by the King of Armenia, to whom he explained his mission. Henry, with the Seneschal and Baldwin d'Ibelin and the other imprisoned knights, was brought to Adana, and the nuncio wrought with such effect on the King that he induced him to agree to grant the office of Governor for life to the Lord of Tyre. The King, who had an allowance of 100,000 besants a year,<sup>2</sup> was to have an addition of 10,000; he was also to have the dowries of six ladies of his lieges. The pact was sworn by Henry and by the King of Armenia and his barons on behalf of the Lord of Tyre. Returning to Cyprus, Raymond presented the agreement to the Governor for his signature. Amaury however delayed signing, until he should consult others, and put off the matter from 28 March until, on 5 June, fate took the decision out of his hands.<sup>3</sup>

The long-delayed inquisition into the affairs of the Temple had begun in April of this year. Amaury's murder put an abrupt end to the hearing of the witnesses, and a new trial began in 1311. This subject will therefore be best treated in our next chapter.

The exact circumstances of Amaury's end are obscure. But there seems some basis for the supposition that it was not the outcome of a merely personal quarrel, though whether the counter-revolution which followed can rightly be described as long-threatened is doubtful.<sup>4</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Who, according to Amadi, was no longer Peter d'Erlant, but Zacco More.

<sup>2</sup> So Amadi (ducats, i.e. gold besants), but Fl. Bustron incorrectly allows him only 10,000. See above, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 329; Fl. Bustron, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> H. Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens*, p. 218.

agent of his destruction was his favourite, Simon de Montolif.<sup>1</sup> It was said after the event that he was suspected by the Governor's wife and others of harbouring mischief against the Governor, but that their warnings went unheeded. Simon had been brought up by Baldwin d'Ibelin, who, as we have seen (p. 231), had recently been arrested and banished to Armenia. Simon had, however, been suspected by Baldwin of betraying to the Governor his secret sympathy with the King, and sent away (or possibly, seeing that he was detected, left of his own accord). He joined the company of the Governor, and was even one of the party which arrested Baldwin. The Governor loaded him with favours and gave him free access to his person; he had been Amaury's Bailie in Paphos (p. 230), and two of the sources say that he was Amaury's chamberlain. One of these, Philip de Mézières,<sup>2</sup> actually asserts that Simon made an agreement with the knighthood of Cyprus and killed his lord.<sup>3</sup> But Philip may be only repeating the accusation, which was immediately made by Amaury's widow and her brother the King of Armenia, that the King or his friends instigated the crime. History, down to the present day, is full of examples which show us how lightly such accusations may be made.<sup>4</sup> However this may be, on Friday, 5 June, being alone with Amaury, Simon stabbed him to death,<sup>5</sup> and cut off his head, which it was supposed he intended to carry away; but, fearing that it would betray him, contented himself with taking the right hand.<sup>6</sup> Hastily wrapping up the corpse, pushing it under the stairs and piling a mattress on it, he locked the doors and made his escape; to the guards at the great door, who noticed blood on his face, he explained that Amaury's son Hughet had wounded him, and that

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<sup>1</sup> Iorga, *F.d.C.* p. 157, calls him a Tinori, evidently misunderstanding a passage in the *Songe du vieil pelerin* (M.L., H. II, p. 116). Simon Tenouri was his nephew.

<sup>2</sup> *Songe du vieil pelerin*, quoted by M.L., H. II, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Lusignan's idea that Simon made himself Governor (*Chor.* f. 55) is of course nonsense. In his *Descr.* (f. 141b) he does not repeat the error, but says that Simon represented one of three parties in the State.

<sup>4</sup> Loredano (Giblet, I, p. 279), an almost worthless writer, gives three theories: one, that he wished to deliver Baldwin; two, that the death of the tyrant was urged on him by certain monks; three, that Amaury attempted his honour; the third motive he says was generally accepted as most probable. It would certainly appeal to the writer.

<sup>5</sup> Malipiero, *Ann. Ven.* p. 593, says he was murdered in the *ceca* (mint). Others say in the privy, which is more likely. See Dawkins on Macheras, 63, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> If he was the agent of others, he may have taken the hand to prove that it was really he who killed Amaury.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 247

going to tell Amaury he had found him sleeping. They let him pass out of the gate, where his groom awaited him with a mule. Riding home, he armed himself lightly and rode away fast towards Pendayia. Nothing was ever seen or heard of him again.<sup>1</sup>

The body was not discovered until the evening, when the papal nuncio and others sought an audience, and found the Governor's chamber locked. His wife had not seen him for some hours, and thought that he might have fled, such was his fear of the armada of crusaders that he thought was imminent. When the body was at last found, the Constable and Prince of Galilee concealed the fact of his death, summoned all their adherents to come armed to the Governor's house, and surrounded the houses of those suspected of being of the King's party. After sunset the news became known, and the Council appointed the Constable Aimery (Hamerin) to be Governor in place of the murdered man; but search for the assassin was not seriously begun until the night was well advanced, and Simon had more than ten hours' start of his pursuers. It is sometimes convenient to others besides the actual agent of an assassination that he should not be caught.

Since the assassin himself could not be traced, his innocent relations were victimized. On Saturday the 6th, Amaury was buried in the cathedral beside the high altar, near his father Hugh.

The Constable endeavoured to obtain from the knights, turcoples and foot-soldiers the oath of fidelity to his person; some of the knights in Nicosia, however, postponed their adhesion until they could consult

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<sup>1</sup> It was thought that he succeeded in escaping in a ship. The house of his aunt Sibyl de Montolif and the nunnery of St Lazarus (better known as Our Lady of Tyre), whose Abbess was Margaret d'IBelin, a relation of the King, were searched on reports being received from informers, who had a grudge against these ladies, that they were harbouring the fugitive. This house of Our Lady of Tyre and its church had been much favoured by Henry; they had been damaged by earthquake, and he spent 18,000 besants on rebuilding them. Margaret had become Abbess during Amaury's usurpation. Information was laid against her as praying for the cessation of the strife and the restoration of the King, and Amaury sought an excuse for attacking her. On his death, she and her nuns were also accused of expressing their joy, and sheltering the wives of the knights who stood for the King at Famagusta. On 14 June a clerk said that he had espied Simon de Montolif in this nunnery. The Abbess and her nuns were maltreated and threatened with death, and the house sacked. The Abbess appealed to the Legate, offering to be burnt alive with her nuns if they had harboured Simon. She was not further molested.—On the Armenian church, which has been identified with Our Lady of Tyre, see Ch. 1, p. 3, note.

with their peers. Proclamation was issued on Whit Sunday ordering the burgesses of Nicosia to take the oath to him as Governor; the Castellans at Famagusta, Lemesos, Paphos and Kerynia were instructed to obtain the same oath from the inhabitants of those cities. Famagusta, however, was a danger-spot; it contained a large number of sympathizers with the King.<sup>1</sup> John de Brie, the Castellan, immediately on receiving the news of the murder,<sup>2</sup> and the Council's instructions to hold Famagusta for the Constable, summoned the knights of his following. The news was received with much distress but in silence, lest it should come to the ears of the King's adherents; who, however, received warning that the Lord of Tyre's knights were arming—as they supposed, to seize and deport them to Armenia; for recently there had been whispers of some such plan. Rousing each other from their beds, they armed themselves. Aygue de Bessan and others sought out and informed the consuls of the three Communes of the Genoese, the Pisans<sup>3</sup> and the Venetians, that they intended to hold Famagusta for the King. The consuls agreed to support them to the death. At dawn, Aygue de Bessan and the King's party armed themselves and went to the palace, where they found the other party, also armed. Aygue, asked why he and his came armed, explained that they had heard that the Governor's party were arming, and they came to see what was afoot. The Castellan professed to have heard that Amaury was seriously ill and like to die, and he considered it right to hold the seignory for the right heir, to wit Aimery, and he declined to name the King. He then uttered by the crier on behalf of the Lord of Tyre a proclamation forbidding anyone to go out armed, except in the course of military service. Meanwhile letters came to Aygue from Nicosia with the news of the Governor's death; whereupon he and his friends sought the Castellan, accused

<sup>1</sup> Amaury, when his fears were excited by the arrival of Raymond de Pins, had called these knights on military service, presumably in order to have a hold on them. When the Constable's adherents armed themselves, before Amaury's death became known, it was put about that they did so because the King's knights at Famagusta had revolted.

<sup>2</sup> Aimery and the Prince of Galilee wrote on the actual night of the murder, and the letter was in John's hands by midnight. This John de Brie, son of Bohemund, is to be distinguished from John de Brie, Lord of Paradisi, who was also a partisan of the Lord of Tyre.

<sup>3</sup> So Amadi, p. 335. Fl. Bustron, p. 199, substitutes *Aleman*i for *Pisani*; similarly on p. 211, where Amadi, p. 348, does not specify. R. de Mas Latrie, note on Amadi, p. 348, thinks that the Pisans are called *Aleman*i because they were Ghibellines.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 249

him of concealing the true fact, lowered their vizors and cried 'Long live the King; and death to all who will not take the oath to the King!' They had it cried throughout the city that all, great and small, should come to the palace to take the oath. John de Brie and his party were nonplussed, their adversaries being fairly strong and popular.

Aygue de Bessan was seconded by Robert de Montgésart and Renaud de Soissons. The three Communes with all the rest took the oath to the King; the royal banner was broken on the tower, the gates walled up and the drawbridges demolished, all save one, and order taken for the victualling of the city. Knights who were on their estates outside the city came in, and 700<sup>1</sup> mounted men and some 7000 foot, all well armed, were mustered. Aygue de Bessan was chosen as captain of the army and lieutenant of the King for all Cyprus. The knights at Lemesos and Paphos also secured those cities for the King.

Negotiations with Armenia for Henry's return were now begun. Guy de Séverac, Commander of the Hospital, had been sent by the Grand Master to Armenia, but had been prevented by King Oshin from seeing Henry. He had, however, obtained a letter from Henry promising forgiveness to all who had offended, and appointing the Grand Master his lieutenant until he should return. Guy returned to Famagusta on the very day of the Governor's death, and reported that the King of Armenia would be glad to be rid of the responsibility of the custody of Henry; the Commander had undertaken to work in Cyprus for the reconciliation of the parties and to take a letter from the Lord of Tyre to authorize the liberation of the King.

The first attempt to effect this failed, owing to the crooked dealing of the King of Armenia,<sup>2</sup> and the treachery of one Noël d'Argent,

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<sup>1</sup> So Amadi. 1700 according to Fl. Bustron.

<sup>2</sup> The accounts of this affair in Amadi, pp. 336f., and Fl. Bustron, pp. 201f., are rather obscure. Oshin had asked the Commander whether peace had been made between the Governor and the other barons. 'I replied that I thought it had, since negotiations were on foot when I left Cyprus.' The King said he wished they would agree, and would send for Henry, whose custody was a heavy responsibility. 'I said I would do my best in Cyprus to reconcile them and to carry a letter with the seal of the Lord of Tyre authorizing King Henry's release, and he (Oshin) promised to give it me.' However, they wrote a letter, as from the Lord of Tyre, and sealed it with a counterfeit seal and sent with the Commander Sir John le Petit and another salaried knight of the traitors' party, Noël d'Argent, a companion of the Lord of Tyre, who afterwards came to swear allegiance to the King, and he was then admiral of Famagusta for the Lord of Tyre. He with malice and treachery offered to go with the Commander

Amaury's admiral at Famagusta, who had taken the oath to the King, and who succeeded in getting himself sent back with Guy to Armenia, but on arrival spread the report that the King's party had murdered not only Amaury but his wife (King Oshin's sister) and children. Guy, barely escaping capture by the Armenians, who believed the slander, sent a letter with the true facts to Oshin, who replied that he would release Henry if he were certified by his sister of the safety of herself and her children.

Guy returned to Famagusta with the news of the treachery of Noël d'Argent, whose wife and children (probably quite innocent) were imprisoned.

Oshin had heard by 9 June of the death of Amaury. Immediately he began grievously to ill-treat King Henry and the other knights who had been deported to Armenia; the King, Philip d'Ibelin the Seneschal and Baldwin d'Ibelin were imprisoned in separate castles, the King at Partzerpert;<sup>1</sup> six other knights were put in irons. A Franciscan friar, John of Cyprus, was tortured in the vain hope of extracting a confession that he had written letters for the King instigating the murder of Amaury.

Meanwhile, at Famagusta, the King's party had promptly imprisoned the messengers sent from Nicosia on the Saturday after the murder to receive the oath on behalf of the Constable. The Castellan, with others of his party, was still at large, and at a stormy meeting of the knights he proposed that the Prince of Galilee should be sent for and made their captain until the King should come. The suggestion was of course rejected, and John de Brie himself and his namesake, with some others, were arrested, and put in a ship to be sent to Rhodes. But it delayed sailing, being doubtful of the intentions of a fleet of nine Venetian merchant-vessels which appeared at this moment. Meanwhile the prisoners, through the papal Legate,<sup>2</sup> obtained the intervention of the Queen, and remained in Cyprus but under guard. One of the prisoners,

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to Armenia, because he knew the country, having been there with the Lady of Tyre, and the King of Armenia knew him, and he knew about the agreement between the King of Armenia and his sister Isabel, the Lady of Tyre.

<sup>1</sup> See J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires hist. et géog. sur l'Arménie* ('Pardserpert près de Molévon'); Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 156-7.

<sup>2</sup> This was Peter de Plaine-Cassagne, Bishop of Rodez, apostolic Legate in the East from early in 1308. R. de Mas Latrie on Amadi, p. 344, n. 2; Hackett, p. 126, n. 1 and p. 345, n. 1.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 251

the Genoese Humfry de' Marini, who was released on bail of fifteen thousand besants, escaped across the sea. The Venetians landed and declared for the King.

On Monday the 8th the Constable's party sent envoys to Aygue de Bessan, accompanied by the Bishops of Paphos and Famagusta on behalf of the nuncio. They professed to approve Aygue's action, and to be ready to follow his example, but suggested that he should come to the capital, that they should elect a Governor, proclaim the King and send to fetch him from Armenia. They expressed wonder that he should have taken action without authorization by all the barons. Their intentions were naturally suspected, and no notice was taken of the message. Annoyed by this slight, the Prince of Galilee went with a small force of forty knights and some hundred foot-soldiers to a village about a league and a half north of Famagusta, only to be told that his message did not interest the King's party, and that if he did not retire he would suffer for it. They hoped to take him prisoner and send him to Rhodes; but he decamped the same evening for Sigouri, and thence next day reported his failure at Nicosia. At another meeting of the Council the Prince<sup>1</sup> made the infamous proposal that the wives and daughters as well as the fiefs of the recalcitrant knights of Famagusta should be handed over to their servants. Some twenty members were found to protest that this would bring disgrace upon them, as well as being bad policy; for the Famagusta party was strong and united, and commanded all the ports and the navy. The project was dropped. It was still hoped to hold Kerynia, and obtain assistance from Armenia and the Turks through that port; but the Castellan, aware of the real sympathies of the garrison, refused to receive the Constable's messenger, and declared for the King. Aygue de Bessan now sent a new Castellan, Peter de Giblest.

The Armenian princess, Isabel, the widow of the Lord of Tyre, still exercised much influence in Nicosia, but, seeing the turn that affairs were taking, threw herself on the protection of the nuncio, Raymond de Pins, and of the Legate, Peter de Plaine-Cassagne. The Legate, who was residing in the archiepiscopal palace, received her and her children there, where she hoped to be safe from the vengeance of the enemies of her husband.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Amadi the Constable and the Prince were jointly responsible for this proposal.



Aygue de Bessan now, six days after the murder, opened communications with Nicosia, sending envoys to the Legate in the first place, to the Lady of Tyre, the Constable and the Prince of Galilee and their party. The message to the Legate was contemptuous, and gave full expression to the fury of the King's friends at the failure of the papal representatives to do their duty.<sup>1</sup> He was told that he had done nothing to forward the reconciliation of the King and Amaury, or to expel Amaury and restore the King, for which purpose he and Raymond de Pins had been sent out by the Pope. And now, when the King's vassals were holding the fortresses and ports in the King's name, he was doing nothing to encourage them, but was asking them to come to terms with the Constable. He was told in conclusion to mind his own business, which was the settlement of the affairs of his Church and clergy; the knights were not in need of his counsel. As to the Lady Isabel, whom he had taken under his protection, they begged him, as their spiritual father, to see that she took care to bring the King back to Cyprus safe and sound. If any harm should befall the King in Armenia, then, though she were in the Legate's care, nay, even if she and her children were in the Pope's belly, and he were in Cyprus, they would attack him, drag them forth, take them to Armenia and slaughter them all in the presence of the King of Armenia and their relations.

The Constable, the Prince of Galilee and the rest were required within two days to proclaim the King and take the oath in the presence of the Queen, and return the chancery to the royal palace. Refusal would involve loss of fiefs and punishment of the person according to the lord's discretion. John le Tor and Roland de la Baume were appointed counsellors of the Queen. The Constable and the Prince were specially enjoined to take steps with the Lady Isabel for the King's return safe and sound; if any harm should come to him in Armenia, they would be dealt with as God should direct; they might be assured that if the King died none of them would inherit the crown, but God would provide a successor. The King's friends were quit of their oath to the

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<sup>1</sup> Fl. Bustron's version is more lengthy and polite than Amadi's, the rudeness of which shocks Golubovich (III, p. 137). He thinks that Amadi is tinged with the Venetian anticlericalism of the 16th century and has rehashed the text of the message to suit the taste of his readers; his historical honesty is to be doubted whenever he attacks the Legate. Here the more gentlemanly version of Bustron is to be preferred. But it is to be observed that Bustron, when he happens to agree with Amadi in some animadversion on the Legate, is condemned by Golubovich as a mere plagiarist.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 253

Governor, since he was dead, and they would have no other Governor than their rightful lord and King.

These threats were seemingly effective; the Constable and the Prince found themselves with only some forty supporters. On 13 June the Legate and the nuncio effected an agreement between the Queen on the one hand, and the Constable and the Prince and their followers on the other. The terms were: the Queen swore to do her best loyally to secure pardon and amnesty from the King for the other parties, and confirmation of the grants of dowries made by Amaury, and certain purchases of estates by Amaury and the Constable. The other parties (including the three Communes of the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans)<sup>1</sup> swore to the Queen to guard and defend the King, his cities and fortresses and rights, and to defend the Queen and her daughters against all the world. The King was proclaimed in Nicosia, and the chancery returned to the royal palace; the Constable also returned the arms which he had taken from the royal palace the day after the death of the Lord of Tyre. The news of this submission reached Famagusta just in time to prevent the knights riding to Nicosia to seize the Constable, the Prince of Galilee and their followers and put to death all rebels against the King.

On 15 June the Legate and the nuncio attempted to reconcile the Queen and the Lady Isabel. The latter would have liked to go with her children to Armenia, but the Queen, being doubtless unwilling to let her out of the island until the King had returned, demurred, and she undertook to write to her brother Oshin to release the King, but deferred doing so from day to day. The Queen, however, herself wrote in the name of all the nobles and people demanding Henry's return; the letter bore the seals of herself, the Legate, bishops and prelates and all the barons. The Lady of Tyre excused herself, saying she had no seal, but gave a private letter to two messengers who accompanied those sent by the Queen. The embassy, led by Raymond de Pins, sailed from Famagusta in four galleys and two foists on Saturday, 20 June.

Meanwhile Isabel, in concert with her brother Oshin, continued her attempts to escape. His scheme to get her away to Kerynia, where he could send her support, failed because the place had gone over to the King. Other plans were foiled by the vigilance of the Queen and Aygüe de Bessan, who set a guard at the archiepiscopal palace and warned all the ports. On 23 and 26 June more support for the King's party came

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 248, n. 3.

from Rhodes, Rupin de Montfort with twelve knights, and Guy de Séverac, the Grand Commander of the Hospital, with forty Brethren.

The Queen now, on 27 June, induced the Legate to make an effort to unite all parties for the peaceful restoration of the King; otherwise it would have to be effected forcibly, with great disturbance to the realm. The Legate called together the prelates of all rites and the chapter of the cathedral. Next day, Sunday, a Franciscan friar preached and announced that the Legate, in virtue of his apostolic authority, gave absolution from all sins to those who should assist in the coming of the King, and excommunicated to the fourth generation all those who opposed it; the Greek bishops and the representatives of all the other rites gave their confirmation. Once more it was emphasized by the preacher how important the restoration was in view of the expected Crusade. The Constable Aimery and fifteen other knights of his following immediately demanded absolution, which the Legate gave them, making the sign of the cross on their heads, and that without asking whether they had made confession and repented of their sins. It was generally suspected that he was privy to their real intentions.<sup>1</sup>

On this same day Raymond de Pins and the other envoys who had gone to Armenia to fetch the King returned to Famagusta. Their mission had been a complete failure;<sup>2</sup> the letter from the Lady Isabel to Oshin was intended to prevent any agreement, and Oshin still insisted that the King's party had instigated the murder of Amaury and tried to incite the people against his sister and her children. He proposed to keep Henry in his power until he had communicated the facts of the treachery of the Cypriotes to the Pope, and would act in accordance with his reply.

The failure of this second attempt made the King's friends despair of a peaceful issue.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly they planned to send a force of 600 horse and 3000 foot under Rupin de Montfort to seize the Lady of Tyre,

<sup>1</sup> This last remark is in Fl. Bustron, but not in Amadi. Golubovich, however (p. 138), considers the criticism of the Legate to be ridiculous, though Bustron cannot here be accused of borrowing from Amadi.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond and the Lady of Tyre's messengers alone went ashore; the others had been warned by the captain at Famagusta of probable treachery, and kept to their ships.

<sup>3</sup> The six knights who had been held at Famagusta were sent off to Rhodes, except John de Brie, son of Bohemund, who was put in the charge of the Hospital. Isabel's agents who had caused the failure of the mission were imprisoned until the arrival of the King.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 255

put her aboard a ship and send her to Armenia,<sup>1</sup> and so induce her brother to give up Henry. The Queen however once more intervened on the side of peace, and Guy de Séverac was sent from Famagusta to urge that the lady should go willingly; otherwise she should be taken by force.

Isabel, inspired by the Constable Aimery and the Prince of Galilee, made conditions which were mostly conceded, but still invented every excuse to delay her departure. The Legate was suspected of having been bribed by her; invited to Famagusta, on the pretence that his advice was required, he was not allowed to return, but told that it was proposed to send him to Armenia to bring the King back. It was also suspected that the Constable was tampering with the Templars who were confined at Khirokitia; accordingly they were fetched to safe custody in Famagusta by the knights of Lemesos and Paphos. Aygue de Bessan also sent a summons to Nicosia, calling up to Famagusta, on the military service which they owed to the King, all the knights who inclined to the side of the Constable and the Prince of Galilee; disobedience would mean loss of fiefs. These knights appealed to the Queen, who, taking their side, wrote urging the suspension of the summons. Famagusta, however, was determined, and the summons was repeated a second and a third time, finally (in order effectively to disperse their forces) specifying to each knight personally the place where he was to be posted. Thus the Constable was to go to Pelendria, the Prince of Galilee to Morphou.<sup>2</sup> The Queen, whose action had exasperated Famagusta, now confessed that she could do no more, and a last appeal by the Constable and his followers, in very mild language, was rejected, since they were suspected of seeking conciliation with the object of recovering control of the situation by a treacherous attack. The Queen was therefore informed that the knights of Famagusta were determined to come to Nicosia and force the Lady Isabel to see to the return of the King, and

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<sup>1</sup> She was, as we have seen, ready enough to go, but not in the manner now proposed, which meant that she would be held as a hostage until Henry was given up; this was the way in which his release was eventually effected.

<sup>2</sup> Henry de Giblet, Lord of Besmedin in Syria, was posted to Triкомо, but, fearing there to be too easily in the reach of personal enemies in Famagusta, he begged the Queen to allow him to come to Nicosia, and she permitted him to go to the house of Roland de la Baume, who went security for him in his fief, property and person. His end will be told in the next chapter. For Besmedin (Borj-Beshmezin in the canton of Koura), see Rey, *Colonies franques*, p. 362.

to separate her from the Constable, the Prince of Galilee and their followers. The Queen once more begged the knights of Famagusta not to be the first to take arms against their compatriots, and risk the chances of war and possibly delay the return of the King; if it could be left to her, she would engage that the Constable and his followers were removed from the Council. She in fact persuaded them to retire from Nicosia, and they chose to go to Kormakiti,<sup>1</sup> a large village on the peninsula of that name difficult of access and easy of defence. There, within bounds of a league round the village, they undertook to remain until the summons to military service should be withdrawn. Their numbers are given as 226 mounted men and some 400 foot, without women and children. They took with them provisions for a siege and all the arms they could collect in Nicosia. The knights of Famagusta at first meditated an attack, but contented themselves with sending two galleys and a foist to lie off the shore and prevent communication with Armenia.

About this time, envoys from the Queen and Aygue de Bessan went to Venice, and appeared before the Doge on 20 August. Their object was to rebut the charge brought by the King of Armenia against King Henry, his knights and the Hospital, of being responsible for the death of Amaury. The Governor, they said, had been removed by Divine vengeance for his many crimes committed against his brother and many churchmen and religious, and knights and men of the people, whom he had caused to die by poison, by the sword or by imprisonment. They asked for help to bring Henry and the other prisoners back from the unhealthy land of Armenia; if the King were prevented by the Armenians or otherwise from returning, Armenia and its people would be exposed to utter destruction.<sup>2</sup> There is no record that Venice took any steps in answer to this appeal.

On 16 July a mission sailed once more from Famagusta for Armenia, in two galleys and a foist. Besides two Franciscans and two Dominicans,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The place where they settled is described variously as being five or seven leagues from Nicosia, and on the sea. The present village of Kormakiti is at least three miles from the sea, and some twenty-five miles by road from Nicosia.

<sup>2</sup> Note of the Chancellor of Venice on the embassy. *M.L., H. II*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi says (p. 366) that the Lady of Tyre's special agent was a Franciscan brother Daniel, formerly confessor of Amaury (so, too, *Fl. Bustron*, p. 223). This Daniel (of Terdona or Zerdona) was in 1311 Bishop of Tarsus (*Golubovich*, pp. 138-9). The other Franciscan was Aimery, while one of the Dominicans was also called Daniel.

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 257

it included the Legate and Raymond de Pins. Since the departure of the Constable and his party to Kormakiti, Nicosia had been left without armed guard of any kind, and the ladies, from the Queen and the Lady Isabel downwards, asked Famagusta to send a force to protect the city and district. Albert l'Aleman, Commander of the Hospital, arrived with a first contingent of fifty Cypriote knights and forty Hospitallers on 22 July, and was later reinforced by fifty more knights under John Babin, in command of the secular knights, and Anseau de Brie. Very strict precautions were taken against surprise from without or incendiarism within; since Nicosia had as yet no walls, gates were set up in the streets and closed at night; in fact, the city was in a state of siege.

On Friday, 24 July 1310, the knights, burgesses and Communes were summoned to the palace, to hear read the letter brought from the King by the Commander of the Hospital when he went to Armenia before the murder of Amaury. The letter was written with the King's own hand and sealed with his little seal (since he had not the great seal with him). It appointed the Grand Master of the Hospital to act for the King, and promised amnesty to all who should come in to his obedience. Next was read a letter from Aygue de Bessan, as lieutenant of the King, to the effect that John le Tor was appointed Governor of Nicosia and district until further order. The oath which had been taken in Famagusta of allegiance to the King and royal family, and of mutual defence against the enemy, was to be repeated in Nicosia. And since the Grand Master was detained in Rhodes and could not at present take up the office to which the King had appointed him, he had instructed the Commander, Albert l'Aleman, to be associated with Aygue de Bessan in the government of the Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Finally a series of ordinances of the utmost severity were read providing for the punishment, with death and destruction of their real property, of those who should seek to prevent the return of the King. It was not long before (on 2 August) one of the Constable's turcopoles was executed, after torture, as agent of just such a plot as these ordinances envisaged—setting fire to Nicosia, surprise attack, recruitment of Turks on the mainland; and on the 10th, another agent confessed under torture that he was being sent to Armenia to assassinate Henry. Both cases, whether it was the truth that the

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<sup>1</sup> The Commander and all the Hospitallers were throughout loyal supporters of the King. Further reinforcements arrived from Rhodes on 26 July, and their forces numbered 80 knights, 20 pages, mounted, and 200 foot-soldiers.

torture elicited or not, illustrate the bitterness of the enmity between the parties and the general state of tension.

Meanwhile the Legate and his company had arrived at Lajazzo on 18 July. After nine days' delay, while the King of Armenia was being informed of their arrival, they were brought to his presence. The shifty monarch put many difficulties in the way of their access to King Henry, until he was faced with the formal challenge, in the name of all Henry's barons and men in Cyprus, that unless the prisoner were released safe and sound and without any hindrance, they would do as seemed to them good. And Oshin would have to deal with the united forces of Christendom, who, expected as they were to arrive for a Crusade, would undertake the liberation of the King as gladly as they would that of Jerusalem. The children of Amaury, it was pointed out, could not hope for the succession, since the usurper had laid hands on the King, and he and his descendants were deprived by law of all their rights. Then at last the envoys gained access to Henry and persuaded him, with some difficulty, to accept the terms proposed by Oshin. The agreement was completed on 4 August 1310. It provided for the safety of the persons and movable property of the Lady of Tyre and her children. Hughet, Amaury's eldest son, was to have the estate of Chrysochou, which with the rest of Amaury's fiefs was to provide Isabel's dowry; and she and Hughet were to have and hold all the fiefs which Amaury had held and had acquired by purchase, freely and without owing personal service. The movements of Isabel, Hughet and her other children were not to be controlled by the King. Henry was to pay a debt of some 600,000 besants incurred by Amaury in his government. The Seneschal Philip and Baldwin d'Ibelin and four other knights were to remain as hostages in Armenia, and the Lady of Tyre and her children should be landed at Lajazzo in a special place, where no Armenian, but only the Legate, Raymond de Pins, and their servants should be with them, while the King should embark from another place.

The four friars reached Famagusta on 10 August with the news of this agreement, and reported it two days later to the general assembly in the royal palace at Nicosia, bringing also the thanks of the King to Aygue de Bessan and all the knights for their loyal behaviour.

The news was greeted with enthusiasm, and celebrated with general decorations, illuminations and festivities. All that remained now to secure the return of the King was to effect his exchange for the Lady Isabel, who however showed herself recalcitrant as ever. Professing

## *Fall of Acre to Restoration of Henry II* 259

to accept the Queen's offer to accompany her to Famagusta, she let the Queen depart without her.<sup>1</sup> Finally she followed, but declined to enter Famagusta and lodged at A. Sergios near Salamis. The galleys were ready to sail on the 17th; but the lady still made excuses, and contemptuously<sup>2</sup> refused to obey the Grand Commander, Guy de Séverac, whose office it was to see her on board. Robert de Montgésart, not being, as she explained, one of her enemies the Hospitallers, was more successful, and on 20 August she embarked at the port of Constanza.<sup>3</sup> Her departure was celebrated with public rejoicing, which lasted until the galleys returned.

The fleet conveying her was so numerous<sup>4</sup> that when it arrived at Lajazzo the same day the Armenians were alarmed, and prepared a hostile reception should a landing without leave be attempted. Renaud de Soissons, who commanded the fleet, was persuaded to send all but one galley, a brigantine and a launch to another port, until the Lady of Tyre with her children and possessions had landed, and the King embarked. At the last moment, it is said, the Armenians, the lady having landed and the King entered the launch, advanced towards it to seize him, but the Cypriotes were on their guard, and the brigantine took the King out of the launch and placed him safely in the galley. The Armenians attacked the launch, but were too late. All the rest of the fleet, hearing that the King was safely aboard, returned to the port with great rejoicing.

Hughet, the son of Amaury, now obtained from his somewhat unwilling mother permission to go to the King in his galley and make his submission. He threw himself at Henry's feet, promised to obey him in all things and obtain from his uncle the King of Armenia the release of the hostages; Henry answered in most friendly terms, and undertook to receive him into his favour if he did so and brought them back to Cyprus. Thereupon his mother, impressed by the kindness of his

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<sup>1</sup> The Queen was accompanied by 500 horse and 500 foot for two leagues, and then by 200 horse and 100 foot as far as Famagusta. When Isabel refused to go farther than A. Sergios, Aygue de Bessan sent 300 knights and turcoples and 100 foot to see that she embarked. These figures seem to indicate that interference by the Constable's party was feared.

<sup>2</sup> As she put it, she did not think him worth a pistachio-nut.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that the old port of Salamis was still in use, though doubtless in a very small way.

<sup>4</sup> With the two galleys which sailed with the Legate and Raymond de Pins, were other nine galleys, two galliasses (large galleys) and four foists, all well armed.



reception, determined to follow his example, although her cousin, the Captain of Lajazzo, did his best to dissuade her, fearing that she would be held until the hostages had been released. She however went on board and throwing herself at Henry's feet begged for pardon, assuring him that he would learn in time that her guilt was less than was imputed to her, and offering to swear allegiance. Then she opened a box and handed to Henry the crown, sceptre, ring and seals which her husband had seized from the Franciscans, with whom they had been deposited. She begged the King to punish the authors of her husband's death. The King replied briefly—for the fleet was ready to sail—accepting her excuse so far as she personally was concerned; but place and time were not suitable for him to receive her oath. He regretted that her husband had died with such a sin upon his soul, and promised to do his best to purchase his absolution.

The fleet set sail, and Henry reached Famagusta on 26 August 1310 and landed next morning.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, p. 243; Amadi, p. 379. Strambaldi (p. 26) says 20 Aug., by confusion with the date when the fleet sailed to fetch him back.

## CHAPTER V

# FROM THE RESTORATION OF HENRY II (1310) TO THE DEATH OF HUGH IV (1359)

### HENRY II (1310-1324)

The celebration of the King's arrival at Famagusta lasted three days. In the procession from the quay to the church where mass was said the troops numbered some 500 horsemen and 5000 foot. At Nicosia, also, all classes—knights, burgesses, the common folk and the three Communes of Venice, Genoa and Pisa—celebrated the occasion for five days.<sup>1</sup>

All the measures taken until now by Aygue de Bessan were ratified, and he was confirmed as Captain until further order.<sup>2</sup> A special messenger was sent to summon from Kormakiti the Prince of Galilee, the Constable and the rest of their party, to appear at Nicosia within three days on mules and unarmed, to hear the Captain's command; but they dared not come.<sup>3</sup> To secure the capital, the King on 30 August sent John de Montolif with fifty knights, and had guards set round the Hospital and the Archbishop's palace, lest any of the suspects should take asylum there.<sup>4</sup> On the same day it was learned by the rebels at Kormakiti that Montolif's force had reached Nicosia, and was expected to advance on them. The Constable attempted to bribe a Genoese of Famagusta with 2000 besants to steal a ship and send it to Kormakiti to take him off. He went secretly to the shore, accompanied by Philip and John d'Ibelin, the Genoese Lanfranc Carmain (who, it will be remembered, had offered violence to the King when he was carried off)

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<sup>1</sup> Amadi, pp. 379-80; Fl. Bustron, pp. 234-5, 237. The latter describes the colours worn by the various classes: the Frankish burgesses wore white and red; the Syrians red and green; the Genoese yellow and violet; the Venetians yellow and red; the Pisans all red.

<sup>2</sup> He seems not to be mentioned after 1310. A fragment of his tomb-slab is published by Indianos, *Κυπρ. Στ.* iv, p. 26, pl. IV.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 380; Fl. Bustron, p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> Amadi and Fl. Bustron, *ibid.*

and others; but the plot had been discovered and the Genoese captain imprisoned; the ship was not there. The Constable, returning to his house, found it ransacked; his household having heard of his intended flight had carried off all that they could lay hands on, taking it, with all his horses and beasts of burden, to Nicosia. The animals were seized by John le Tor, commanding for Aygue de Bessan in the capital, and taken to the King's stables; he also issued a proclamation in the King's name that all who had taken possession of any of the Constable's property should give it up at the King's palace. All the adherents of the Kormakiti party in Nicosia, from knights down to servants, were arrested by the King's orders. Among them were two, Bohemund de Crel or Créel and Peter de Scandelion, companions of the Constable and bitter enemies of the King, who had carried letters from the Constable and the Lady of Tyre to the King of Armenia. These two were sent to Famagusta in chains, with spiked collars of massive iron round their necks, and imprisoned under harsh conditions.<sup>1</sup>

The state of things in Nicosia, in spite of the measures taken by the captains, was favourable to the prosecution of personal vendettas. One victim was Henry de Giblet, who, as already related (p. 255, n. 2), had deserted his side when he saw that it was losing, and had been placed by the Queen under the protection of Roland de la Baume. As a member of Amaury's Council he had made many enemies by outrageous treatment of knights of the King's party. When the King had reached Famagusta, the Queen assured Giblet that he could go where he pleased in safety. He thought he would be safe in the Archbishop's palace; but on 9 September some persons, who were never identified, entered at night and killed him in his bed. The King is said to have expressed strong disapproval of this lawless deed when he arrived at Nicosia next day.<sup>2</sup>

The King's entry into Nicosia, accompanied by seventy Hospitallers, 1800 horse and 4000 foot, was celebrated with even greater rejoicing than before, 'as though he had risen from the dead', says the chronicler. For five days the city was decorated and illuminated, and not only the Franks and the populace and the three Communes, but also the Jews and the Syrians showed their enthusiasm. Lemesos and Paphos also made similar demonstration of their joy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amadi, pp. 381-2; Fl. Bustron, pp. 235-6.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, pp. 382-3; Fl. Bustron, pp. 236-7.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, pp. 383-4; Fl. Bustron, pp. 237-8. The latter's figures for the troops on this occasion differ from those in the text, which are Amadi's.

On 14 September, the King sent Rupin de Montfort and John le Tor with a force to find and bring in the Constable, the Prince of Galilee, Philip d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and others. They passed by an estate of the Prince at Akaki, where he, his uncle Hugh d'Ibelin and his brother-in-law Walter de Bessan were awaiting the King's commands. But the Constable was not there, and going on to Kormakiti they found him fled, and were unable to trace him. Next day, the Prince of Galilee, the Count of Jaffa, Hugh d'Ibelin and Walter de Bessan rode into Nicosia and went to the house of the Count of Jaffa. Henry, on learning this, immediately proclaimed that anyone who should shelter any member of the rebel party, and not force him to present himself that same day, should be at the mercy of God and the arbitrament of the King for person and fief.<sup>1</sup>

The first to present himself that same evening, coming on foot in a white sheet, was the Count of Jaffa. The King had summoned the whole Court of the knights, with the Legate, the papal nuncio, all the bishops and abbots of the realm, the representatives of the religious Orders and the three Communes and the burgesses. On his knees the Count freely confessed his fault and begged for mercy. 'As you have behaved to us', replied Henry, 'so we shall behave to you.' The Count had been ordered to present himself first, because his fief was free, and he had not erred so grievously as those who had done homage for theirs. He was a young man, having been dubbed knight only a few months before Amaury's murder.<sup>2</sup> Next came the Prince of Galilee, Hugh d'Ibelin and Walter de Bessan, who showed less humility than the Count of Jaffa. The Prince was curtly ordered by the King to make no speeches, and they were made to read a confession of their misdeeds, throwing themselves on the King's mercy. They received the same reply as the Count. For some time they were confined in the vaults of the palace, and then taken to the castle of Kerynia. Seventeen other knights were sent thither on 17 September. John d'Ibelin, Hugh of Peristerona and some others came and pled for mercy on the 20th, receiving the usual reply. The Count of Jaffa, who had been imprisoned like the others, fell desperately ill, and was released for a time at the intercession of his mother, his aunt Margaret d'Ibelin, Abbess of Our Lady of Tyre, the Legate and the Commander of the Hospital. He was allowed to go to his mother, who

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<sup>1</sup> Amadi, pp. 384-5; Fl. Bustron, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 385; Fl. Bustron, pp. 238-9.

with two others gave security for him in their persons, property and fiefs.<sup>1</sup> When he recovered, he was sent back to prison, where he died in 1316.<sup>2</sup>

On 27 September the Constable, who had remained hidden in the countryside, made his way to the abbey of Beaulieu, disguised as a beggar; it was said that he had frequently passed in and out of the capital in this disguise, although the King, who had vainly sought him throughout the island, had set a price upon his head. From Beaulieu, however, he let the Princess of Galilee know of his presence; she told the Queen, who told the King. Henry had him fetched away and ordered to come publicly to demand grace, as the others had done. The Queen and the Princess however obtained the concession that this should be not by day but, to spare him humiliation, at night. The usual ceremony followed; the Constable read the written confession of his offences and threw himself and all his possessions on the King's mercy, receiving the same reply as his fellows. He was taken to the vaults, where he remained until he was transferred to the prison of Kerynia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amadi, pp. 385-7; Fl. Bustron, pp. 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, pp. 387-8; Fl. Bustron, pp. 240-1. Loredano (Giblet, I, pp. 302f.) has a characteristic story of the Constable paying visits to an old mistress, who betrayed him to the Queen and repented when it was too late. Amadi gives various sometimes apparently conflicting dates for the final transfer of the prisoners to Kerynia. P. 386: Prince of Galilee, Hugh d'Ibelin, Walter de Bessan were kept for two months in the palace (say until 17 Nov.) before being sent to Kerynia. P. 388: Hugh d'Ibelin, Walter de Bessan, John d'Ibelin, Hugh of Peristerona and others were sent on 1 Oct. P. 390: the Prince of Galilee and the Constable were confined in the dungeons on 27 Nov. P. 391: on St Barbara's Day (16 Dec.) Hugh and Philip d'Ibelin and Walter de Bessan were sent to the prison of Kerynia and confined in separate cells. (Some of these dates may refer to imprisonment in the castle, others to transference to the dungeons.) P. 393: on 16 Jan. 1312 the Prince and the Constable were sent to Buffavento. P. 397: on 7 June 1315 the Prince was brought back to the dungeon and placed alone in a cell, 'very dark and horrible'; in another were Hugh and Philip d'Ibelin the Younger; in a third John d'Ibelin and Walter de Bessan; here they were gradually starved to death. P. 398: the Count of Jaffa, his brother John d'Ibelin, the Prince of Galilee, the Marshal of the Temple and many other Brethren of that Order likewise died in the dungeons in 1316. What became of the Constable Aimery (Hamerin) is not clear. Amadi does not mention him again. In 1316, however, Peter le Jaune, writing to James II of Aragon, says that on arriving at Famagusta on 19 April, he heard of the death 'conostabuli fratri domine mee regine' (M.L., H. III, p. 703). It may be presumed that he died a prisoner either at Buffavento or at Kerynia. He was succeeded as Constable by his and the King's nephew Hugh, son of Guy, afterwards Hugh IV. Mas Latrie (*Gén.* p. 14) by a slip speaks of Hamerin as Hugh's brother. The same writer,

Others who had borne arms under Amaury against the King (fifty foot-soldiers and eight turcopoles) were on 15 October given fifteen days to quit the island.

In accordance with the usage of the times, the conditions in which these unfortunate men were shut up were excessively severe. The cells in which the Constable and the Prince of Galilee languished measured about ten feet by seven;<sup>1</sup> this space had to suffice for one prisoner and his servant.

Another Philip d'Ibelin, known as the Younger to distinguish him from the Count of Jaffa, had been most generously treated by the King, who, when his father died burdened with debts, had taken him in and richly provided for him. Nevertheless he had joined the King's enemies; but when the others gave themselves up, fearing with good reason to follow their example, he made his way to Old Lemesos (Amathus), where he boarded the ship of a Genoese envoy, and promised the master 2000 besants to take him to Armenia. At Famagusta, however, the envoy and the Genoese merchants, fearing to embroil the Republic with the King, handed him over to the Captain of the port, who sent him to the capital. The King on 25 October had him brought to the palace under strong guard, unbelted, barefoot and bareheaded, with his hands tied before him like a malefactor condemned to death. But Henry refused to see him and he was in due course sent to Kerynia.<sup>2</sup>

On 8 December some fifteen others whom the King sent to arrest took refuge in the archbishopric. The Haute Cour decided that they could be taken from this asylum as guilty of *lèse-majesté*. Guards were set round the chapel, and the fugitives, starved out, gave themselves up and were sent to join the others at Kerynia.<sup>3</sup>

Such were the immediate measures taken by Henry to suppress the recalcitrants. That he showed himself implacable, even to his nearest relations, need not surprise us after what he had suffered. Nor would

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by a strange confusion of dates (*op. cit.* p. 11) says that Hamerin was deprived of his office by the King in 1310 and then probably restored to it on Henry's return from exile. We know that Henry imprisoned Hamerin as soon as he had the chance; but he may not have filled up the office until Hamerin's death.

<sup>1</sup> 1½ by 1 *canna*, says Amadi (p. 390). On the *canna* or reed see Dawkins on *Machæras*, 235, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 389; Fl. Bustron, pp. 241-2. In 1315 he was with others transferred to the dungeons, where he was found starved to death on 21 July: Amadi, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 391; Fl. Bustron, p. 243.

it have been strange if he had put them to death by means more summary than lingering confinement and starvation in the horrible dungeons of Kerynia castle. But sending a prisoner away to die out of sight and out of mind always pricked the medieval conscience less than deliberate execution; and was less likely to excite public sympathy. Nevertheless, as we shall see, he did take summary measures when a new plot was discovered in the following June. In any case, what history has already revealed of the temper of political adversaries of those days makes it clear that anything in the nature of forgiveness would have been wasted.<sup>1</sup>

It will be remembered that, when the King returned, there were left as hostages in Armenia the Seneschal Philip d'Ibelin, Baldwin d'Ibelin and four other knights (p. 258). On 5 November 1310 the Lady of Tyre, who had been exchanged for Henry, returned to Famagusta, bringing with her her eldest son Hughet and two others, and all the hostages. Next day they rode into Nicosia amid general rejoicing. In addition to undertaking that the King should fulfil all the terms of the agreement which he had made with the Lady of Tyre, and that she and her children should suffer no harm, the Seneschal and Baldwin had promised to obtain from Henry the liberation of three more men now in prison. Two of these, Master Oliver and Master Geoffrey, judges, were released. But the third, Giles Menebeuf, had insulted Henry on the evening when he was dragged from his palace, snatching the knife from his belt; and him the King refused to set free.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of May 1311, the Seneschal and Baldwin d'Ibelin obtained the King's leave for the Lady of Tyre to return to Armenia, with all her children and household.<sup>3</sup> She had, says one chronicler, satisfied herself that she could trust to the generosity of the King. But she was deceived in her hope. Probably about 1318,<sup>4</sup> she appealed to

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, as we shall see, Henry in March 1311 released five knights who were considered less guilty than the rest.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 390; Fl. Bustron, pp. 242-3: Menebeuf and Oliver had been imprisoned at Famagusta by Aygue de Bessan on their return from Armenia, whither they had gone as messengers of the Lady of Tyre to try and prevent the return of the King (Amadi, p. 359).

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 391f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Kohler, in *Flor. Melchior de Vogüé* (1919), pp. 305, 314f., publishes a copy of a letter from John XXII to Isabel, without year, but dated 1 May. He has not noticed that his document is a copy of the letter of which Raynaldus (1318, p. 85, § 17) quotes the first sentence. Raynaldus, however, wrongly supposes it to concern a Prince of Tyre, whereas the person addressed is clearly called *filia*. Henry is called her *sororius*

Pope John XXII for protection against the vengeance of Henry. It would appear that Henry had not fulfilled, at any rate not in all respects, the agreement that he had made about the fiefs that had been held by Amaury.<sup>1</sup> The Pope, whatever he may have thought of her cause, was not inclined to interfere actively, and exhorted her to bear her misfortune with patience. He does seem, however, to have begged Henry to fulfil the pact into which he had entered while still a prisoner in Armenia. And as late as 1323 he was urging Henry to continue treating with Oshin's successor, Leo V, about the agreement which he had made with Isabel, in spite of doubts which had arisen on certain points.<sup>2</sup> Isabel's troubles came to an end only when she and two of her children, Henry and Hugh, were murdered by Oshin, Lord of Gorigigos,<sup>3</sup> who had been appointed Regent by King Oshin before his death on 20 July 1320. Two other, younger boys, her fourth and fifth, John and Bohemund, were released from the prison into which they had been thrown with their mother and brothers, and found their way to Rhodes. Her third son, Guy, who had been living since 1318 at Constantinople, was to be called to the throne of Armenia in 1342 as Constantine II.<sup>4</sup>

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—an unusual sense of the word, where *levir* would be more correct. The letter (John XXII, Ep. Secr. 1, 552, Arch. Vat. Reg. 109) is dated *Kal. Maii* without year. Raynaldus gives it under 1318, perhaps because 550 is dated in John's third year; but the arrangement in general is not chronological (information from Dr Lester C. Houck).

<sup>1</sup> Dardel (p. 23) says that Henry seized Amaury's fief and gave it to his son Hugh (thus showing that the lords of Cyprus had *faulusement* killed Amaury), and promised him the succession to the throne; but he is in complete confusion between Hugh, son of Amaury, and Henry's other nephew Hugh, son of Guy, afterwards King Hugh IV. He also says (p. 24) that Isabel, having returned to Armenia, wrote to her son Hugh and his brothers asking them to join her. Hugh took leave of Henry, who gave him permission to be absent for a year without forfeiting his fief. Hugh's agents sent the revenues to Armenia, but as he did not return within the year Henry took the fief until Hugh or one of his brothers should return.

<sup>2</sup> Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* nos. 9953 (13 Aug. 1319); 18098–9, 18104 (9 April 1323). As to such doubts, one may have arisen if Henry gave a fief to Hugh, and took it back (according to the usage of Cyprus) when Hugh died without a direct heir. See above, Ch. I, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Dardel, p. 19. John XXII, writing on 9 April 1323 (Mollat, no. 18104), had heard of their death in prison.

<sup>4</sup> See Binon in *Mélanges Boisacq*, I, p. 132. Dardel (p. 24) says that Bohemund and John appealed to the Pope for restitution of their fiefs which had been taken from them by Henry. Bohemund is known to have been in Rome in 1335; and in 1336 (16 April) Guy, Lord of Tyre, John, Constable of Armenia, and Bohemund were recommended



Five of the knights, who were judged to have offended less than the others, were set free in March 1311. They were men of small importance, had been hardly heard of before, and were not heard of again.<sup>1</sup> But in June there were rumours of a plot to liberate the other prisoners; attack the King and his chief officers, and hold the Kingdom for Hugh, the son of Amaury.<sup>2</sup> The ex-Marshal of the Temple, Ayme d'Oselier,<sup>3</sup> was to be their leader. The King and the Haute Cour showed no mercy. Four knights were induced under torture to confess, were found guilty on 18 December, taken to Kerynia and drowned in the sea.<sup>4</sup> They implicated a number of others who, though protesting their innocence, were banished from the island. Others who were already in prison at Kerynia were also banished. The Marshal of the Temple was sent to a dungeon in Kerynia castle, where he lingered for five years, until he died in 1316;<sup>5</sup> and the Constable Aimery<sup>6</sup> and the Prince of Galilee were removed on 16 January 1312 from Kerynia to the securer prison of Buffavento.

Another person who had played a part in the recent troubles, and about whose sincerity opinions differed, died on New Year's Day 1311. This was the papal nuncio, Raymond de Pins. The Italian chroniclers say that he had worked hard for the liberation of the King,<sup>7</sup> but to Aygue de Bessan and the other friends of the King he was suspect, owing to his

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by Benedict XII to the King of Cyprus, that they might have justice in the matter under discussion with him (Kohler in *Flor. Melchior de Vogüé*, p. 319). According to Dardel, Hugh IV assigned to Bohemund and John a revenue of 12,000 white besants each. Claims continued to be pressed against King Hugh; thus Guy, when King of Armenia (1342-4), claimed the fief which his father Amaury had held; Henry II had given it to his (Guy's) brother Hugh and his heirs, and by that Hugh's death it now belonged to Guy as his rightful heir (Dardel, pp. 25f.). Guy's daughter Isabel made a claim against Hugh IV as her father's heiress, and Clement IV wrote on 30 June 1347 supporting her (Kohler, *op. cit.* pp. 321-2). This daughter Isabel (also called Margaret or Mary) married Manuel Cantacuzenus, despot of Morea; we shall meet with her again.

<sup>1</sup> Amadi, p. 392; Fl. Bustron, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, pp. 392f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 244f.

<sup>3</sup> On his name, see above, p. 234, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> They were John, son of Bohemund de Brie (the Hospital had him in custody, but he may have been liberated or at least had access to the others); Balian, son of John de Brie; John Lombard the elder; and Peter de Rolant.

<sup>5</sup> Amadi, p. 398; Fl. Bustron, p. 244.

<sup>6</sup> Bustron calls him Enrico, an obvious slip, which has however deceived Schottmüller (I, p. 495).

<sup>7</sup> Amadi, p. 391; Fl. Bustron, p. 243.

protection of the Lady of Tyre. Probably the fact was merely that he was ineffectual.

The King's mind, says the chronicler in speaking of the imprisonment of his enemies, had become unbalanced; he was evidently too ready to harbour suspicions against possible conspirators. And it is possible that these suspicions may explain the imprisonment on 20 December 1318 of three ladies of high rank. They were taken to the State prison in the house of the Lord of Tyre, but were set free immediately upon the death of Henry.<sup>1</sup>

The finances of the Kingdom were found by Henry on his return to be in great disorder. The royal domain, it was said, had been practically ruined by Amaury.<sup>2</sup> Further, all kinds of disputes arose about debts incurred and contracts made under the past regime. An assize is preserved of the *remède* authorized by Henry and his liege men 'for the things that had been done in the time of the Lord of Tyre, in order that the people be not losers'.<sup>3</sup> It deals with all claims concerning debts, agreements, gifts, etc. during the term concerned, which must be duly proved in court, and not settled by judicial duels or the like.<sup>4</sup> Writing towards the end of the century, Philip de Mézières says that Henry ordered strict

<sup>1</sup> Amadi, pp. 349f., 402. Since all persons who were in prison, whether for great or for small offences, were released, the setting free of the three ladies does not necessarily mean that they were regarded as innocent. They were three daughters of Philip d'Ibelin, Constable of Cyprus (to be distinguished from Henry's uncle, the Seneschal, of the same name), and therefore sisters of Henry's enemy the Prince of Galilee: Mary, Countess of Jaffa and Ascalon and Lady of Rama, by her marriage with Guy d'Ibelin; Alice, wife of Walter de Bessan, Lady of Coleta; and Échive, Lady of St Nicolas, wife of Walter de Dampierre. (The last, according to Amadi, p. 361, and Fl. Bustron, p. 220, was in 1310 wife of Hugh the son of the Lord of Tyre.)

<sup>2</sup> Some idea of his indebtedness may be gathered from the terms of the treaty of 1329 with the Genoese (p. 287).

<sup>3</sup> *Assises*, II, pp. 368f. It is dated 'à mois de Jen de MCCCX', which must mean January 1311. The editor's note to the passage takes *Jen* for June, which as it says is impossible, since Henry was then still in Armenia, and suggests August or September 1310. On the nature of such *remèdes*, see Grandclaude, p. 18; they were declarations of principle or measures taken *ad hoc* by the lieges to resist royal absolutism.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. art. 1: 'toutes les dethes, convenances et fins...qui sont requises, seront conduies par les hommes de court com garen, et il n'i aura point tornes de bataille, ou par autre maniere selon l'usage'. St Louis's interdiction of the judicial duel was not heeded in Cyprus. In this same reign the chroniclers (Amadi, p. 396; Fl. Bustron, p. 248) relate how in 1314 a husband accused of murdering his wife underwent ordeal by battle, was defeated and confessed. Of the duel on the point of honour we shall meet with an outstanding example in the case of Peter I and Florimond de Lesparre.

economy in the households of himself and his barons, vowing, for instance, that he would use neither gold nor silver for his drinking vessels until all his debts were paid, and making many other retrenchments, 'plaisans à Dieu et au royaume prouffitables', which were all strictly observed. Thus, we are asked to believe, in a few years he restored the royal estate to an honourable position.<sup>1</sup>

Very different, however, is the story told by a contemporary witness, who was in Cyprus in 1316.<sup>2</sup> After recounting how he had to wait a whole month to obtain a reply from Henry about the payment of the remainder of the dowry of Mary de Lusignan,<sup>3</sup> he goes on to say that the Kingdom is very good and rich, if only it were inhabited by good people. But the King lives in great fear and anxiety, not knowing in whom he can trust (the man most in his counsels is the Franciscan Aimery), and when he rides out he has an escort of some fifty men with drawn swords.<sup>4</sup> And, from what his mother and all the court officials say, he is very poor, and has not yet repaid what was lent him when the Queen Mary left Cyprus for Aragon, although he has plenty of sugar and cotton. The envoy, from what he was told on the best authority, believed that there was no prince so poor as Henry 'in money and in counsel'.

It is not recorded whether any action was taken by Henry in regard to the fiefs of the Kormakiti rebels, once they had been captured and condemned. Seeing that by 'coming in arms' against their lord they had certainly forfeited their fiefs, whether their offence was to be called treason or not,<sup>5</sup> it is somewhat surprising that no legal decision to confiscate their fiefs to the crown seems to have been taken until the reign of Hugh IV.

The reason for the delay in putting the Templars in Cyprus on their trial has been found by some in a supposed tenderness on the part of

<sup>1</sup> Philip de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, in M.L., H. II, p. 116 (composed about 1389).

<sup>2</sup> Francis des Forn, envoy of James II of Aragon: M.L., H. III, pp. 703-7.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 282, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> This, however, means little. The anonymous Englishman who was in Cyprus in 1344 says of King Hugh IV that 'when the King has a mind to go forth from his palace he has a hundred swordsmen with drawn swords before him and as many lancers with lances and shields behind him': H. Luke in *Κυπρ. Χρον.* II, p. 10. And Hugh IV had no reason to fear assassination.

<sup>5</sup> See La Monte, *Feud. Mon.* pp. 276-80.

Amaury towards the Order to which he owed so much. However this may be, the trial was opened at the cathedral of Nicosia on 12 April 1310. Had Henry not still been in exile, his detractors—who are not lacking among modern writers—would have attributed the resumption of activity against the Order to his vindictiveness; and indeed they do so when it comes to the second inquisition in 1311. Henry and his friends had no reason to love the Templars, but there is no shred of evidence that he threw his weight into the scale against them.<sup>1</sup> Generally, those at the head of affairs in Cyprus and the representatives of all classes were unanimous in denying the truth of the allegations made against the members of the Order by the Pope.<sup>2</sup>

The President of the enquiry was the Bishop of Lemesos, probably Peter d'Erlant (who happened to be a supporter of Amaury); he was administrator of the see of Nicosia in the absence of the Archbishop, Gerard of Langres.<sup>3</sup> He was assisted by Baldwin, Bishop of Famagusta (who took his place when he was ill for a time), by Bartholomew, Abbot of Alet,<sup>4</sup> and by Thomas, arch-priest of Rieti. The hearing of the witnesses and the accused began on 1 May and went on until 5 June, when it was interrupted by the crisis caused by the murder of Amaury. From 1 to 5 May, twenty-one persons, not Templars, were examined—among them Philip d'Ibelin the Seneschal, his nephew Baldwin, and Aygue de Bessan. These witnesses, who might have been expected to be hostile, were scrupulously fair; when they knew nothing, or knew anything merely from hearsay, they said so. Aygue de Bessan said that he knew nothing but good of the accused. The impression made by the evidence is so strong that the favourable result of the trial cannot be explained by the fact that the President had been on the same side as the Templars in the struggle between Henry and Amaury. It was clear from what more than one witness said that the charges brought against the accused were largely slanders provoked by the papal letters. One of the witnesses admitted that he only began to suspect the Templars

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<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that he prevented the closing of their chapel (p. 235), perhaps not merely because masses for the soul of his great-uncle were said there.

<sup>2</sup> On the sources for what took place in Cyprus, see above, p. 233, n. 1. Especially important is the text of the *Processus Cyprius* published by K. Schottmüller, II, pp. 143-400.

<sup>3</sup> D.L.R., in *Rev. qu. hist.* XLVIII (1890), p. 48, is therefore wrong in supposing the Archbishop to have been present.

<sup>4</sup> Not Elne as Schottmüller supposes.

of heresy after the arrival of the letters. From 5 to 31 May seventy-six Templars present in Cyprus<sup>1</sup> were examined; and from 1 to 5 June thirty-five witnesses of all sorts and classes. The result of the trial was a complete exculpation of the accused from the charges, many of which were only possible to be conceived by an obscene imagination. If heretical tendencies showed themselves, it was only in individual cases, not in the Order as a whole, and not countenanced by those who were at its head. We have often had occasion to blame the Templars for their action in Syria and for their behaviour towards the Kings, and in the usurpation of Amaury they played a sorry part. But they were probably not degenerate, like so many of their Brethren in the West; the constant necessity of fighting the infidel was a salutary moral tonic.<sup>2</sup>

The result of this trial did not please Clement, entirely subject as he was to the dictation of King Philip of France. A new trial was ordered in 1311, under the Bishops of Lemesos and Famagusta, Bartholomew, Abbot of Alet, Thomas, arch-priest of St John at Rieti, and Ponce, son of Ademar, cantor of St Bertrand de Comminges, with the Pope's scriptor Dominic of Palestrina attached to them, to see, it may be supposed, that they produced a satisfactory verdict. If the inquisitors were delayed, Dominic was to act with the Prior of the Dominicans and the Guardian of the Franciscans. They were to put the accused to torture, and send the reports of their inquisition to the Pope.<sup>3</sup> Peter de Plaine-Cassagne, Bishop of Rodez, Legate in the East, was instructed

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<sup>1</sup> According to Amadi, the Marshal and others, in making their submission, had sworn on behalf of all the other Brethren who were in Cyprus: 83 knights, 35 sergeants (p. 286; cp. Fl. Bustron, p. 167: 118 knights). The 76 examined were 47 knights, 3 clerics and 26 sergeants. The rubrics of the depositions of 75 Hospitallers and 35 other witnesses examined in Cyprus are given in Benedict XII, *Lettres comm.*, ed. Vidal, no. 2503 c (temp. Clem. V).

<sup>2</sup> D.L.R., in *Rev. qu. hist.*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> See *Reg. Clem. V* for 13 Aug. 1311: nos. 7595, 7596, 7599 (salary of four gold florins a day to Dominic out of Templar funds), 7603-5, 7612 (Peter, Bishop of Rodez, papal Legate, informed of the instructions to Dominic). No. 7885, of 2 May 1312 (Pauli, *Cod. diplom.* II, no. 22, pp. 23-6), gives the property of the Templars to the Hospital; no. 7886, of the same date (Pauli, II, no. 23, pp. 26-30), is the executorial letter of the same grant, addressed to the archdeacon and cantor of Nicosia and the treasurer of Paphos. These letters are similar to those circulated throughout all countries where the Templars were established. The proper person in Cyprus to receive them would have been the Archbishop of Nicosia; but Gerard of Langres had not been in Cyprus for years, and died before 10 May 1312 (*Reg. Clem. V*, no. 8013), on which date Clement nominated his successor.

to go to Cyprus and, acting with one or more of the inquisitors, or if necessary by himself, to proceed against (in other words, to secure the conviction of) the Templars.<sup>1</sup>

We have not the report of this inquisition, but the result was that in 1313 the Legate Peter brought letters from Clement V, which he read before the assembled bishops and representatives of all the religious Orders on 7 November 1313.<sup>2</sup> The Pope's decree was that the Templars should be stripped of mantle and emblem, and their property given to the Hospital of St John. These orders were immediately executed. And this was the end of the Order of the Temple.

What punishment was actually inflicted on the persons of the convicted Templars is very imperfectly recorded.<sup>3</sup> The description of their treatment as being thrown into prison, put to the torture, convicted of rebellion and treason, and drowned or burnt, without any judicial trial,<sup>4</sup> is, to say the least, misleading. There seems to be a confusion with the punishment of the knights who were charged with plotting against Henry in June 1311 (p. 268).<sup>5</sup> The Marshal was neither drowned nor burnt; the four knights whose names are mentioned are not known to have been Templars. All that the Cyprus chronicles say is that the Marshal died in the dungeon of Kerynia in 1316, and that many of the Templars died in the same place.<sup>6</sup> Is it likely that, if any of them had perished in an exceptional way, the chroniclers, with their taste for horrors, would have been silent about their fate?

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Clem. V*, no. 7612 (25 Aug. 1311). Schottmüller (I, p. 494), misled, I suppose, by the *Rhodi* of Amadi and Bustron, and by the fact that Peter was at the time in Rhodes, calls him Bishop of Rhodes. For a full biography of Peter, see Golubovich, III (1919), pp. 125-53. The writer appears to be prejudiced in favour of the Legate. See above, Ch. IV, p. 252, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 395; Fl. Bustron, p. 170. Golubovich, however (III, p. 145), says that the letter was communicated to the Synod convoked by the Legate on 15 June (Mansi, *Conc.* xxvi, cols. 356-62). There is of course no mention of the Templars in the Constitution issued at that Synod, and, if Amadi and Bustron are wrong, whence did they get the wrong date?

<sup>3</sup> The Preceptor of Cyprus, James de Donmarin, was one of those of whom, with the Grand Master, Clement, by the bull *Considerantes dudum* of 6 May 1312, reserved the trial for himself (*Reg. Clem. V*, no. 8784; D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 31). However, he had already been examined at Nicosia on 19 May 1310 (Schottmüller, II, p. 325).

<sup>4</sup> D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Schottmüller definitely charges Henry with taking revenge on the Templars by accusing them of this conspiracy. All we know is that the Marshal was implicated.

<sup>6</sup> Amadi, p. 398; Fl. Bustron, p. 244.

As regards the property of the Templars in Cyprus, the Pope, on 16 May 1312,<sup>1</sup> informed the persons who had been appointed as administrators and conservators that after deducting expenses they were to hand it all over to the Hospital, and to resign their functions in favour of a new commission. In Cyprus the archdeacon and cantor of Nicosia and the treasurer of Paphos were given full judicial powers to attend to the transfer of such property, removing all persons who had wrongfully entered upon or were detaining it, whatever their station. Excommunication and interdict were the penalty on any who placed obstacles in their way.

It cannot be said that the representatives of the Hospital at this time were worthy of the great good fortune that had befallen their Order. On hearing of it, Foulques de Villaret, who had not fulfilled the brilliant promise of the early days of his Grand Mastership, but had become extravagant and neglectful of his duties, invested the Grand Commander, Albert of Schwarzburg, and seven others with the necessary powers to travel to the various countries and take over the estates (17 October 1312).<sup>2</sup> Albert, like the Grand Master, was a brilliant knight without much taste for the laborious task involved, and soon gave it up, and returned to Rhodes. The Grand Master created a scandal by allowing him to have the Grand Commandery of Cyprus for half its value—30,000 instead of the usual 60,000 besants a year. It appears that he was deprived of his office of Grand Preceptor, possibly because of a refusal to accept the restoration of the rent to the old figure, which was ordered by the Pope on 4 October 1317.<sup>3</sup> But he recovered his reputation by some successes against the infidel in 1318, and on 1 March 1319 he was restored to office by John XXII. He was also to have the island of Cos (Lango) if he could recapture it from the Turks.<sup>4</sup> This time the Grand Commandery of Cyprus, 'for the reconciliation of the Brethren and

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Clem. V*, no. 7952. Fl. Bustron, pp. 170f., and again pp. 246f. (cp. M.L., *H.* II, pp. 109–10) gives a list of the buildings and estates transferred, of which the most important were: the church of the Temple and the house attached to it in Nicosia; the castle of Gastria; the church and house of St Antony at Famagusta; the castle and estate of Kolossi; Yermasoyia and its fortress; Khirokitia with its fortified house. The estates of Phinika and Anoyira in the Paphos district, and of Templos near Kerynia, may also be mentioned; on these see especially M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* p. 562 n.

<sup>2</sup> Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* II, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Bosio, II (i), ed. of 1594, p. 25; Hackett, pp. 639–40; D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 24. If he refused, it was to be offered to another knight for 60,000 besants or even more.

<sup>4</sup> Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* nos. 9022, 9025, 9026.

the reform of the Order', was divided in half; one half, at a rent of 30,000 besants, went to him, the other, at the same rent, to Maurice de Pagnac, Commander of Armenia.<sup>1</sup> This arrangement was to last for ten years.

In spite of the enormous accession to its resources, the finances of the Hospital remained for some time in an unsatisfactory state. Not only was it mismanaged at the centre by the Grand Master, but it had difficulty in collecting the fruits even of estates of which its ownership was not contested. In 1317 it was suffering in Rhodes from a great dearth of provisions, and Henry II had to be approached by the Pope with the request not to obstruct the export from Cyprus of its revenues and the produce of its estates.<sup>2</sup> We have already seen that the titular of the Grand Commandery was holding it for a rent of half the proper amount, and that on 4 October 1317 the Pope ordered the Vicar-General to restore the old rent of 60,000 besants. Estates and other property of the Hospital, the revenue from which ought to have been devoted to the purposes of the Holy Land, had been granted out, against the papal prohibition, to persons both clerical and lay; and in 1318 the Pope ordered the Archbishop of Nicosia and the Bishops of Famagusta and Lemesos to recover them for the Hospital.<sup>3</sup> It must be admitted, however, that Preceptors sometimes, for very good reasons, found it difficult to fulfil their obligations. In 1324 the papal nuncio, who was collecting the triennial tithe in Cyprus, was told not to press Maurice de Pagnac for what was due from him on his share of the Grand Commandery; for he was also Preceptor of Armenia, and that land having been devastated by the Saracens he drew nothing or little from it, although he had to keep up a force for its defence.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mollat, nos. 9022-3. D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 24, n. 5, says that Albert received the estates of Kolossi, Trakhoni, Phasouri, the house of Moneho, an old possession of the Hospital, and all the property in the town and diocese of Paphos. Maurice had the rest of the Hospital's estates in the island. Trakhoni must be the place about two miles south-east of Kolossi, rather than the other Trakhoni near Kythrea. Phasouri may be Phasoula, north of Limassol (M.L., *H.* II, p. 110, n. 3). Kolossi, Trakhoni and Phasouri are all three mentioned in the list of Temple estates which had been given to the Hospital. As to Moneho, it is presumably the place near Kiti (cp. M.L., *H.* III, p. 221, and p. 321, n. 2). Both Albert and Maurice seem to have tried to cancel the leases to the concessionaires of these properties and get better terms, but the Pope put a stop to this (22 May 1320; Mollat, no. 11494; D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 24, n. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Mollat, no. 4889 (2nd year of John XXII; cp. no. 5685, 1 Oct. 1317). Raynaldus, 1317, p. 64, § 35.

<sup>3</sup> 30 June 1318. Mollat, no. 7606.

<sup>4</sup> 25 Oct. 1324. Mollat, no. 20907.



Henry's experiences in Armenia made it difficult for him to resume friendly relations with its King. Oshin, however, was anxious for a reconciliation, and made proposals for an agreement, which he asked the Pope to confirm. Clement wrote on 18 August 1311<sup>1</sup> postponing confirmation until the special envoys from Cyprus should also have arrived. He clearly recognized that it was essential that these two bulwarks against Islam should be united. Cyprus was less exposed, owing to the weakness of the Moslems on the sea, than Armenia.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, little progress was made. Clement died, and his successor, John XXII, continued his efforts, writing in 1318<sup>3</sup> to Oshin that he was sending a Legate to reconcile him to Henry. Something seemed at last to have been achieved when a truce including Cyprus, Genoa and Armenia was imposed by the Pope in 1319; but there was difficulty in securing its observation. Peter de Genolhac, canon of Nicosia and collector of the revenues of vacant benefices overseas, and Maurice de Pagnac, Preceptor of the Hospital in Cyprus and Armenia, were both instructed by the Pope to exhort Henry and Oshin to keep the truce and come to terms on the engagements into which Henry had entered about the payment of Amaury's debts.<sup>4</sup> To say that there was actual war between the two countries is perhaps an exaggeration; yet the words

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<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, 1311, p. 545, § 77; *Reg. Clem. V*, no. 7214. The Pope encouraged marriages between Armenians and Cypriotes. On 22 June 1311 he gave a dispensation for Oshin, son of Hayton, Lord of Gorchigos, and Margaret of Cyprus his wife (*ibid.* no. 7199). On the same day he gave King Oshin a dispensation for twelve couples, men of Cyprus and maids or widows of Armenia, but children or grandchildren of the Lord of Tyre were excepted (*ibid.* no. 7202).

<sup>2</sup> Just as after the fall of Acre refugees from Syria flooded into Cyprus, so that Martoni could say, a hundred years later, that the population of Famagusta consisted mainly of people from Acre (Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 24), so it was after Saracen raids on Armenia. Armenian clerks are mentioned in 1317 as living in the church of St Leonard at Famagusta (Mollat, no. 5647, 27 Sept. 1317). Order was given for the support, out of the funds of the church of Famagusta devoted to poor relief, of the poor Armenians living in the church of S.M. Viridis (*ibid.* nos. 6022-3, 13 Dec. 1317; 6958-9, 13 April 1318). The cathedral, owing to the increase of the population, became too small, and an indulgence was granted to those who contributed to the building (*ibid.* no. 8686, 24 Nov. 1318), which had been begun about 1300 (see p. 1124). In 1335 the pilgrim James of Verona saw the arrival at Famagusta of over 1500 fugitives from a Moslem invasion of Armenia (Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 17).

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, 1318, p. 85, § 17.

<sup>4</sup> Mollat, nos. 9953 (13 Aug. 1319); 12389 (22 Sept. 1320).

were used when John XXII pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the conditions prevented an Armenian nominee to a benefice in Famagusta from presenting his papers in due time. However, there was a definite result in 1322, when the Pope, after appealing to Charles IV and generally to Christendom to go to the assistance of both Kingdoms against Islam,<sup>2</sup> promised absolution to all Cypriotes who would go to the rescue of Armenia.<sup>3</sup> In April of this year the Saracens had raided that land. The population took refuge in the fortresses; but on the 15th Lajazzo was taken, the fort on the land side being destroyed, and the sea fort badly damaged.<sup>4</sup> The Armenians took to their ships and abandoned the place on 23 April. As soon as the news reached Cyprus, Henry sent out Hugh Beduin with three or four galleys and three foists. These took off such of the men, women and children as they could and carried them to Cyprus; returning with provisions they again relieved the Armenians who were still holding out on rocks and in ships, and carried to Cyprus a second load of refugees. For some time the fleet lay off Lajazzo fighting the enemy and rescuing Armenians. Such of the latter as could bear arms were enrolled by Henry in the Cypriote army.<sup>5</sup> Thus, says the chronicler, did Henry repay the ill-treatment he had suffered from the King of Armenia.

This expedition, however, only provoked the Sultan to violent threats against Henry, who sent piteous appeals to the West begging for help.<sup>6</sup> The Pope gave Henry permission to levy a tithe for the purposes of the war from the clergy of Cyprus for the next six years.<sup>7</sup> Charles IV was evidently much impressed by the threats, and proposed to despatch a force in May 1323. The advice of Henry's envoys, however, was that that was a bad time, owing to the heat; the horses would

<sup>1</sup> Mollat, no. 13975 (18 Aug. 1321).

<sup>2</sup> To Charles IV, 22 June 1322; Raynaldus, 1322, p. 193, § 30; Coulon, *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes*, II, no. 1431. *Universis Christi fidelibus*, Raynaldus, pp. 194f., §§ 33-9.

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, 1322, p. 198, § 40.

<sup>4</sup> Raynaldus, 1322, p. 193, § 30; Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 465-6.

<sup>5</sup> Amadi, pp. 400f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 250f.

<sup>6</sup> Coulon, *Jean XXII, Lettres secrètes*, nos. 1562 (5 Dec. 1322); 1571-2 (20 Dec. 1322); 1683 (7 Feb. 1323); 1685 (17 Feb.); 1687 (Charles IV writing on 24 (?) April to the Pope says that he has already written to Henry promising aid, and it would be awkward to withdraw now).

<sup>7</sup> Raynaldus, 1323, pp. 223f., §§ 12, 13 (9 April). He thanks Henry for his help; and, since disputes have arisen about certain clauses in the treaty between the two Kingdoms, he recommends a new treaty.

die on the way, or if they reached Cyprus there would be no fodder for them at that season.<sup>1</sup> The expedition did not start.

Henry or his advisers had clear views about the proper method of carrying on war against the Saracens, and took an early opportunity to state them. The memorandum presented to Clement V by the King's envoys<sup>2</sup> is a well-reasoned argument, but it had no effect at the time, although the policy it advised was followed by Peter I. It recommends Cyprus rather than Armenia as a base, Egypt rather than Armenia or Syria as the objective. It also expresses deep distrust of the Italian trading communities, and insists on the necessity of Cyprus having a fleet of its own.

The piratical adventures of the Genoese continued after Henry's return to cause the same trouble as in his earlier years. An instance is the treacherous attack on Paphos on 2 July 1312<sup>3</sup> by three galleys under Emmanuel Marabotto, who pretended to the captains of the place, Philip de Borgne and John de Chivides, that he had been sent by the Commune of Genoa to speak with the King. Being believed and allowed to land, Marabotto and all his men went out next night to Yeroskipou, from which they proceeded to sack the whole district for four days. The responsible officers, taken completely by surprise, abandoned their post. Only when Marabotto had finished lading his galleys with booty and set sail for Lajazzo, the forces that should have opposed him—knights, turcoples and Hospitallers—collected at Paphos. Later, a force which the King, on hearing of the raid, sent out from Nicosia under Aygue de Bessan heard on the way that Marabotto had gone, and turned back. Equally ineffective was the attempt of John le Tor<sup>4</sup> to overtake the raider. Reaching Lajazzo he found Marabotto safely in port. His orders were not to force an entry, and his demand that the captain of Lajazzo should not harbour the raiders was rejected, on the ground that they were peaceful merchantmen. Le Tor returned to

<sup>1</sup> Coulon, no. 1690 (April 1323 or earlier).

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 118–25 (under date 1311–12); analysed by Atiya, pp. 58–60. Two other projects, by William de Nogaret, Chancellor of Philip the Fair, and Benedict Zaccaria, his Admiral General, also of about 1311–12, are summarized by M.L., *H.* II, pp. 128–9. But the latter, as Delaville le Roulx points out (*F.O.*, I, p. 60, n. 1) refers not to a Crusade but to an invasion of England.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 393; Fl. Bustron, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> Amadi, p. 394; Fl. Bustron, p. 246. He had 7 galleys, 2 foists and 2 (Bustron says 7) *schirazzi*. The *schirazzo* was usually a Turkish square-sailed merchant-ship, but was also used in Venice in the 16th century. See *Diz. di Marina* of the Ital. Academy.

Cyprus, for he had nowhere to take shelter in case of bad weather. Reprisals of other kinds were taken; thus all Genoese at Famagusta were ordered to yield up their arms and come to Nicosia, but they were soon afterwards allowed to go about their business. The Genoese continued all this time to trade with Cyprus. Thus on 25 May 1313, at Rhodes, the Grand Master, Foulques de Villaret, imprisoned some Genoese merchants who were on their way from Cyprus to Genoa.<sup>1</sup> Yet in Famagusta, in May 1316, a Catalan envoy, anxious to return to Barcelona, mentions the difficulty of getting a ship, since the Genoese are not coming to the island, and there is no ship going to the West.<sup>2</sup> On 5 June of the same year another Genoese pirate made a raid with eleven galleys, burning and laying waste the coast district of Paphos. On hearing this, the King suddenly laid hands on the Genoese in Nicosia, seized their property and imprisoned them all, some four hundred and sixty men, women and children, in the State prison (the house of the Lord of Tyre). There they remained in great straits until 6 September 1320.<sup>3</sup> He also sent Robert de Montgésart with three or four galleys and a foist to sail round the coast and look out for pirates; the result was the capture of a large carrack; the crew were taken prisoners and the ship burnt.<sup>4</sup>

The Popes throughout these years ingeminated peace, and did their best to heal the feud between Genoa and Cyprus. In 1313<sup>5</sup> Clement V begged the Emperor Henry VII to use his influence with the Genoese, and exhorted the Republic directly to the same effect. The Genoese grievance, as he tells us,<sup>6</sup> had been that, when they demanded vengeance for their nationals who had been killed in a riot at Famagusta in Amaury's time, Amaury had not punished the Famagustans, because he considered that the Genoese had provoked the riot. To the Genoese envoys who came to Henry after his restoration, the King pointed out that Genoa should punish its own people who were guilty, and he would attend to his own subjects. The envoys replied

<sup>1</sup> Amadi, p. 395; D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Francis des Forn, M.L., *H.* III, p. 706.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, pp. 398, 400; Fl. Bustron, p. 250 (the latter dates this in 1318).

<sup>4</sup> Amadi, p. 399; Fl. Bustron, p. 250. Amadi says Montgésart was out after the Saracens, and encountered this *gogua*, and believing it to be an infidel, etc. There is no mention of Genoese, but it seems to have been the ship for which Hugh IV agreed to pay compensation in 1329 (below, p. 287).

<sup>5</sup> Raynaldus, 1313, p. 3, § 10; *Reg. Clem. V*, no. 9257 (28 April 1313).

<sup>6</sup> *Reg. Clem. V*, no. 9256 (28 April 1313).

that they had come to obtain justice, and not to condemn their own people. Henry did not proceed with the enquiry, and Genoa withdrew its nationals from Cyprus, and proclaimed that anyone who inflicted injury on Cypriotes might do so with impunity, so far as Genoa was concerned. The raid on Paphos, already described, followed. Genoa prepared a fleet, and it was this action that called forth the Pope's appeals to the Emperor and the Republic. So far as we know they were effective for a time. But the trouble was revived a few years later. Here again the Pope (John XXII) intervened with success,<sup>1</sup> and was able to inform both Robert of Sicily and King Henry himself that on 1 March 1318 Genoa had come to the decision not to send a force to attack Cyprus. Henry himself was urged to abstain from any offensive action against the Genoese.<sup>2</sup>

In 1320 more progress was made.<sup>3</sup> Henry seems to have sent envoys with proposals for a submission to arbitration. At the end of July 1319 they were sent back; the Pope found that the proposals required long study from a legal point of view; he was too busy to attend to the matter himself, but had referred it to certain wise counsellors, and was sending back a draft of proposals made by representatives of both sides. He gave his approval to the conditions proposed, namely that all grievances should be forgotten, prisoners released,<sup>4</sup> captured property restored. Legal questions were to be discussed between experts to be sent from both sides. If this failed, the Holy See would decide. Finally, Henry was told to abstain from further offences against the Genoese Commune or individuals, and a truce for one year was ordered. The penalty for breaking it was excommunication.<sup>5</sup> The Archbishop was instructed, with the Bishop of Famagusta, to publish the truce and see that it was observed. But negotiations lingered on. On 21 May 1320 the Pope was still writing to Henry to persuade him to receive the Genoese ambassadors kindly, and to abandon his obstinate attitude and

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<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, 1317, p. 64, § 65. The Pope mentioned the fact that Henry was keeping a number of Genoese in prison (see above, p. 279).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Raynaldus, 1318, p. 85, § 17.

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, 1319, p. 115, § 10; Reinhard, 1, p. 232 and Beyl. no. 36; Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* 31 July 1319, nos. 9853, 9857-9; 13 Aug. 1319, no. 9953; 21 May 1320, nos. 11484-6; 22 Sept. 1320, no. 12389.

<sup>4</sup> It is to be observed that on 6 Sept. 1320 the King released the Genoese whom he had imprisoned in June 1316 (above, p. 279).

<sup>5</sup> Mollat, no. 9857 (31 July 1319).

make peace with the Republic, under pain of excommunication and interdict if he broke the truce. This truce, it would seem, included Armenia as well as the two other Powers, for the Pope wrote at the same time to Oshin, and Peter de Genolhac and Maurice de Pagnac, as already stated (p. 276), were instructed to urge on the Armenian King to keep the truce, and were given the same powers to excommunicate and interdict, and to dissolve all combinations liable to foment discord. The desired result seems to have been partly attained, for we hear no more of friction with the Genoese during this reign, and indeed the Pope in 1320<sup>1</sup> induced the Republic to accept an agreement dealing with matters of contraband and piracy. A draft has actually been preserved which may represent one of the preliminaries to this agreement.<sup>2</sup> But much remained to be settled, for as late as 1323<sup>3</sup> John once more asks the Patriarch of Jerusalem to induce Henry and Genoa to come to terms. In the next reign, as we shall see, a definite agreement was reached on the subject of Genoese privileges, the payment of debts owing by Amaury and Henry, and the damages incurred by merchants at the hands of both parties.

Relations between Cyprus and the other trading communities were less unpleasant than those just described. Soon after the King's return, an envoy came from Venice to obtain confirmation of the pact which had been made by Vitale Michiel with Amaury.<sup>4</sup> The Pisans continued to enjoy the privileges which had been granted in 1291.<sup>5</sup> Other less fortunate traders, such as the Florentines, attempted to pass themselves off as Pisans. The Florentines were treated by the Pisans, says a contemporary, as if they were Jews or slaves, and it was not until the beginning of the next reign that they obtained the same privileges.<sup>6</sup>

A new element in the relations between Cyprus and the West shows itself after the restoration of Henry, in the correspondence between his court and that of Aragon.<sup>7</sup> The letters which have so far been published—except one from a Catalan envoy in 1316, to which reference has

<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, 1320, p. 148, § 47; cp. 1328, p. 411, § 86 (Nicolino Fieschi, Genoese ambassador to Henry); M.L., *H.* II, p. 151, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Or. lat.* II (Documents), pp. 173-4.

<sup>3</sup> Mollat, no. 18102 (9 April 1323).

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* II, 134 (III).

<sup>5</sup> Pisan merchants in Cyprus, 1310 and 1320: M.L., *H.* II, p. 96.

<sup>6</sup> Müller, *Documenti*, p. 471. See below, p. 290.

<sup>7</sup> Letters not precisely dated but belonging to the period 1313-24, and mostly addressed from persons in high places in Cyprus to King James II of Aragon, have been published from the Barcelona archives by M.L., *H.* III, pp. 693-707.

already been made, and will be made again—give us singularly little but allusions which can seldom be precisely interpreted. The increased communication between the two courts was chiefly due to the marriage of Henry's sister Mary to James II of Aragon. Envoys dealing with this matter passed between the two Kings in 1313 and 1314.<sup>1</sup> On 15 June 1315 the marriage by proxy was celebrated at Nicosia by the Legate Peter de Plaine-Cassagne.<sup>2</sup> Sir Peter le Jaune accompanied the lady to her husband.<sup>3</sup> Her dowry was only partly paid at the time, terms being fixed for the payment of two more instalments.<sup>4</sup>

Another link with Spain, though less direct, was forged in the same year 1315. The Infante Ferdinand of Majorca, cousin of King Frederick of Sicily, and one time commander of the terrible Catalan Company in Greece, had quite recently lost his wife Isabel de Villehardouin, through whom he claimed the principality of Achaia. He approached the King of Cyprus with a view to a marriage alliance, and on 5 October Henry's cousin Isabel, daughter of the Seneschal Philip d'Ibelin, was betrothed to him; but they were not married until 7 June following (1316),<sup>5</sup> and Ferdinand fell in battle on 5 July.

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<sup>1</sup> They are mentioned in the letters of Henry's confessor, the Franciscan Fr. Rudolph, and of the Seneschal Philip d'Ibelin; and Amadi (p. 395) reports the departure in Feb. 1313 (N.S. 1314) of Henry's envoys, Fr. John of Laodicea, Bishop of Lemesos (a former prior of the Hospitallers), Hugh Beduin and two Franciscans. One of the latter was Aimery, Henry's confidential adviser, afterwards Bishop of Paphos. Cp. Wadding, *Ann. Minor.* ann. 1314 (Quaracchi, vi, p. 252); Hackett, pp. 571, 566; biography of Aimery in Golubovich, iii, pp. 225-31. The last fixes the arrival of the Cypriote envoys at Valencia in April, from Zurita's chronicle of the house of Aragon; but he takes the year to be 1313, whereas Amadi begins the year on 1 March (M.L., *H.* ii, p. xxiv).

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Martin de Ros, Castellan of Emposta, to King James, 8 Nov. 1315 (M.L. *H.* iii, p. 702); Amadi, p. 397; Fl. Bustron, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> She put in at Palermo on the way, and rested there for two days. *Chron. anon. Sic.* in Muratori, *R.I.S.* x, col. 882. Peter le Jaune wrote on his return to Nicosia, 24 May 1316 (M.L., *H.* iii, p. 703).

<sup>4</sup> The amount outstanding was 150,000 besants. The envoy Francis des Forn was sent in 1316 to ask that it should be paid all at once, and on the earlier of the two dates fixed, and, if possible, even sooner. Henry was surely not altogether to blame for making difficulties about such a request. Writing on 29 May 1316 the envoy states that after waiting a month he has extracted a letter from Henry on the subject, and has hopes that the payment will be made, though not before the agreed term. M.L., *H.* iii, pp. 706f.

<sup>5</sup> Buchon, Du Cange's *Hist. des emp. français de C.P.* (1826), ii, pp. 180, 371; M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, pp. 56-64; Amadi, p. 397; Fl. Bustron, p. 249. Both the

Finally, Henry himself was married to Constance of Aragon, daughter of Frederick II, King of Sicily. She left Sicily early in September 1317,<sup>1</sup> arriving on 4 October, and the marriage and coronation followed at Nicosia on the 16th.<sup>2</sup> The marriage, it would appear, was never consummated.<sup>3</sup> Constance survived her husband, and, as we shall see, there came to be much negotiation about her remarriage.

It was doubtless to cement further the already strong connexion between the house of Ibelin and the royal family that Henry in 1318 married his nephew Hugh, who was to succeed him on the throne, to Alice, only daughter of Guy II d'Ibelin.<sup>4</sup>

On 30 March 1324 the King, accompanied by the Archbishop John, Baldwin, Bishop of Famagusta, and Aimery, Bishop of Paphos, went out to Strovilo to fly his falcon. Shortly before dawn next day he was found dead in his bed.<sup>5</sup> He had reigned unhappily for nearly thirty-nine years.<sup>6</sup> His body lay in state in the church of the Temple,

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latter speak as if Ferdinand's conquest of Clarenza (which was really in the summer of 1315) took place between the betrothal and the marriage. It would appear that the first instalment of the dowry was paid at the time, for a messenger from Ferdinand arrived in Cyprus in March 1316 to obtain the balance (M.L., *H.* III, p. 705). Isabel's father, the Seneschal Philip, who had supported his nephew Henry so faithfully through all his trials, died on 25 Nov. 1318 (Amadi, p. 399).

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. anon. Sic.* in Muratori, *R.I.S.* x, col. 864.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, pp. 398f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 249. A series of the customary dispensations (for the marriage itself, for permission to the King and Queen to choose their own confessor, for immunity from excommunication and interdict without special mandate from the Holy See, for leave to the King and Queen, the Queen-mother Isabel, and the King's sister Héloïse to have mass celebrated in places subject to interdict) followed next year, on 18 June 1318 (Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* nos. 7534-40). The prohibition against any conservator or delegate deputed by the Apostolic See excommunicating or interdicting Henry or Constance was renewed for three years on 7 May 1323 (*ibid.* no. 17266).

<sup>3</sup> There is little doubt that Henry was impotent; see the assertion of James II in a letter of 1326 (M.L., *H.* III, p. 718).

<sup>4</sup> Guy had died in 1309 (Amadi, p. 293) and his widow Isabel in 1315 (Amadi, p. 397). He is described by Amadi (p. 399) and Fl. Bustron (p. 249) as *signor del castello di Nicosia*. Hugh's first wife Mary d'Ibelin died soon after their marriage (M.L., *Gén.* p. 14). The dispensation for his second marriage was given by John XXII on 18 June 1318 (Mollat, *Jean XXII, Lettres comm.* no. 7534).

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 63; Amadi, p. 401; Fl. Bustron, p. 251.

<sup>6</sup> Amadi (p. 403) and the Paris MS. of Fl. Bustron (p. 252) give the exact figures 38 years, 9 months and 7 days. All the other writers are more or less out (Machaeras, *loc. cit.*; Strambaldi, p. 26; Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 56 and *Descr.* f. 143 b).



but was buried in that of St Francis, 'because his confessor was a Franciscan'.<sup>1</sup>

Henry II has been harshly judged by the majority of modern writers; the local historians have been favourable to his memory—Lusignan speaks of his good and holy life, and even calls him 'il Re Santo'.<sup>2</sup> But there is no doubt that his reputation suffered badly at the hands of contemporaries in the West. In a notorious passage Dante<sup>3</sup> speaks of Nicosia and Famagusta lamenting and crying out because of their beast, who is *no* better than the others. The commentators enlarge on this, asserting that the King of Cyprus and his people surpass all other kings and peoples of Christendom in superfluity of luxury, gluttony, softness and all manner of pleasures. Oshin's envoys had done their work well, and Dante, after his experience at the hands of Charles de Valois, was unlikely to be favourably inclined to a French dynasty. But although he is a great poet, he must not be taken uncritically as a good witness, and it does not appear that he had anything but second-hand information to justify his abusive words.

It is difficult, after a fair consideration of the evidence which has been set forth in the preceding pages, to withhold our admiration from the unfortunate ruler who sustained over a long period of years, with a tenacity which would have been remarkable even in one who was not the victim of physical infirmity, the sufferings which he endured at the hands of his enemies. For any of the vices laid to his charge, except harshness towards those who had injured him when they at last came into his power (and in that he belonged to his time), there is no sort of direct evidence. It is possible, and need not surprise us, that his experiences as an exile caused some deterioration in his character as well as in his health, although he may have recovered from the epilepsy to which he had been subject in his earlier days.

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<sup>1</sup> So Lusignan, *Descr. loc. cit.* This writer's other remarks, that Henry was never married (he avoids the mistake in the *Chorografia*) and that his end was 'tres-devote & tres-sainte', are careless. Machaeras, 63, and Strambaldi, p. 27, are alone in saying that Henry was buried in the Dominican church. Loredano (Giblet, I, p. 321) and Jauna (II, p. 801) have the inevitable story of suspected poisoning.

<sup>2</sup> *Chor. f.* 55b. Loredano's superlatives are in keeping with his general style; but he remarks justly on the dignity and firmness with which Henry supported his imprisonment and exile.

<sup>3</sup> *Paradiso*, XIX, 145-8. See Dawkins on Machaeras, 63, n. 5, and the commentators quoted by Scartazzini, *ad loc.*

The Queen-mother, who had lived through the tragic quarrel between her sons, soon followed Henry to the grave. She was buried at his feet in the Franciscan church.<sup>1</sup>

### HUGH IV (1324-1359)

The news of Henry's death was immediately reported to Hugh Beduin, who was present at Strovilo, and to the Constable Hugh, the King's nephew, and the vassals and lieges, who assembled in the palace at Nicosia in the morning. Pending the decision as to the rightful heir, an oath was taken to the Constable as guardian of the realm. The prisons were opened and prisoners of all degrees of guilt, including the three ladies who had been imprisoned in 1318, were released. The oath of the burgesses of Nicosia was taken at the church of St George by John de Montolif.<sup>2</sup> After the funeral, at a general assembly of the Haute Cour, with the representatives of the Church and the Orders, Hugh the Constable, son of Henry's brother Guy and Échive d'Ibelin, demanded and received recognition as the rightful heir, and homage was done to him.<sup>3</sup> There was no hint of opposition; Amaury's children had forfeited any claim to the succession by their father's rebellion. Hugh IV was crowned for Cyprus with his wife Alice d'Ibelin in the cathedral of Nicosia on 15 April 1324; on 13 May they went to Famagusta and received there the crown of Jerusalem, since the loss of Syria prevented coronation at Tyre. This custom of crowning for Jerusalem at Famagusta continued until the accession of James I, by which time the loss of that city to the Genoese made it also impossible.<sup>4</sup>

To convey congratulations to the new King, a Venetian embassy was sent to Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> The ambassador Peter Zeno took the opportunity of raising various questions relating to the position of Venetians in Cyprus, and the King's answer was registered at Venice in August.<sup>6</sup> Hugh observed that the Venetians were asking for a great deal in comparison with what they offered. At present he was too recently

<sup>1</sup> Amadi, p. 403 (2 June); Fl. Bustron, p. 253 (12 June).

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, pp. 401f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 251f.

<sup>3</sup> *Rec. Cr. Lois*, II, pp. 420-2. The ceremony of his investiture, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 64; Amadi, pp. 402f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 253; Lusignan, *Descr. ff.* 143b, 144.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 134 (VIII). 1324-5, without precise date.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 137-40; *Diplom. Ven.-Lev.* pp. 197-9.

established on the throne, and too little acquainted with the previous course of affairs, to give an answer to the Venetian demands, but he proposed friendly negotiations. Meanwhile the Bailie of the Secrète was to allow the Venetians to pass with exemptions, as before,<sup>1</sup> and give orders to the same effect to other Bailies. As regarded two claims which had been made by Venetians for compensation for injuries which they alleged they had suffered at the hands of the King's people, Henry undertook to have documents looked out and the cases investigated. Nevertheless the negotiations were at first unsatisfactory, for an entry in the register of the Pregadi for 1325-6<sup>2</sup> shows that Venetians were forbidden under penalties to visit or stay in Cyprus, and records a decision to send a solemn embassy, while the King's ambassadors were told that they might stay or go as pleased them; and commissioners were elected to treat with them and to consider the letters in which the Archbishop of Nicosia had made proposals. Agreement was however reached and a treaty signed on 4 September 1328.<sup>3</sup> The part played by John del Conte is indicated by the description of the treaty as 'the treaty of the reverend father in God, Lord John Archbishop of Nicosia'. It repeats the terms of the treaty of 1306 (p. 225), with insignificant modifications and with the addition of a clause allowing the King to import into Cyprus from Venice at his pleasure horses and arms for the necessities of his island.<sup>4</sup> It may be observed that the Venetians had a better reputation than the Genoese in one respect, and that is that they were less given to piracy. Certainly the records contain little evidence of anything of the kind that can be laid to their charge. Philip de Mézières (who is however not an impartial witness) goes so far as to say: 'it is still more to their praise that never did there sail from Venice galley or other ship on a piratical voyage, that is to say to rob others

<sup>1</sup> See p. 225, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 135, nos. IX, X.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 135, no. XI; the text, pp. 142-4, and more completely in *Diplom. Ven.-Lev.* pp. 210-14.

<sup>4</sup> Needless to say, in spite of this treaty, grievances continued to arise, calling forth protests from Venice. Thus as early as 1330 letters went to Cyprus complaining 'super multis injuriis et aliis novitatibus' (M.L., H. II, p. 136, no. XIII). The extracts, however, which have been published from the deliberations of the Pregadi towards the end of the reign (M.L., H. II, pp. 222f., 1357-9), show no sign of friction. Regulations are made for the appointment of a Vice-bailie during a vacancy in the post, for the keeping of the Bailie's accounts, for the suppression of rings and regrating; and the King of Cyprus is allowed to purchase a galley from the Arsenal.

(save against their enemies), as is the wont of other communes, which I leave to others to name'.<sup>1</sup>

From time to time the King's ships made an attempt to round up the pirates. In 1325, for instance, fairly vigorous steps were taken, and the Admiral of Cyprus with two galleys captured two pirate galleys. Altogether a hundred men were hanged at various places in July.<sup>2</sup> The later attempt to catch Ligorio Assanti was, as we shall see, unsuccessful.

In the year following the treaty with Venice, the long-continued negotiations with Genoa bore fruit in a treaty, concluded at Nicosia on 16 February 1329,<sup>3</sup> which it was fondly hoped would put an end to the discord which the enemy of mankind had stirred up between Henry II and the Republic. Genoa was represented by Nicolino of the branch of the Fieschi called Cardinale. The interpretation of the privilege granted in 1232 had been the cause of many disputes; but the King promised to maintain the franchise and liberty in accordance with the tenor of the privilege as observed during the time of peace between the two parties. He promised to pay all the outstanding amounts of debts contracted by Amaury;<sup>4</sup> also an indemnity of 210,000 besants for the destruction of a Genoese ship by the royal galleys.<sup>5</sup> The Guelf party was at the time in power at Genoa, and a reserve was to be made, in case some of the creditors in these cases might be exiled Ghibellines who, on making peace with the Guelfs, would be able to put in a claim for repayment of their share of the sums involved.<sup>6</sup> Of the three sums

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by M.L., *H. II*, p. 204, n. 1 from the *Songe du vieil pelerin*, written in 1389.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 64. The date in the Venice MS. is 1357 (and this is followed by Amadi, p. 408); in the Oxford MS. it is 1325, which is confirmed by Strambaldi, p. 27. Dawkins suggests that these executions may have something to do with the suppression of the Kormakiti rebels, since it was in 1325 that Hugh took steps for the confiscation of their fiefs (below, p. 293). But action against their persons had been taken long before then.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H. II*, pp. 150-8.

<sup>4</sup> By a deed of 24 Nov. 1306 Amaury had acknowledged a debt of 71,000 besants, of which 33,565 besants 22 carats remained unpaid. He had also contracted with certain Genoese a private debt of 24,972 besants, recorded in his books and in a deed sealed by the Bailie of the Secrète. The King, although he was not bound by this, agreed to pay it, expressing his intention of recovering from Amaury's heirs.

<sup>5</sup> Doubtless the vessel which was burnt by Robert de Montgésart (above, p. 279).

<sup>6</sup> The portion owing to such creditors would be reserved for the last payment and borne on the books of the Secrète in their names. If, before the date of the last payment, the King should come to a separate agreement with these Ghibellines, or if they should make peace with the Guelfs, they should have the same rights as the other

mentioned, amounting to 268,537 besants 22 carats, the King undertook to pay immediately 68,537 besants 22 carats, and the remainder in four instalments of 50,000 besants in February of each succeeding year. He promised further to order that claims of individual Genoese against his subjects and his predecessor should be settled, and to pay any further unspecified debts of Amaury to Genoese which should be duly proved. All lands and possessions, houses, buildings and *loggie* belonging to the Genoese in virtue of the earlier privilege were to be restored to them; and at the bath at Nicosia a conduit and waste-pit were to be constructed. Finally, it was agreed to submit to the Pope for arbitration claims made by either party for damage suffered by their ships, damage which the other party alleged to be justified on the ground that the ships were carrying contraband to Saracen lands in defiance of the papal prohibition of such traffic.<sup>1</sup>

This treaty by no means put an end to the quarrels between the parties. In 1331 there was a riot at Famagusta, in which a number of persons were killed or injured.<sup>2</sup> Piracy was a frequent cause of discord; not only were Genoese corsairs active in the waters of Cyprus,<sup>3</sup> but claims were made by Genoese merchants for damage suffered by them from pirates of other nations off the coast of Cyprus.<sup>4</sup>

Less than ten years after the treaty of 1329 the Ghibelline party was back in power in Genoa, and the treaty which the Guelfs had made with Hugh came to be reviewed. Sorleone Spinola was sent in 1337

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Genoese; if this did not happen before the last payment, the sum involved would be held in reserve until agreement should be reached. In 1338 the Ghibellines, having recovered power, sent an envoy to renew the peace and the privilege. (See below, p. 289.)

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 196. The Pope gave his decision on this point in 1330 (Raynaldus, 1331, p. 517, § 30). Cases coming under this arbitration are mentioned in the treaty of 1338 (M.L., *H.* II, pp. 169, 173).

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 177, art. 17; probably the reference on p. 168, art. 3, is to the same affair.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 177, art. 18: the Genoese Republic to refrain from sending out corsairs, and the King likewise to punish any of his people who injure the Genoese.

<sup>4</sup> Thus a claim was made by Sarracino de Castello, because in April, and again in November, 1334, he suffered piratical attacks from Catalan merchant vessels off Lemesos. In the first case he alleged that he was attacked near the beach, but it was in fact on the high seas, and the King helped him to recover his goods. In the second, where he was attacked off the beach of Lemesos, the Catalans came on with their spoils to Famagusta, but were forced to restore the goods before landing themselves. Sarracino's demand for further compensation seems to have been unreasonable.

to Cyprus to negotiate a new treaty, which was concluded at Nicosia on 21 February 1338.<sup>1</sup> The King affirmed his intention of maintaining the privilege of 1232. The greater part of the treaty is concerned with claims made by Genoese merchants against Cypriotes.<sup>2</sup> In most cases the King's answer to the complaints seems to have been accepted by the Genoese envoy, and resort to papal arbitration was still to be had in future disputes.<sup>3</sup> The general demand (art. 14) that Genoese notarial instruments drawn outside the Kingdom should be accepted as valid in Cyprus—the Genoese offering reciprocity on this head—was rejected as being against the law of the land, by which all transactions between foreigners and Cypriotes must be made before Cypriote courts. By special grace exceptions could be allowed (arts. 12, 13). A claim arising out of wreck (art. 16) received consideration, and it was replied that no responsibility could be taken for loss caused by storm, but justice would be done if it were proved that the King's subjects had seized any of the cargo from the wreck. It seems to have been only a matter of twenty-five bales of cotton.

Six years later, in 1344, the disputes between the two parties came to a head once more.<sup>4</sup> Hugh's envoys were rudely dismissed, and Genoa made preparations for war. Clement VI however intervened and invited the Republic to send ambassadors to Avignon; Meliano Cattaneo went there on 30 March. Hugh's envoys professed not to have power to yield to the demands of Genoa, but the Pope induced them to make an agreement for a period of three years. Preliminaries were thus concluded, but no definite treaty followed.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Credentials of the envoy 12 Sept. 1337: M.L., *H.* II, p. 166. Text of the treaty, pp. 166–79.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these went back to the previous reign, one indeed (art. 10) to the time before Amaury's usurpation: a Genoese merchant had been prevented from taking on cargo and revictualling in Cyprus; but he was carrying contraband.

<sup>3</sup> One claim (art. 11) was made by Grifo d'Amari, who had been promised a fief of 2000 besants by John de Giblet, who had not fulfilled his promise; in reply it was pointed out that the grant of such a fief was invalid unless made before the Haute Cour.

<sup>4</sup> As early as 20 Aug. 1343 Clement VI asked Genoa not to attack Hugh, *ne fidei negotia retardentur*; on 21 Dec. he begged it to exercise restraint, and send envoys to make peace, since Hugh had already sent envoys who were willing to obey the Pope's will. (Clement VI, *Lettres closes*, ed. Déprez, nos. 360, 375.)

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, in *B.E.C.* 34 (1873), pp. 65–8; Heyd, II, p. 17; Iorga, *P.M.* p. 78. The Genoese insisted on the right to have their own prisons; to enter the ports at any time without authorization from the King's officers; to bake bread in the oven

Next year (1345), the immemorial rivalry between Genoa and Venice expressed itself in rioting at Famagusta. Letters were received at Venice from the Doge of Genoa about a riot between the two Communes. Venice asked Genoa to control its people, and the Doge of Genoa promised to issue instructions, hoping that Venice would do the same.<sup>1</sup>

Famagusta, with its mixed maritime population, was a natural hotbed of rioting. In 1349, according to the Venetian account, a private dispute between a Sicilian and Mark Minio, a Venetian, developed into fighting between the merchants or sailors of the two nations, and then spread more widely; a number of Syrians, subjects of the King, and, what was worse, several royal officials and eventually the whole population took part against the Venetians. The mobsacked the Venetian loggia, destroyed legal records, and wounded more than thirty Venetians, including the consul, who had intervened to calm the disturbance. The Senate decided to send an envoy to demand justice and reparation for this offence to its honour, but rescinded the decision on learning that the King had done what was required and punished the guilty.<sup>2</sup>

It was natural that other trading communities should also profit by the change in ruler to have their privileges confirmed or enlarged. We learn that Pegolotti, the agent of the house of the Bardi in Cyprus, acting for the Florentines, lost no time in pushing their claims, for which he had long been agitating. As early as 21 May 1324 he obtained a first temporary concession of the same rate for dues as the Pisans enjoyed; this first concession was twice renewed and finally, on 3 August 1327, made permanent.<sup>3</sup>

Montpellier had enjoyed privileges in Cyprus since the time of Henry I.<sup>4</sup> A letter from the consuls of the town to the authorities in Cyprus in 1345<sup>5</sup> informs them of the appointment of one Stephen

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of the Genoese colony for Genoese strangers. On the other hand they agreed that a tax should be paid on contracts of sale between Genoese and strangers, and that Genoese subjects in the King's pay or his vassals should be under his direct jurisdiction.

<sup>1</sup> *Diplom. Ven.-Lev.* pp. 287-9 (19 Feb. 1345).

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Senate to the King, 14 Oct. 1349; decisions of the Senate, 4 Jan. and 8 May 1350; cited by M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, pp. 102-3.

<sup>3</sup> Pegolotti, ed. Evans, p. 84. Cp. M.L., *H.* III, p. 160, n. 1; Heyd, II, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Ch. II, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 208-10 (23 Aug. 1345). Other letters from the King to the authorities of Montpellier, about remission of certain dues, complaints of unfair treatment at Famagusta, and appointment of a new consul (1352-4), in M.L., *H.* II, pp. 219f. There is more correspondence on similar subjects in the next reign.

d'Auriac as consul to take charge of the interests of citizens of Montpellier trading to the island. The letter asks that he may enjoy the same privileges as other of their consuls have enjoyed hitherto.<sup>1</sup>

Compared with the Italian trading communities, it would seem that the Catalans<sup>2</sup> had not a large merchant colony in Cyprus, although we have seen that in 1291 they had been granted certain privileges. Their fleets conducted a lively traffic, sometimes sailing too near the wind, with Syria and Saracen lands, frequently calling at Famagusta on the way to reload or tranship their cargoes. We have already noted<sup>3</sup> some cases of fines paid to the treasury of Aragon to buy absolution for traffic in contraband. We have also examples of safe-conducts or recommendations from the King of Aragon or the authorities at Barcelona for merchants going on the Cyprus voyage.<sup>4</sup> The Catalan lodge at Famagusta in 1340 is mentioned in a memorandum of the Infante Ferdinand II of Majorca.<sup>5</sup> The Catalans were also perhaps more prone to piracy than even the Genoese; the Genoese treaty of 1338 records more than one case, and there is a lively account of their depredations in the seas of Cyprus and Romania in a complaint addressed by merchants of Narbonne and Montpellier to the Seneschal of Carcassonne and Béziers in 1334.<sup>6</sup> Whether the Bartholomew Malapolus who in June 1335 was working the seas between Rhodes and Cyprus, to the great alarm of James of Verona who was on his way out,<sup>7</sup> was Catalan or Genoese, we do not know. Cagliari in Sardinia seems to have been a nest of pirates, and Hugh had to complain to the King of Aragon of his subjects who based their expeditions on that place.<sup>8</sup>

A free-lance who caused some trouble in this reign was Ligorio, son of Buonavita Assanti, from whom he inherited half of the island of Nisyros as a fief of the Hospital. King Hugh sent two galleys in pursuit of him, but he took refuge in his island, 'making it a den of robbers',

<sup>1</sup> The Montpellier consuls were not permanently resident in Cyprus, but were attached to the galleys when they sailed, and acted while they were in port; before returning they appointed deputies. From the privilege granted in 1365 (M.L., H. II, p. 269; below, p. 317) we see that Montpellier had lodges at Famagusta and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Heyd, II, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. IV, p. 206, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., H. III, p. 734 (1338); p. 735 (1341); Capmany, *Memorias hist. sobre la marina, etc. de... Barcelona*, II, p. III, 1 March 1340 (1341).

<sup>5</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 184.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., H. III, pp. 728-32.

<sup>7</sup> Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Probably in 1342. M.L., H. II, pp. 203 f.



and the King consequently seized property belonging to the Hospital, amounting in value to more than 2500 gold florins, to indemnify his own people who had been robbed, on the ground that the Hospital was responsible for its feudatary. Ligorio was therefore deprived of his fief, which was on 11 July 1341 transferred to his cousin James, who already held the other half of the island.<sup>1</sup>

The commerce with the West which flourished, in spite of piracy, during the reign of Hugh IV, gave an appearance of prosperity to the island which impressed observers. Ludolf of Sudheim, who was there between 1336 and 1341, speaking of Famagusta, says that it is

the richest of all cities, and her citizens are the richest of men. A citizen once betrothed his daughter, and the jewels of her head-dress were valued by the French knights who came with us as more precious than all the ornaments of the Queen of France. A certain merchant of this city sold to the Sultan a royal orb of gold, and thereon four precious stones, a ruby, an emerald, a sapphire and a pearl, for sixty thousand florins; and anon he sought to buy back that orb for a hundred thousand florins, but it was denied him. The Constable of Jerusalem had four pearls which his wife wore by way of a clasp, and, when and where he would, he could pledge it for three thousand florins. In this city in one shop is more aloe wood than five carts could carry away. I am silent touching drugs, for they are as common there as bread is here, and are sold as commonly. But I dare not speak of their precious stones and golden tissues and other riches, for it were a thing unheard of and incredible. In this city dwell very many wealthy courtesans, of whom some possess more than one hundred thousand florins. I dare not speak of their riches.... And in Cyprus the princes, nobles, barons and knights are the richest in the world. For one who has a revenue of three thousand florins is no more accounted of there than if he had an income of three marks. But they spend all on the chase. I knew a certain Count of Japhe (Hugh d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa and of Ascalon) who had more than five hundred hounds, and every two dogs have their own servant to guard and bathe and anoint them, for so must dogs be tended there. A certain nobleman has ten or eleven falconers with special pay and allowances. I knew several nobles and knights in Cyprus who could keep and feed two hundred armed men at a less cost than their huntsmen and falconers.... Moreover there are very rich merchants, a thing

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<sup>1</sup> D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* pp. 5, 370-3. James Assanti was supposed to pay 2500 florins for the fief, but of this 1800 florins were remitted by special favour. Genealogy of the Assanti in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 491.

not to be wondered at, for Cyprus is the furthest of Christian lands, so that all ships and all wares, be they what they may, and come they from what part of the sea they will, must needs come first to Cyprus, and in no wise can they pass it by, and pilgrims from every country journeying to the lands over sea must touch at Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless the continual difficulty which the Kings found in meeting their obligations suggests that extravagance and luxury may have led to the impoverishment of the treasury. So far as the royal domain was concerned, some relief should have been forthcoming from a decision of the Haute Cour in 1325. For a reason which remains obscure, the question of the fiefs which had belonged to the knights who had been false to their oaths to King Henry, and had retired to Kormakiti, had not been decided immediately after their capture, as might have been expected. It was not until a year after his accession that Hugh, on 3 June 1325, raised the question before the Haute Cour. It was decided that he, as his uncle's heir, had full rights over all things that had belonged to his uncle, and could dispose of them as his own, and as freely as his uncle would have done had he survived in person. The Court pronounced the rebels and their heirs to be disinherited as false traitors, confiscated their fiefs and placed Hugh in possession of them.<sup>2</sup>

Certain questions connected with marriage alliances embarrassed the reign of Hugh. It is true that the widowed Queen Constance<sup>3</sup> was a liability not to him but to her father Frederick II of Sicily. Projects for her remarriage were soon set on foot, and there is a series of letters on the subject from 16 December 1324 between the courts of Sicily and Aragon. The lady left Cyprus on 2 March 1326<sup>4</sup> and returned to her father. Of the husbands suggested—including the future Edward III of

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<sup>1</sup> Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* pp. 19f.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 403; Fl. Bustron, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Enseignement des femmes* of Geoffrey de la Tour-Landry (written in 1371) is a moral story of a childless queen of Cyprus to whom in her old age, in answer to prayer, was granted a son, but excessive vainglory at this joyful event and failure to thank God for it were punished by the death of the infant (*The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, ed. T. Wright, 1868, p. 110). M.L., H. II, p. 132, remarks that Constance is the only Queen of Cyprus with whom he can connect this anecdote; but it is unlikely that she had any child (above, p. 283), and the apologue is not necessarily historical.

<sup>4</sup> Amadi, p. 403.

England—she eventually<sup>1</sup> married Leo IV, King of Armenia, who had murdered his first wife about 1329.

On the other hand, a marriage which more intimately concerned Cyprus was that of Guy, Prince of Galilee, the King's eldest son, to Mary, daughter of Louis, Duke of Bourbon, Count of La Marche and Clermont.<sup>2</sup> On 2 March 1328 Hugh appointed Mark, Bishop of Famagusta, Peter de Montolif, Butler of the Kingdom, and Lambertino of Bologna, Canon of Famagusta, as his proctors to go to France.<sup>3</sup> The contract was completed and the oaths taken by the proctors and the Duke on 29 November of the same year at the château of Bourbon.<sup>4</sup> The actual marriage was not to take place until the parties should be of age, that is when Guy should be fourteen and Mary twelve. After long delay, four galleys under Sadoc Doria conveyed her, with Peter de la Palu, Patriarch of Jerusalem (who was to celebrate the marriage), her confessor, William Durant, Bishop of Mende,<sup>5</sup> and two French gentlemen, to Famagusta, where she arrived in the first half of January 1330.<sup>6</sup> The wedding took place before the end of the month.<sup>7</sup> Matters connected with her dowry were to be the subject of much tiresome correspondence even after her death and down to the end of the century. For a reason at which we have already hinted, it was difficult for King Hugh and his successors to meet their obligations.<sup>8</sup> And her son Hugh and

<sup>1</sup> The date is given variously as about 1329 (M.L., *H. III*, p. 712, n. 1), 1331 (*Gén. p. 14*); 1333 (J. de Morgan, *Hist. du peuple d'Arménie*, 1919, p. 217). For the correspondence see M.L., *H. III*, pp. 709–20, 722.

<sup>2</sup> It is in connexion with this marriage that Jauna (II, p. 808), followed by Reinhard (I, p. 236), states that King Hugh himself visited the court of France, to ask for help against the threatened Ottoman attack, and seized the opportunity of arranging the marriage. There seems to be no evidence for this. Iorga (*P.M.* p. 102n.) confuses this alleged visit to the West with the equally imaginary one towards the end of Hugh's reign.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H. II*, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H. II*, p. 144; Binon in *Mélanges Boisacq*, I, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> Licence from John XXII to William Durant to go with Mary as her confessor (Mollat, *Lettres comm.* no. 45027, 24 April 1329). Licence to Mary and her suite to visit the Holy Sepulchre, and to merchants in her company to trade in non-contraband with places in the Sultan's possessions (*ibid.* no. 45766, 19 July 1329).

<sup>6</sup> Amadi, pp. 403–4.

<sup>7</sup> Hugh's ratification of the contract dated 14 Jan. (M.L., *H. II*, p. 161); the Haute Cour's assignment of the dowry on 31 Jan. (*ibid.* p. 162) seems to show that the marriage had taken place.

<sup>8</sup> 13,000 gold florins were deposited by the Duke with the agents of the Bardi of Florence; if either party should die before the marriage, this sum was to be returned

her nephew Louis II of Bourbon were to cause much anxiety by claiming the throne of Cyprus, the one against Peter I, the other against James I.

Another marriage led to a very unhappy episode. It will be remembered that in 1316 the Infante Ferdinand of Majorca, Prince of Achaia, had married Henry II's cousin, Isabel d'Ibelin. After Ferdinand's death, Isabel married Hugh d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa and Ascalon. She had two sons by her first husband, James II, King of Majorca, and Ferdinand II, Infante of Majorca. This Ferdinand in 1340<sup>1</sup> was married to Échive,

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to him; otherwise it was to be held to pay for the purchase of an estate or other property in France. (This sum was remitted to the Duke in 1332.) On the arrival of Mary in Cyprus, within one month, the King was to assign her a dowry of 5000 florins a year, to be paid to her after the death of her husband (assignment by the Haute Cour, 31 Jan. 1330). She was also to have, during his life, 1650 florins a year. Guy died in 1343 (Clement VI wrote condoling with her on 24 Sept., and also the King on her behalf: *Lettres closes*, nos. 422, 423). When she was returning to France, the Pope wrote (18 May 1344, *ibid.* no. 825) asking Hugh to deal favourably about her dowry with the envoys of her brother Peter, and saying that in the marriage contract (*sicut futur*) it was expressly agreed, that if Guy predeceased Hugh leaving a son, that son, if he survived Hugh, should succeed him. This belief caused trouble later. On 9 Sept. 1347 Mary married Robert of Anjou, Prince of Achaia, titular Emperor of Constantinople, who died in 1368. In 1387, having lost her only son Hugh, Prince of Galilee, Senator of Rome, she made her will, appointing her nephew Louis II of Bourbon universal legatee (M.L., *H. II*, pp. 407-9). Louis had previously been made principal legatee by Hugh, but the will seems to have been wrongfully abstracted (M.L., *H. II*, p. 410). Mary probably died in this same year 1387. See the summary in M.L., *Gén.* pp. 16f. (but the date 1346 for Guy's death is wrong), and the documents and correspondence relating to the payment—or non-payment—of the dowry in M.L., *H. II*, pp. 253 (1364), 289 (1368), 374f. (1379), 409-12 (1387), 423 (1395), 426 (1395), 437 (1397), 441 (1398), 445 (1398), 449, 454 (1398-1400). *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, pp. 107-9 (1400 or 1401). Louis from time to time sent agents to Nicosia to press his claims and try and find the missing will: Jean Benoît in 1387, L'Ermite de la Faye in 1395, and Bertrand Lesgare in 1398, while Janot de Lusignan, Lord of Beirut, represented King James in 1397-8 at the French courts (Herquet, *Charlotta*, p. 96). As late as 1406 a debt incurred in 1383 by Hugh to a Venetian, Mark Bellosello, and secured on two villages in Cyprus, was still unpaid. Hugh's property having escheated to the crown, Bellosello asked James to pay the debt or put him in possession of the two villages. M.L., *H. II*, p. 457; *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, p. 116.

<sup>1</sup> The date is given by Ferdinand's memorandum, M.L., *H. II*, p. 185. But the necessary dispensation (since the Infante was related in the third degree to Hugh and Alice, and therefore in the fourth to Échive) was already ordered by Benedict to be given by the Archbishop of Nicosia on 5 March 1337 (*Lettres comm.*, ed. Vidal, no. 4833). Échive appears as 'Skina' in the record of an indult, allowing her confessor to give plenary absolution once *in articulo mortis*, 11 May 1339 (*ibid.* no. 7089).

daughter of Hugh IV. For some reason unknown, Hugh conceived a violent hatred of his son-in-law, and subjected him, as well as his wife, and his step-father the Count of Jaffa, to a succession of unheard-of insults and injuries. All these are set forth in detail in an extraordinary secret memorandum of great length, which the Infante drew up for his brother James.<sup>1</sup> We can give but a few counts of the indictment. It is, if only a tithe is true, a terrible record of spite and hatred. To begin with, and this is nothing unusual, the payment of this dowry was delayed and to a great extent never completed. The Infante, his wife, and the Franciscans whom they favoured, were treated to the vilest abuse. Ferdinand's men, and even a woman in the service of his mother, were imprisoned and tortured, one of them dying of his sufferings in the prison at Kerynia. Guards were stationed round his house and accompanied him whenever he went out. On 22 April 1341 Échive was taken away from him and kept a prisoner. In the same year the King summoned the Haute Cour and charged him with treason, but did not succeed in obtaining a judgement. He deprived Ferdinand of his fief of 30,000 besants, and the prince was obliged to sell his jewels, plate, clothes, and horses, and, but for the help of his step-father, would have had to go begging for his bread. Hugh was actually heard to say 'it is plainly seen that we have no friends or relations, else would they kill that fellow one night, and we should be rid of him'. However, he found no one willing to take him at his word. Arrows were shot and stones thrown at Ferdinand's house, fortunately without effect. All his correspondence was intercepted, and he was altogether debarred from

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<sup>1</sup> The story is told by Golubovich, iv, pp. 316-19. The documents in the case are: M.L., H. II, p. 179 (Hugh assigns an annual sum of 30,000 besants to Échive). Pp. 182-203 (memorandum by the Infante, arranged under the years 1340-2, with many precise dates). (Also in Golubovich, iv, pp. 319-33.) P. 204 (Hugh to Peter IV of Aragon, accusing Ferdinand). P. 205 (Peter IV sends an envoy to Hugh to ask for information on the matter). *Ibid.* (Peter IV to Sancia, Queen of Naples, aunt of Ferdinand, who had brought him up and given him 50,000 florins on his marriage, informing her of his having sent the envoy). These letters are undated, but are probably soon after May 1342. Raynaldus, 1341, p. 259, § 44 (Benedict XII, to whom Hugh had complained of his son-in-law, writes to counsel the King to moderation, and stresses the danger which would ensue to his Kingdom if the young prince should come to harm at his hands). Zurita, *Anal. de la Corona de Aragon*, lib. vii, c. 55, f. 110b of ed. of 1562, f. 148 of those of 1585 and 1610 (the King of Aragon threatens to attack the King of Cyprus if he puts Ferdinand to death). For the death of Échive see Machaeras, 135; Amadi, p. 412.

communicating with his friends abroad. More than once the King endeavoured to extract from him a confession that he had offended, and was planning to escape secretly, and the Seneschal Guy d'Ibelin and the Count of Jaffa were required to go surety for him. All his horses were seized and sold, and so were the horses, mules, falcons and hounds of the Count of Jaffa,<sup>1</sup> and all the cattle on the Count's estate were carried off—all because he had helped the unfortunate prince. The last item but one in the memorandum is an assertion that Hugh's confidential legal adviser, Giustino de' Giustini, was heard to say: 'Sorry we are that we did not have the Infante cut to pieces and do the will of the King.'

A brief account of the affair, drawn from Spanish sources,<sup>2</sup> gives no details of the quarrel, but says that, when Ferdinand married Échive, he took an oath not to leave the Kingdom; but there arrived two galleys and a galliot, said to have been equipped in Majorca, and carrying no merchandise, but sailing as it were on a privateering expedition; and it came out that they had come at the order of the Infante, to take him away secretly. Whereupon arose a great quarrel between the King and his son-in-law, and the King of Aragon wrote on 22 November 1341 to Martin Lopez de Orna, to exhort the King of Cyprus to be reconciled to the Infante. He was to tell King Hugh that he would not tolerate any affront or dishonour to the Infante, that the house of Aragon was not wont to swallow such injuries, and more to the same effect.

It is true that Hugh, in his letter to the King of Aragon, gives a very different version, saying that he had loaded Ferdinand with favours, only to find that he had nursed a viper in his bosom. True also that the chroniclers, who might have been expected to take an interest in such a scandal, have not a word about it. Ferdinand's charges must therefore not be accepted as in all details proven. But we shall see, in the affair of the escapade of Hugh's sons, how vindictive and cruel this King, who seemed to a simple-minded visitor so good and pious,<sup>3</sup> could be.

Fearing for his life, Ferdinand succeeded in escaping from the island. Nothing more is heard of him. His wife stayed on in Cyprus, where she died of the plague in 1363.

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<sup>1</sup> Ludolf of Sudheim (see p. 292) says the Count had more than 250 couple of hounds.

<sup>2</sup> Zurita, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> 'He is virtuous, gracious and devout. Every Sunday and Feast day he hears sermons from clergy in his own chapel—I too preached before him—and he has ten chaplains who celebrate daily, and himself is always present at the service.' James of Verona, 1335 (Cobham, *Exc. Cyp.* pp. 16f.).

Hugh's reign was distinguished from those of his predecessors and successors by the fact that his Kingdom was less seriously and directly concerned in war. If Clement VI called him 'princeps Christianissimus et ejusdem fidei athleta praecipuus', it was more the expression of a hope than a testimony to the King's achievements.<sup>1</sup> Nor, from the unsupported statement of Ludolf of Sudheim that maritime places in Turkey paid tribute to the King of Cyprus, namely Scandelore, Anamur, Siki and Satalia, can we assume that Hugh IV reduced these ports to subjection.<sup>2</sup> It may have been his own dislike for arms that prevented him from taking active part in the campaign against the Turks. He does not seem even to have accepted the free gift of a valuable military base on the Cilician coast, when Gorhigos was offered to him in the hope that he would protect it against the Turks. 'God forbid,' he said, 'that I should take my kinsman's castle.'<sup>3</sup> But he could not hold entirely aloof from the general movement of the Christian world. In 1334<sup>4</sup> he joined in a league in which Venice (whose trade was threatened by the Turks) took the lead. The treaty was signed on 8 March 1334, in the presence of Pope John XXII, by representatives of the King of France and of Venice.<sup>5</sup> This combination was to furnish a fleet (to which Cyprus was to contribute six galleys) which should assemble at Negroponte next May for a preliminary five months' campaign. This had some success, practically the whole Turkish fleet being destroyed. But the *passagium generale* planned on a much larger scale for 1335, with a contribution from Cyprus of six galleys, four transports and a hundred men-at-arms, collapsed, because of the threat of an English invasion of France which called Philip VI back to Paris. John XXII, who had worked so hard for the crusading cause throughout his reign, had died on 5 December 1334. His successor Benedict XII had not the same

<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, 1343, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *Île de Chypre*, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> The kinsman being Guy de Lusignan, who was King of Armenia 1342-7. Above, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> Atiya, pp. 111-12, based on M.L., *Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France et Venise*, pp. 104-9, from *Libri Comm.* III, f. 99, *Reg.* II, p. 54, no. 321. Cp. *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, p. 103. See also Iorga, *P.M.* p. 38; and on this and subsequent leagues in Hugh's time, C. Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times*, p. 13. On all these negotiations, and operations culminating in the capture of Smyrna, see D.L.R., F.O., I, pp. 99-110.

<sup>5</sup> Atiya speaks as if the Kings of France and Cyprus were present in person. Neither of them was there, and, as the document is printed by Mas Latrie, *loc. cit.*, there is no mention of a representative of Cyprus.

driving power. Talk of a Crusade was therefore silent for some years; orders were given to discontinue preaching in Cyprus in favour of it.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, Hugh's ships were not idle, for on 9 February 1338 Benedict XII was able to congratulate him on a recent 'glorious victory' over the Turks. Unfortunately no more is known of this feat.<sup>2</sup> The menace continued to be felt, and in 1341 Hugh sent Lambertino Balduino della Cecca, Bishop of Lemesos, to the Grand Master of the Hospital and the Doge of Venice, urging them to join in an appeal to the Pope to save the Christians overseas from the utter destruction which seemed to be imminent. The Grand Master replied that he had already sent and would send again a special envoy to the Pope; Venice on 22 November asserted its sympathy and readiness to do all that was proper and opportune for the sacred cause.<sup>3</sup> This mission of the Bishop of Lemesos perhaps had as its ultimate result the Crusade known as the War of Smyrna; but it was not until 8 August 1343 that Clement VI announced the formation of a new league, the members of which were the Hospitallers, the King of Cyprus and himself, with Venice contributing five or six galleys. Other support came sooner or later from the Genoese, Pisans, Catalans and the Emperor of Constantinople. Cyprus was to contribute four galleys which were to sail directly to the rendezvous at Negroponte.<sup>4</sup> They were placed under the command of

<sup>1</sup> It is true that on 1 May 1336 Benedict granted plenary indulgence to all those who should contribute in person or by their purses to the defence of Armenia (*Lettres closes*, ed. Daumet, no. 175; *Lettres comm.*, ed. Vidal, no. 3971). But before this, on 3 Jan. 1336, the Pope instructed the prelates of Cyprus to desist from preaching the Crusade (orders for which had been given by John XXII and confirmed by Benedict himself). It was not to be resumed until the army of the crusaders should have actually started, or until further orders. The envoys of Hugh and the Archbishop had pointed out that the island was at peace, and stressed the danger that might result from such preaching (*Lettres closes*, ed. Vidal, nos. 732, 733). This is ten years earlier than the date (July 1346) on which Gay (*Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient*, p. 131) says that Hugh obtained this concession.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres closes*, ed. Vidal, no. 1673. Raynaldus, 1338, p. 148, § 72; Reinhard, 1, Beyl. no. 40; Iorga, *P.M.* p. 39. In this fighting there were Christians on the Turkish side; perhaps Genoese, as Mas Latrie suggests (*Île de Chypre*, p. 251).

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 180f.

<sup>4</sup> Navagero, col. 1031. *Diplom. Ven.-Lev.* I, no. 124 (end of 1342): Clement reports that he has agreed with Cyprus and the Hospital on a league against the Turks, and is only waiting for Venice. The Pope's brief to the Grand Master Helion de Villeneuve, Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* II, p. 86. To the King of Cyprus: *Lettres closes*, no. 332. Raynaldus, 1343, p. 311, § 9. Reinhard, 1, Beyl. no. 41: 8 Aug. 1343 the Pope warns Hugh of the



Edward, Sire de Beaujeu.<sup>1</sup> Henry d'Ast, Patriarch of Constantinople, was deputed Legate Apostolic in Cyprus, Crete and elsewhere, and the King was ordered to instruct the officers of the fleet to obey him.<sup>2</sup> When Henry died, Raymond Saquet, Bishop of Terouanne, succeeded him with the same powers.<sup>3</sup> Smyrna was easily captured, and, in spite of a subsequent defeat of the crusaders in January 1345, was held for more than half a century, until it fell to Tamerlane in 1402. It does not directly concern this history; for the belief that King Hugh personally took part in the defence of the city rests on an apocryphal letter.<sup>4</sup> But Hugh (although in 1336 the Pope at his request had stopped the preaching of the Crusade in Cyprus) remained in touch with the movement,<sup>5</sup> and Cyprus continued, in accordance with the terms of its membership of the league, to supply ships for the defence, or pay the cost of such assistance.<sup>6</sup> Hugh also passed on to the proper quarters any information about enemy intentions that came into his hands, such as the reported plot of the Sultan to remove all Christian rulers by assassination.<sup>7</sup> About this time, a proposal for peace reached Clement from the Seljuk Emir

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danger to Cyprus if the Turks are not crushed. At the same time the Pope told the Grand Master that he had at his own cost added to the squadron provided by the King of Cyprus, Venice and others, four ships, which ought to have been paid for by the Hospital. Reproving the Grand Master for abuses in the Order, he threatened to establish a new one, and divide the property of the Hospital, and ordered him to send the galleys to Negroponte by the date appointed. J. Gay, *Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient* (1342-52), p. 35. He had already (*Lettres closes*, no. 311, 29 July 1343) sent Hugh's ambassadors back fully informed of his intentions.

<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, 1344, p. 342, § 2; Iorga, *P.M.* 42. Bosio wrongly makes Conrad Piccamiglio (a Genoese name) commander of the Cyprus contingent, instead of the Genoese. Edward de Beaujeu, born 1316, was Seigneur de Beaujeu 1331, became Marshal of France 1347, and died 1351. Raynaldus describes him as at the time Hugh's *praefectus castrorum*.

<sup>2</sup> Clement VI, *Lettres closes*, ed. Déprez, nos. 310 (31 Aug. 1343), 408 (16 Sept. 1343).

<sup>3</sup> Clement VI, *Lettres*, ed. P. van Isacker, U. Berlière, no. 1480 (1 Apr. 1345).

<sup>4</sup> Supposed to have been written by him to Queen Joanna of Naples, dated 1345, describing a battle on 24 June of that year, when, with the help of a heavenly knight, 12,000 Christians defeated 200,000 Turks. The latest summary of reasons for rejecting this letter is in Atiya, pp. 308f.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 295, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> From the accounts presented by Manuel Zaccaria for galleys which he held for service overseas, it appears that eight were reserved for the defence of Cyprus. Benedict XII, *Lettres comm.*, ed. Vidal, no. 8378 (1348/9).

<sup>7</sup> 15 June 1349. Raynaldus, 1349, p. 500, § 29.

of Ephesus (Altoluogo), Khidr Beg, to which the Pope replied that he must consult the King of Cyprus and the Doge of Venice. But he delayed to write to the King until 13 September 1349, when he asked him to observe the truce which he had arranged to last until 25 December 1350, and to send plenipotentiaries to Avignon.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of 1350 he sent two bishops to Constantinople to deliberate with the envoys of Venice and Cyprus, and to learn whether the treaty, signed by the Hospital, was to be accepted, or whether on the contrary, after the expiry of the truce at Christmas 1350, war was to be resumed against the Turk.<sup>2</sup>

On 11 August 1350, however, he arranged a new league, to take effect from 1 January next, and last for ten years, during which Cyprus agreed to contribute two galleys to the patrol of the Turkish coast. This league appears to have been dead before a year was out.<sup>3</sup> It was probably revived by Innocent VI soon after his accession in December 1352. It was hoped to interest the Emperor of Constantinople, John Cantacuzenus, who held out expectations of reunion with the Latin Church; and in April 1353 Innocent wrote to Hugh asking him to send help to the Emperor if required.<sup>4</sup> Later in the year (3 November) he demanded annual contributions, in accordance with the recent treaty, from Venice, Rhodes and Cyprus, of 3000 florins each; and in the same month (28 November) he announced the despatch of two ships with provisions and troops at the joint expense of the four members.<sup>5</sup> But the war between Genoa and Venice stood in the way of action. When a truce was arranged in 1355, Innocent renewed his efforts. In a letter of 21 March 1356<sup>6</sup> he tells Hugh that the galleys which he is bound to furnish

<sup>1</sup> Gay, *op. cit.* p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Gay, *op. cit.* p. 107. As to the treaty, *ibid.* p. 90, and Heyd I, p. 543. One of the provisions was that there should be a consul for Cyprus at Altoluogo.

<sup>3</sup> The text of the league in M.L., H. II, pp. 217-18 from *Libri Comm.* (Reg. II, p. 184, no. 352); Raynaldus, 1350, p. 517, § 33; 1351, p. 537, § 22 (Hugh was asked to contribute a quarter of the cost of the Smyrna garrison); Gay, *op. cit.* p. 120. When the league was dissolved, the Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Nicosia dispensing him from preaching the Crusade against the Turks of Asia Minor. In view of the mortality caused by the Black Death, it was not desirable that the island should be stripped of its defenders (Gay, p. 131); but even before this in 1336, as we have seen, the necessity of not depleting the military resources of the island had prompted Hugh to obtain the same exemption.

<sup>4</sup> 1 April 1353, Raynaldus, 1353, p. 587, § 24.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 221. Cp. Raynaldus, 1353, p. 585, § 19.

<sup>6</sup> Raynaldus, 1356, pp. 19-20, § 36; Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 47 (misprints *Junii* for *Julii*).

must be at Smyrna by 1 July next, and that he must send plenipotentiaries to Avignon by 1 November following to confirm the existing treaty, or make a new one. He is writing at the same time to the Grand Master and to Venice. So, in his letter to the latter, of 1 April, he speaks of ships from Cyprus and Rhodes being due at Smyrna on 1 July next.<sup>1</sup> Again, owing to the outbreak of war between Venice and Hungary, there was delay; but on 20 March 1357 a new agreement was made at Avignon for the patrol of the Turkish coasts, on which six armed vessels were to be continuously employed, two Cypriote, two Rhodian and two Venetian.<sup>2</sup> But Hugh's participation in the Crusade<sup>3</sup> was limited to such contributions, which were by no means regularly paid by any members of the league.<sup>4</sup> His inclinations were peaceful, as we have seen, and he was unwilling to send his forces far from his Kingdom, except when, as in the Smyrna Crusade, it was to his interest to help to break the power of the Turks. While they confined themselves to the Aegean, he did not consider himself threatened; but if the Turkish fleet were to come east of Rhodes, his task, which was to safeguard not only Cyprus, but Latin commerce and pilgrim-traffic in the eastern Mediterranean, would become increasingly difficult.<sup>5</sup> His policy was in complete conflict with the spirit of his son Peter, Count of Tripoli, who was to succeed him. That young man, it would seem, was already making his plans, but without the knowledge of his father, although the significance of the Order of the Sword, which Peter had founded already by 1347, must have been clear.<sup>6</sup>

A curious episode, the details of which have been romantically developed by later writers, illustrates the difference of temperament between father and son. It would seem that Peter's desire for travel in the

<sup>1</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 221; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. II, p. 246, no. 153.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 218. Hugh's envoy was Philip de Chambarlhac, Archbishop of Nicosia.

<sup>3</sup> He seems to have sent help to Armenia, for which he was thanked by Clement VI on 26 Sept. 1346 (Kohler in *Flor. Melchior de Vogüé* p. 323), but no details are known.

<sup>4</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 101. On 20 June 1357 and on 30 June 1358 (Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* II, no. 74, pp. 93 f.) the Pope has to complain of non-payment of contributions. Orso, Archbishop of Crete, as captain of the league and Legate is ordered to collect from the King of Cyprus, Grand Master of Rhodes, and Venice, the sums due for the defence of Smyrna.

<sup>5</sup> Gay, *op. cit.* p. 131.

<sup>6</sup> He mentions it on his return from the Holy Land in that year. Atiya, p. 320 and n. 8.

strange lands of the West, 'a thing very sweet to those who have not tasted of it and very bitter to those who have seen what it is',<sup>1</sup> a desire which he indulged so freely when he became King, was discouraged by his father, who had no taste himself for such adventure.<sup>2</sup> It must not, however, be supposed that Peter's motive was simply love of adventure. It may be assumed that he wished to explore the possibilities of support for the Crusade which he had so much at heart, but for which he could expect no sympathy from his father. It was useless therefore to ask permission to go. But he and his brother John, Prince of Antioch, were determined on the expedition,<sup>3</sup> and in 1349 made plans for a secret departure. Sir John Lombard, a knight who had a grievance against the King on account of the mean salary (800 besants a year) which he received, although he was 'the strongest and fairest knight in Cyprus, a man of great renown also in many lands', when he learned of the intentions of the two princes, asked leave of the King to go over sea. Hugh granted it, 'lest he should set an example to the other knights and they should ask for higher pay and grants of estates'. Lombard went to the coast, looking for a ship. It now came to the King's ears that the young men were trying to leave the island, and he started a hue and cry. They, however, evaded the King's officers, and sailed from Styllaria near Famagusta with two companions, Sir Simon de Nores (or Tenouri) and Sir Peter de Conches. Lombard, however, who was in another place when they found their ship, remained behind and was caught and imprisoned by the bailie of Famagusta, and put to the torture by Hugh's orders. A galley was sent as far as Chios in search of the runaways, but returned unsuccessful. Furious at his disappointment, Hugh, on the ground that Lombard was in his sons' counsels, cut off his hand and foot, and then hanged him, on 24 April. Two galleys were then sent to the West, under Sir Denis de Nores and Sir Louis de Nores, with letters to the

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 79.

<sup>2</sup> It is amusing to observe that Hugh attempted without success to obtain from Clement VI the indulgences granted to those who visited Rome in the year of Jubilee 1350, without personal attendance. Raynaldus, 1350, p. 502, § 2. The statement that he actually came to the West about 1329 is, as already noted (p. 294, n. 2), without foundation. An alleged second visit, found in various writers from Lusignan (*Descr.* f. 144) down to Reinhard (I, pp. 244f.) is due to a confusion with his grandson Hugh, Senator of Rome. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 102n.

<sup>3</sup> Machaut, *Prise d'Alexandrie*, vv. 507-96; Machaeras, 79-85; Strambaldi, pp. 33f.; Amadi, pp. 407f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 257. Loredano (Giblet, I, pp. 357ff.) invents an amour to account for the affair. Zannetos misdates it in 1354.

Pope and other rulers. They went as far as Rome,<sup>1</sup> and Clement VI issued a bull threatening with excommunication anyone who should harbour the fugitives.<sup>2</sup> The princes were eventually caught and brought home, and thrown into prison at Kerynia, from which they were released at the Pope's intercession.<sup>3</sup> The two captains of galleys were lavishly rewarded with maintenance of 2000 besants a year. Altogether this escapade cost the King a large sum,<sup>4</sup> not to speak of the humiliation and vexation of spirit which he suffered. That his grief was the cause of his death, as the Greek chronicle asserts, we can hardly believe, for he lived another ten years. To prevent another escapade of the kind, he is said to have kept Peter very much under his eye. But in the end he was evidently completely reconciled to his son, for on 24 November 1358 Peter was crowned King of Cyprus; probably because it was wished to forestall any attempt, such as was actually made by Peter's nephew, to dispute the succession.

Less than a year later, Hugh died (10 October 1359)<sup>5</sup> and was buried in St Dominic's.

The unpleasant features of Hugh IV's character, his violent temper, his cold cruelty, have appeared sufficiently in our narrative. When his passions were not excited, he could make a favourable impression, especially on simple religious minds, as we have seen from the praise bestowed on him by the Augustinian, James of Verona (p. 297, n. 3), or by others who were swayed by religious prejudices. Thus an anonymous Englishman who was in Cyprus in 1344<sup>6</sup> describes him as showing great kindness towards the gentle, but speaks of his severity towards the perverse Greeks. 'Nevertheless he rules the people of his realm with

<sup>1</sup> So Machaeras. But the Pope was at Avignon.

<sup>2</sup> Gay, *op. cit.* p. 129. On 13 Sept. 1349 Clement wrote sympathizing with Hugh and promising to send the runaways back if they came to Avignon.

<sup>3</sup> So Machaeras (imprisoned for three days). But Machaut (v. 571) says two months and nine days. Clement's request to Hugh to compose his quarrel with his son Peter, Raynaldus, 1350, p. 517, § 33; on 2 Sept. 1351 he wrote thanking Hugh for having released Peter at his request. Gay, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Amadi's 5000 besants and Fl. Bustron's 13,320 besants seem more credible than the 500,000 which we find in Machaeras and Strambaldi. The precision of the figure given by Bustron is in its favour. In 1387 the sum required for keeping an armed galley at sea for a month was reckoned at 5000 white besants, i.e. 600 or 700 ducats (see below, p. 436, n. 4 and p. 775, n. 4).

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 86; Strambaldi, p. 35; Amadi, p. 408; Fl. Bustron, p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> Golubovich, iv, pp. 430-1, cp. 446-7. Transl. by H. Luke in *Κυπρ. Χρον.* II, pp. 7-11.

justice, without looking upon them too benignly.' His devotion to church services,<sup>1</sup> to philosophical and literary studies<sup>2</sup> and to hunting,<sup>3</sup> rather than to martial adventure, may have earned him popularity with subjects long harassed and impoverished by war. In his time there was peace in the land, and one could travel without fear of being robbed. 'The King is rightly called peaceful', says the visitor of 1344. He made improvements to the royal palace at Nicosia, and apparently to the abbey of Bellapaïs, or to his lodge there. With all this the phrases of the sixteenth-century chronicler,<sup>4</sup> describing his rule as marked by marvellous good qualities, and his nature as kindly, and praising him for the royal felicity of his reign—coming as they do immediately after the

<sup>1</sup> Described by James of Verona (above, p. 297, n. 3), and also by Philip de Mézières, who tells how he would not allow any talking during divine office (*Songe du vieil pelerin*, M.L., H. II, p. 207, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras, who visited Cyprus in 1350, has a eulogy of him in connexion with George of Lapithos (*Hist. Byz.* III, c. xxv, 8, 9). The King had villas (ἐπαύλεις καὶ διαίται) in the neighbourhood of Lapithos and saw much of George, whom he honoured greatly for his general distinction and learning; for the King himself knew not a little about the philosophy of the Latins, and had many of their wise men about him; but he preferred the literary talent and conversation of George who was greatly skilled in the learning and language of both Greeks and Latins. It was at Hugh's invitation that Boccaccio composed his *Genealogy of the Gods*, which is dedicated *ad Ugonem inclitum Hierusalem et Cypri regem*. His interest in craftsmanship is shown by the fact (mentioned in a resolution of the Venetian Senate of 25 July 1334) that he paid 800 ducats to Mondino of Cremona, a goldsmith in Venice, for a clock on which Mondino had spent a great deal of his substance, so cunningly was it constructed. V. Lazari, *Notizia...della Raccolta Correr*, pp. 180-1; M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, p. 64. For him also was made the Orientalizing copper basin (once plated with silver) inscribed '✠ Tres haut et puissant roi Hugue de Jherusalem et de Chipre que Dieu manteigne', and adorned with nineteen medallions (of the signs of the Zodiac and other figures) and an ornamental inscription in Cufic characters eight times repeated, which has been tentatively translated: 'Cet objet a été fabriqué pour Sa très haute Majesté et Sa noble Éminence, par le maître Hugues, qui a éprouvé les bienfaits de celui qui apparaît comme un astre à la religion et aux rois des Francs, de Hugues de Lusignan; que sa puissance dure à jamais.' H.-R. D'Alembert in Enlart, II, pp. 743-56. Cp. G. Migeon in *Gaz. d. Beaux Arts*, 1900, XXIII, pp. 124-5 and *Manuel d'Art Musulman*<sup>2</sup> (1927), II, pp. 54-5. (Information from Mr Basil Gray, who agrees that the date is probably about 1350).

<sup>3</sup> He hunted wild sheep (moufflon) with leopards, says the anonymous Englishman already quoted. It was the usual way of hunting them; cp. W. of Boldensele and Ludolf of Sudheim (Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* pp. 16, 20).

<sup>4</sup> Fl. Bustron, p. 258.

account of his cruel treatment of his recaptured sons—ring false. As for the long panegyric from the pen of a Greek monk,<sup>1</sup> Thomas Magister (Theodulus Monachus), it is merely a rhetorical exercise, extolling in vague generalities the natural excellences of Cyprus and the virtues of its ruler, and inspired, not improbably, by hopes of a reward for the flatterer.

A monument, completed in 1339 by John di Balduccio of Pisa in S. Eustorgio at Milan, includes among its sculptures the figures of Hugh and his wife Alice d'Ibelin, who had contributed to the cost. They kneel, with their crowns at their feet. Unfortunately the figures lack characterization.<sup>2</sup>

The visitations of nature during the reign of Hugh IV included a plague of locusts, which is mentioned as coming in 1351.<sup>3</sup> More unusual and sensational, however, was the disaster which made the year 1330 famous in the annals of the island. After rain had fallen for twenty-eight days and nights, a devastating storm, on 10 November, caused the Pedias to inundate the capital, destroying many houses and drowning thousands of people. The river at this time entered the city at three places, flowed through it and issued at a single point; only after the lessening of the circuit of the walls in 1567 was its course outside. Had the Bridge of the Seneschal (or the Change) not given way, the destruction would have been much worse. Lemesos also suffered severely, the deaths being as many as 2000, and the city 'almost entirely destroyed'. The Archbishop John del Conte opened his house and the churches to the homeless, and distributed the grain from his granaries, and the King also took measures for the relief of the sufferers. The disaster was commemorated in future years by a procession on Martinmas (11 November).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Migne, *P.G.* 145, cols. 397-404. He flourished under Andronicus II (1282-1328); this can only have been written after 1324. Krumbacher, *Gesch. Byz. Litt.* (1897), pp. 549f.

<sup>2</sup> Venturi, *Storia dell' arte ital.* iv, pp. 547ff.; G. Gerola, *Le effigie dei reali di Cipro in S. Eustorgio di Milano* (Nozze Fantini-Castellucci, Ravenna, 1930).

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 66; Amadi, p. 408; Matt. Villani, lib. iv, cap. vi (1354-5).

<sup>4</sup> Armenian chronicle (V. Langlois, *Extr. de la chron. de Sempad*, *Mém. Ac. St Pétersbourg*, Sér. vii, tom. iv, no. 6, 1862, p. 37) puts the dead at 'more than 600', but Dulaurier's translation of the same passage (*Rec. Cr. Arm.* i, p. 671) has 6000; the date, 16 November. Giov. Villani (*Cron.* lib. x, cap. 167) puts the total deaths in both cities at over 8000. Ludolf of Sudheim in 1336 (Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 19) describes Lemesos (Nymocia) as laid waste by constant earthquakes and floods coming from

This calamity was local (although Villani mentions in the same paragraph a similar flood in Spain, which did great damage at Seville); but Cyprus shared with the rest of the world the Black Death of 1348.<sup>1</sup> It was said to have carried off from half to two-thirds of the population. As we have already seen, the mortality caused by the plague was given in 1351 as a reason for stopping the preaching in Cyprus of the Crusade against the Turks.<sup>2</sup>

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the mountains. Machaeras, 65; Strambaldi, p. 27; Amadi, p. 404; Fl. Bustron, p. 254; Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 56b; *Descr.* f. 144 (the deaths in Nicosia alone 11,000). Loredano (Giblet, I, pp. 344f.) puts the deaths in Nicosia at over 3000, in Lemesos at 2000; and describes how the King fled from his palace to that of the Archbishop and thought only of his own safety; when the flood abated after three days, he fasted for three days more, then ordered the Martinmas procession, and took steps to import grain from abroad and relieve the famine caused by the destruction of the crops in fields and granaries (much cattle had also perished), and to prevent a rise in prices. This gained him the affection of his people. Zannetos (I, p. 760) doubts the statement of Loredano (also in Lusignan) that the course of the river was then through the middle of the city. On this and other inundations in Cyprus, see Oberhummer, *Cyperm*, pp. 210f.

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 66; Strambaldi, p. 27; Amadi, p. 407; O.C. p. 241. Exaggerated estimates may be found elsewhere; e.g. J. Nohl, *The Black Death*, tr. Clarke (1926), p. 40: 'the islands of Cyprus and Iceland are said to have been depopulated to the last inhabitant'. The mortality rate assigned to the first plague is usually much too high; it was probably not over twenty per cent, according to J. C. Russell (*Speculum*, 1945, p. 158).

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 301, n. 3.



## CHAPTER VI

### PETER I (1359-1369)

Peter I, on the death of his father, was in his thirtieth year.<sup>1</sup> He had, as we have seen, already been crowned King of Cyprus in his father's lifetime, on 24 November 1358.<sup>2</sup> On 5 April he and his wife Eleanor of Aragon were crowned for Jerusalem at Famagusta<sup>3</sup> by Peter Thomas,<sup>4</sup> the Legate, who had arrived in the island on 8 December preceding. Peter had already, on

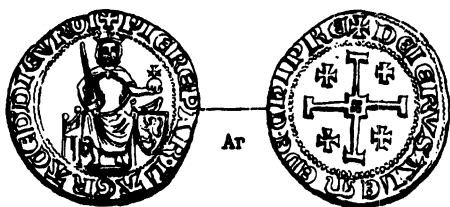


Fig. 6. Silver gros of Peter I.

<sup>1</sup> He was born on 9 Oct. 1329. Machaut, *Prise d'Alexandrie*, ed. Mas Latrie, vv. 127-36.

<sup>2</sup> The alternative date given by Machaeras, 90, 24 Nov. 1359, is doubtless due to a confusion with the year of his accession. Machaeras says the ceremony was performed by Guy d'Ibelin (Γκὴ τε Ἰμπελήν), brother of the Lord of Arsuf (Ἀρσεφίου), Bishop of Lemesos. Strambaldi (p. 36) calls him *Gite Imbeli, signor de Arasio*. Now, since the signory of *Arasio* or *Araison* belonged to the family of Giblet, it has been proposed (Du Cange-Rey, p. 334; Dawkins, note on Machaeras, 90) to read *Giblet* instead of *Ibelin*. In view, however, of the fact that the name of the Bishop of Lemesos is given in the Venetian privilege of 1360 (M.L., *H.* II, p. 230) as *Guidone de Ybellino*, it seems preferable to regard *Arasio* as a mistake of Strambaldi.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 90, 104 (Strambaldi, p. 40); Amadi, p. 408; Fl. Bustron, p. 258. Peter had lost his first wife, Échive de Montfort, whom he had married in 1342. Benedict XII, on 30 Aug. 1338, had exhorted Hugh to find a suitable husband for this lady, who was the sole heiress of her noble house. Hugh proposed to marry her to one of his sons; on 3 Sept. 1339 the Pope objected that she was already by some years of nubile age, whereas the King's sons were too young (Peter was not ten years old); moreover she was related to them by blood (*Lettres closes*, ed. Vidal, nos. 1967, 2500). But he eventually gave way and granted the dispensation on 28 June 1342 (Bzovius, *Ann. Eccl.* 1342, § 23; Wadding, *Ann. Minor.* (Quaracchi), VII, p. 301). Eleanor (also called Alice by Amadi, p. 408, and by some others Constance) was the daughter of Peter, Infante of Aragon, fourth son of James II, who after the death of his wife became a Friar Minor. Peter I married her in 1353. M.L., *Gén.* pp. 25 f.; Iorga, *P.M.* p. 107, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Thomas or Thomasius, not de Thomas, seems to be his correct name. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 131, n. 3.

28 March, after reaching Famagusta, made appointments to certain offices of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. On 17 October he made ordinances and filled up other offices of the Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

The arrival of the Legate had been speedily followed by a riot between Greeks and Franks, which will be described in a later chapter. When therefore Peter sent envoys<sup>2</sup> to the Pope to announce the death of his father and his own coronation, they were instructed to beg His Holiness not to send out mischief-making Legates.<sup>3</sup>

Peter's right to the throne was not undisputed. His elder half-brother Guy, who, as we have seen, had been married in 1330 to Mary de Bourbon, died in 1346, leaving a son Hugh, Prince of Galilee. This young man now, on the arrival of Peter's envoys, claimed the throne, with the support of John II, King of France.<sup>4</sup> He produced an agreement between his two grandfathers, Hugh IV and Louis, Duke of Bourbon, by which, if Mary had a son, and her husband Guy died before his father, then that son should inherit the throne of Cyprus, as against any other son of King Hugh. It may be observed in passing that there was nothing to this effect in the contract of marriage signed at Bourbon in 1328.<sup>5</sup> Peter's envoys, questioned on this point, maintained that, by the Assizes of the Kingdom, the son of a deceased elder son could not inherit as against a surviving son; Guy had never inherited

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 100, 104 (Strambaldi, pp. 39, 40), contradicts himself about one of these appointments. In 100 he has Peter's brother James as Constable of Jerusalem; in 104 it is John d'Ibelin who is given that office. The date 17 Oct. in both writers might easily be read as applying to the coronation, but is evidently the date of some of the new appointments.

<sup>2</sup> On 18 Sept. according to Machaeras (102) and Strambaldi (p. 39); a date which the editor of the latter says is incorrect. Innocent's letter of consolation and exhortation, 28 June 1360: Raynaldus, 1360, p. 54, § 13.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras and Strambaldi, *ll. cc.*

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 105-8, cp. 409; Strambaldi, pp. 41 f., 165; Amadi, p. 410; Fl. Bustron, p. 238; Binon in *Mélanges Boisacq*, I, p. 130. According to Machaeras (172) Hugh was not created Prince of Galilee until the capture of Alexandria. But he was already in possession of the title on 28 Jan. 1365 (*M.L., H.* II, p. 254). In 1360 the Pope conferred on him the dignity of Senator of Rome, which he did not immediately assume, for on 8 Jan. 1361 Innocent wrote to his mother explaining why he had not presented himself to take up the office to which he had been appointed a little time ago. (Martène et Durand, *Thes. Nov.* II, col. 846.)

<sup>5</sup> See above (Ch. V, p. 295, n.). This alleged agreement had been mentioned to Clement VI as early as 1344; but it is significant that in writing to King Hugh about it the Pope uses the words *sicut fertur*.

the crown, how then could his son inherit it from him? A fief could only be inherited from the person last in seisin of it. The Pope rejected this plea, holding that the Assizes had no power against the settlement; published the challenge of the King of France; and summoned Peter to appear before him within a year. Peter did not go in person, but his two envoys, whom he sent on 10 April 1360, though they failed to convince the Pope,<sup>1</sup> were more successful with the King of France. Hugh's claim was satisfied for the time with a pension of 50,000 white besants a year.<sup>2</sup> One of the envoys, John de Morphou, Count of Roucha<sup>3</sup> and Marshal of Cyprus, took the occasion to arrange a marriage between the Prince of Galilee and his daughter Mary.<sup>4</sup>

One of Peter's first acts after his coronation was to despatch two galleys, under Genoese captains in his pay, to deal with one Luke, a Catalan pirate, who had been working in Cyprus waters in 1359 and had seized many ships. The galleys searched as far as Catalonia without finding him, and their captains could only lodge a protest with King Peter IV, who undertook to execute the offender if he caught him.<sup>5</sup>

The Venetian Senate early sent an embassy to congratulate and make a present to Peter on his accession, and renew and as far as possible enlarge the Venetian privileges in the island.<sup>6</sup> The treaty of 1328 was confirmed at Nicosia on 16 August 1360,<sup>7</sup> and at the same time a fresh

<sup>1</sup> The Pope's letter of 24 May 1360 warns Peter that there is danger of war unless Hugh is satisfied (Raynaldus, 1360, pp. 55-7, §§ 15, 16); and again on 28 June 1360 (Raynaldus, 1360, p. 55, § 13) he insists that Peter is to do Hugh justice.

<sup>2</sup> So Machaeras. Amadi says 150,000 besants, Fl. Bustron 5000 ducats. It is impossible to reconcile these figures on the information available, which is set forth by Dawkins on Machaeras, 84.

<sup>3</sup> According to Machaeras (172) John de Morphou only received this title at the capture of Alexandria; but the whole of this statement of Machaeras is of doubtful chronological value.

<sup>4</sup> On Hugh's future career see M.L., *Gén.* pp. 17f. Both Machaeras and Amadi speak here as if the marriage took place in 1360; on the other hand, in Machaeras, 412, it is implied that the marriage was still in the future in 1373. It is unlikely that it should have been delayed so long.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 103; Strambaldi, p. 40. They do not say, as Zannetos supposes (I, p. 770), that the captains found the pirate 'in the harbour of Aragon', dared not attack him in foreign territory, and then went on to Barcelona and protested to the King.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 228f. (decisions of 21 May and 21 June 1360). About the same time (May) Florence sent its condolences to Peter on the death of his father (Müller, *Documenti*, p. 118).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 229f.

privilege was granted covering jurisdiction in maritime and criminal cases.<sup>1</sup> Both were handed to the Venetian envoys with a covering letter from the King on 20 September. Less than nine months later, in June 1361, however, we find Peter's envoys, on their return from France, at Venice, raising various other questions. They made, in the first place, a demand for exemption for Cypriotes in Venice reciprocal to that enjoyed by Venetians in Cyprus. This was refused, since it would lead to similar demands from other nations. The Senate undertook, however, to deal with breaches and evasions of the regulations for Venetian trade in Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly afterwards the Senate, having news of the great preparations which Peter was making for war, took special steps to deal with possible hindrances to their ships in completing their cargoes in Cyprus.<sup>3</sup>

Peter's preparations extended even to the West, for when his envoys, having fulfilled their mission, returned to Cyprus, they brought with

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H. II*, pp. 230-2. (1) A Venetian who made an assault should be arrested by the King's Bailie, but not be tried without the order of the King, and the case should be decided at the King's discretion, and not submitted to the law and custom of the realm. (2) A person whose Venetian nationality was doubtful should be accepted if he produced two guarantors. (3) The Venetian Bailie should obtain from the masters of Venetian ships guarantees that they are carrying no contraband. The King's Bailie on receiving the manifest should at once inspect the cargo for contraband. (4) Masters of ships not to take on board any persons except Venetians and their crews, without special licence from the King (cp. below, p. 315). (5) Masters to make good any damage which they are proved to the Venetian Bailie to have done to any subjects of the King. If the plaintiffs do not obtain satisfaction they may appeal to the King, who shall decide at his discretion.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H. II*, pp. 233-5 (3 June 1361). The Venetian Bailie sometimes gave guarantees to the Bailie of Famagusta in favour of persons who were not, but pretended to be, Venetians; some Venetian ships took slaves and other people out of Cyprus without the statutory licence (cp. the terms of the privilege just granted); Venetian traders sometimes passed through the customs goods belonging to non-Venetians.

<sup>3</sup> 6 Sept. 1361. M.L., *H. II*, p. 235. If their business could not be completed in the time normally allowed for them to stay there, the Venetian Bailie, with his council of twelve (chosen from local notables) and any members of the Venetian Great Council there present, could extend the time by twelve days. On 5 May 1361 Innocent VI gave the Venetians licence to send six galleys to trade with the Sultan's lands. (Martène et Durand, *Thes. Nov.* II, col. 953). Cp. *Libri Comm.*, *Reg.* III, p. 28, no. 140 (8 April 1364): licence from Urban V for Venice to send two ships to Alexandria or other of the Sultan's territories with merchandise, but not the usually prohibited articles (iron, timber, etc.).

them from Lombardy a number of men for the Cypriote army, whom Peter's agent John of Verona had been recruiting in Italy.<sup>1</sup> This recruiting had been going on for some time; some of the new drafts seem to have got out of hand, and in an affray at Famagusta between them and Cypriotes and Syrians two of the strangers were killed. The carrying of arms was forbidden, the originators of the disturbance were hanged, and quiet restored.<sup>2</sup>

Genoa did not apply to Peter for the renewal of its old privilege of 1232 until he had been a few years on the throne. But advantage was taken of his presence in Genoa in 1363 to obtain the renewal, which was granted on 5 March.<sup>3</sup> A quarrel at Famagusta, characteristic of the relations between the two parties, is recorded from next year.<sup>4</sup> The Prince of Antioch, Regent of the island in the King's absence, was equipping four galleys for the defence of Cyprus and Adalia. Two of the crew deserted; when they were caught, he had them punished (according to custom) by flogging and cutting off an ear, to the sound of trumpets, although they claimed to be Genoese. A Genoese galley, chartered by the Regent to carry provisions to Adalia, happened to be in port. The punishment of their compatriots infuriated the Genoese crew, who boarded the other galley,<sup>5</sup> murdered a number of Cypriotes, and then sailed off to Chios with all the provisions. The Regent at once sent orders for the arrest of all the Genoese and the guarantors of the runaway galley, and for the return of the stolen goods. The Genoese podestà, William Ermirio, accordingly sent out a caique which found her at Chios and ordered her back. The four Cypriote galleys were

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 109 (Strambaldi, p. 42). Did the Prince of Galilee return with them? Fl. Bustron says that he did; but Amadi is not clear, and Machaeras and Strambaldi say nothing. He was at Avignon at the very beginning of 1361 (M.L., *Gén.* pp. 17f.), whereas the envoys did not get back until some months later.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 111 (Sunday, 22 April 1360; but this was a Wednesday); Strambaldi, p. 42 (22 April 1361, which was a Thursday). Whichever is right these recruits cannot have been those brought back by the envoys, but an earlier batch.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 248f., from the *Liber iurium reip. Gen.* II, pp. 719-23. Philip de Mézières, Chancellor of Cyprus, was among the witnesses. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 145-9; Strambaldi, pp. 56f.; Amadi, p. 413; Fl. Bustron, pp. 261f. The latter two make the trouble begin in 1363, but it can hardly have lasted so long as that would imply. On the whole affair, Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 256f.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the one from which the two victims had deserted. Fl. Bustron, however, implies that the galley where the massacre took place was the hired Genoese ship, which had a mixed crew of Cypriotes and Genoese.

standing by at Famagusta; when they sighted the Genoese on her return they ran alongside, and some Sicilian mercenaries boarded her and killed a number of her crew. The Genoese podestà retaliated by seizing a Pisan who was in a ship of the King's, asserting that he was a Genoese, took him to his loggia, and had his tongue cut out when he protested that he was a Pisan. The King's Bailie, John de Soissons, reported this outrage to the Admiral, John de Sur, who went with him to the Genoese loggia, where a dispute was in progress with the Sicilians. The Admiral loudly upbraided the podestà and bade him order the Genoese to go to their homes and disarm, or he would have them cut down. The podestà assured him that he might kill all the Genoese in Famagusta, but there were many others who would exact vengeance; 'do not think that we are your serfs'. There was considerable bloodshed; all three officers despatched letters to the Regent, who sent four knights to enquire into the affair. These, with two monks from every monastery in Famagusta, met the podestà and his company. A long debate ended in the podestà throwing down his wand of office and proclaiming that all the Genoese should leave Cyprus. This was to be in October 1364. The Prince of Antioch thereupon proclaimed that every Genoese might remain in the island without fear for himself or his property, if he pleased. The podestà went home and reported to his government, which sent an envoy to Cyprus. He arrived on 12 September, and ordered all Genoese to leave Cyprus by February following.

The Prince of Antioch had also reported to Peter, who in this summer had gone on from France to Germany. He had summoned to the West his brother James the Constable and also his cousin Bohemund de Lusignan,<sup>1</sup> and they travelled thither with the Venetian galleys. The news reached Avignon about June, and Urban V intervened immediately.<sup>2</sup> On the 19th of the month he wrote to Peter urging him to punish the offenders, and to the Doge of Genoa begging him not to attack so good a prince and obstruct the Crusade which he was preparing; he asked him to accept the mediation of the Holy See. On the 25th he wrote again, and sent a special messenger, to persuade the Doge to hold up the armed galley which he was preparing to despatch, offering to indemnify him for his losses in Cyprus if the King refused compensation. The Doge was long in replying, and meanwhile continued his

<sup>1</sup> Peter had proposed him as King of Armenia. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 257, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 257, n. 5, 258; Lecacheux, *Lettres secr.* no. 1027 (19 June).

preparations. At last, on 17 July, Urban was able to inform Peter that Genoa was ready to await the King's doing justice on the offenders and on those who had neglected to punish them.<sup>1</sup> No progress however was made; it was not until 11 November that Peter returned to Venice. Then he gave instructions to Venetian ambassadors who went to Genoa to treat of the affairs of Venice as well as his own.<sup>2</sup> But Genoa for some reason refused to treat with him and continued its preparations. Then on 28 January 1365 Peter sent his own envoys, the Legate Peter Thomas and his physician Guy de Bagnolo.<sup>3</sup> They had a very unpleasant reception; Philip de Mézières, who was in the Legate's suite, speaks of being in danger of his life. After long negotiations agreement was reached, and a treaty was signed at Genoa on 18 April 1365.<sup>4</sup>

After repeating the text of the privilege of 1232, and insisting that its terms had been frequently broken by Cyprus and were henceforth to be faithfully observed, the new treaty begins by defining what is meant by 'Genoese and those who are called Genoese'.<sup>5</sup> The chief extensions or modifications of the old privilege were as follows. As regards jurisdiction, even Genoese who had become the King's liegemen were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the podestà, only property held by such persons in the nature of a fief being exempted.<sup>6</sup> The King's officers were

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<sup>1</sup> Lecacheux, *Lettres secr.* no. 1102. Urban continued to hammer away at Peter, writing also to the Patriarch of Constantinople (Peter Thomas) and to the Grand Master of the Hospital, and to the Doge and Commune of Genoa to expedite peace in this affair, 'in qua differencia non grandis asseritur'. See Lecacheux, nos. 1602 (20 Febr. 1365), 1619 (4 March), 1649 (22 March), 1650 (26 March), 1681 (7 April).

<sup>2</sup> Instructions from the Doge of Venice to the ambassadors, 24 Dec. 1364: M.L., H. III, p. 747.

<sup>3</sup> Credentials, M.L., H. II, pp. 253-4 (28 Jan. 1365).

<sup>4</sup> The text, *Liber iurium*, II, col. 733-43; C. Pagano, *Delle imprese e del dominio dei Genovesi nella Grecia* (Genoa, 1846), pp. 294-307; M.L., H. II, pp. 254-66; Heyd II, p. 19; Aimilianides in *Κυπρ. Σπ.* I, pp. 23 f. Machaeras (154) has a précis in twenty articles.

<sup>5</sup> The *dicti Januenses* are persons not of Genoese birth or citizenship, such as Levantine Greeks or Syrians, who have for various reasons been admitted to the Genoese privileges. They correspond to the 'White' and 'Black Genoese', the latter being probably emancipated slaves. (See above, Ch. I, p. 10, n. 3). Here the Genoese of Giblest are specially mentioned. The podestà and his council were to decide who should be included among these *dicti Januenses*; in case of dispute appeal might be made to the Doge and his council.

<sup>6</sup> In this connexion the eighth article in Machaeras's account is difficult to understand. He says that there are many Genoese who have been forced by their poverty

not to proceed against any Genoese offender who was in the pay of the King or his officials or any community or person, even if the offence were in connexion with his employment, unless there were no Genoese rector in the place to whom recourse could be had to do justice. In criminal cases the offender was to be taken and as soon as possible brought before the podestà. On their side the King's officers were to do justice upon his subjects if guilty of extortion from Genoese.

As regards the visits of Genoese vessels to Cyprus ports, more than three Genoese galleys<sup>1</sup> might not enter a port without licence from the King's officers, unless they were merchant vessels, and those officers were to have the right to inspect; but any Genoese galleys wishing to take shelter from enemy pursuit might do so in any number. Genoese ships were to be free to leave the island without hindrance on a day's notice being given to the court of the *fonde* by the podestà, who should exact from the masters guarantees that they were not carrying anyone not a Genoese or a member of the crew without licence from the court. In time of dearth no grain or flour should be taken, save so much bread or biscuit or other provision as was necessary for the voyage. No wares for the Sultan's lands prohibited by the Church should be taken out. Mariners or officers who were not Genoese might leave the island provided they had been engaged before coming there. The King's officers in general should not be allowed to take the occasion of any new cause arising to prohibit the Genoese or their goods from leaving.<sup>2</sup> Certain restrictions were placed on the loggia of the podestà, chiefly with the object of preventing it from becoming a stronghold.

Finally the Admiral, John de Sur, and the Bailie, John de Soissons, were to be exiled for life to Rhodes or farther west, as having been the cause of the recent scandals in the time of William Ermirio, and the Sicilians and others who took part in the disturbances were to be punished.

to go into the King's service, and that the Genoese are not to admit them into their body. Strambaldi understood the Greek chronicle to mean that poverty caused such Genoese King's men to get themselves accepted as Genoese, which was not to be allowed. Art. 9 forbids the King's officers to use force to make them King's men.—On the functions of the Genoese podestà, see Heyd II, p. 20.

<sup>1</sup> According to Machaeras (art. 11) if Genoese galleys come to Cyprus and have no merchandise on board they are not to be compelled to put in at Famagusta. Doubtless the Cyprus officials preferred to have them there for customs control.

<sup>2</sup> This clause appears to cut out the possibility of any new dispute being seized upon by the officers to place a Genoese ship or its cargo under arrest, as happened in 1373.



All other agreements or declarations made hitherto in connexion with the original privilege were hereby abrogated.

The Legate and Guy de Bagnolo swore in the King's name to observe the treaty, under pain of a fine of 100,000 gold florins. Breach of its terms, or refusal by the King to punish any officer guilty of such infraction, was to be regarded as justifying Genoa in making war on his realm and island.

The King, however, to whom the treaty was presented in a French translation, refused to confirm the banishment of the Bailie and Admiral. To the rest he agreed, and Genoa gave him a safe-conduct for his voyage back from Venice to Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> The envoys then returned to Cyprus, bringing with them a Genoese podestà, and proclaimed the peace.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of some slight concessions, the tone of this treaty is dictatorial, and it is clear that Peter must have been desperately anxious for settlement with the Genoese, in order that he might get on with his plans for the Crusade.

Agreements such as had been reached by the Cyprus government with the Genoese and Venetians did not, of course, heal the perennial feud between the two Communes. Rioting was liable to break out on the slightest provocation, as happened in 1368, when the Venetian Bailie was injured, and the Bailie of Famagusta and the monks between them had difficulty in quelling the disorder.<sup>3</sup> It was an anticipation of the much more serious affray at the coronation of Peter II which had such momentous consequences.

Besides Venice and Genoa, Montpellier also had negotiations for commercial privileges with Peter during the first half of his reign. No details are given in a letter of Peter to the consuls of the town dated 29 March 1361.<sup>4</sup> But when Peter was in France in 1363<sup>5</sup> the citizens of Montpellier approached him with the complaint that their merchants were being overcharged, and Peter wrote to his brother John, Regent of Cyprus, that they were to be treated as they had been in the time of Hugh IV.<sup>6</sup> Before his return from the West, he gave them a new

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 155; Strambaldi, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 156, 165; Strambaldi, pp. 62, 66.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 250; Strambaldi, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 233.

<sup>5</sup> Urban V had approached Peter on 22 Nov. 1362 on behalf of Montpellier, to prevent his officials charging them double the usual customs dues (8 per cent instead of 4 per cent). Lecacheux, *Lettres secr.* no. 115.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 250 (21 April 1363). *Lettres secr. ibid.*

treaty.<sup>1</sup> It is a confirmation of their old privileges, which included a consul to accompany their fleets and to stay in the island, appointed by the town without licence from any prince or lord, having civil and criminal jurisdiction both during the voyage and also while in the island; persons sentenced by him being imprisoned in the King's prisons. The consul should have a lodge in Famagusta or elsewhere, and the usual three or four *bâtonniers*. No restriction was to be placed on the sale, by the Montpellier merchants or others travelling in their ships, of cloth of France or Languedoc. The import and export dues on their merchandise were to be 2 per cent, none to be charged on gold or silver. The consul was to secure merchandise belonging to any merchant dying in Cyprus for his heirs. The consuls and merchants were to be under the protection of the King. On his departure, the consul was to appoint one or more deputies to take his place pending the arrival of a successor. The manifests of the merchants were to be accepted by the Cyprus customs on their oath without further proof. The consuls and citizens of Montpellier having been since time immemorial in peaceful possession (until recently the customs doubled the dues) of a large sum in money by way of deposit, it should be returned to them without any deduction. The dues on the chartering of ships were to be reduced from one-fifth to one-tenth. Goods might be transhipped in any port to be carried elsewhere without payment of dues; and goods landed but not sold might be reshipped, paying 2 per cent only on their entry and only 1 per cent on their export. Merchants or their men who committed a crime punishable by death or mutilation were to be punished in their persons (failing agreement by composition) and not in their goods, which were to be reserved for their heirs or rightful owners; nor for any offence committed by such merchants or their agents were their goods, or goods in their charge, to be confiscated.

We may now turn to the chief matter of Peter's reign. His expeditions against the infidel were to be very costly, and before he started on his exploratory excursions to the West every possible measure was taken to raise money in the island, although of course the main financial support for these undertakings would have to come from outside. There

<sup>1</sup> The petition for the privilege in A. C. Germain, *Hist. de la commune de Montpellier*, II, pp. 506-11; M.L., *H.* II, pp. 268-72; under date 14 June 1365. The text of the privilege itself in A. C. Germain, *Hist. du commerce de Montpellier*, II, pp. 15f., 259-61 (date 14 Jan. 1365). Cp. Heyd, II, p. 15, n. 2. Peter did not sail from Venice until the end of June 1365.

was no reserve in the treasury, which had been exhausted by Hugh IV's contributions to the war against the Turks.<sup>1</sup> All extraordinary revenues and arrears were collected, and irregular payments on the treasury books cleared off. The balance being inadequate, the King was persuaded to allow the *perperiarii*<sup>2</sup> to compound for their freedom from taxation by payment of a lump sum. This was fixed at first at 2000 white besants for a man, his wife and infant children; it was then by degrees reduced, for those who could not afford so large a sum, to 1000 besants. The persons thus freed comprised most of the civil servants and all the rich burgesses in Nicosia, men whose payment of taxes had hitherto come to more than 2000 besants a year. The class who continued to pay the poll-tax was reduced to those who were too poor to buy themselves off.<sup>3</sup> Their turn was to come later.

The crusading history of Peter I falls into four divisions: his attack on Asia Minor and capture of Adalia; his journey to the West in 1362-5; his expedition to Egypt in the latter year; and the four years of negotiations with Egypt, enlivened by occasional raids on Syria and Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 157; Strambaldi, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> See Ch. I, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 157; Strambaldi, pp. 62f.; Amadi, p. 414; Fl. Bustron, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> These subjects have been so thoroughly covered by Iorga, *P.M.* chs. vi-xi and Atiya, chs. xiv, xv, that much discussion of details may be here omitted. The sketch in Delaville le Roulx, *F.O.* I, pp. 118-40, gives special information on the part played by Frenchmen. Iorga's work, a monument of erudition, has been used, to an extent for which no acknowledgment is adequate, throughout the reign of Peter I. Of the original sources, in addition to the usual chroniclers, and the documents published by Mas Latrie, the chief are: Philip de Mézières, *Vita S. Petri Thomasii*, in *AA.SS.*, Jan. III, 605-11. John Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, VI, pp. 378ff., for Peter's tour in the West. Caroldo's Venetian Chron. for the same, 1362-4 (ed. M.L., *Bibl. de l'Éc. des Ch.* 34, 1873), pp. 68-72. William de Machaut, *La prise d'Alexandrie ou chronique du roi Pierre I de Lusignan*, ed. Mas Latrie (1877). Very important for the actual capture of Alexandria is al-Ilmam of al-Nuwairi, who was there at the time, fled when the city was taken, and returned after the evacuation. Full use of the MSS. of his work at Berlin and Cairo has been made by Atiya: see p. 349, n. 1. Al-Nuwairi provides the only extant description of Peter's personal appearance, in an amusing passage (tr. in Herzsohn, *Der Ueberfall Alexandriens*, p. 5): 'It has been said that he is tall (God break his back and make all his affairs go awry), blue-eyed (God raise him up blind at the rising of the dead, and make him one of those over whom misery hangs), blond (God empty his hand)' etc. Mr Fulton points out that *azrak* means both blue-eyed and blind, through a blue film, i.e. cataract; and that in *musfarr al-laun*, lit. 'yellow of colour', there is also a play on *safara*, 'may he empty'. I take it that 'yellow of colour' is best rendered blond; if his eyes were blue his hair was probably light-coloured or golden.—There is a valuable chronological note on Peter's journeys

One thing distinguishes these expeditions from all other Crusades, the fact that the impulse and execution were due not to any western personality or Power, but to one who lived on the frontiers of the Sultan's dominions. In another aspect, the way in which the whole adventure centres on a single individual, as in the intensity of the religious enthusiasm which inspired that leader, it has its nearest parallel in the Crusades of St Louis. Peter indeed was born a century too late. He believed that he had a mission, directly confided to him in a vision which he saw at the church of Holy Cross at Stavrovouni; and before his accession it was with the recovery of the Holy Places in view that he founded the Order of the Sword (Fig. 7),<sup>1</sup> although it is curious that the motto of the Order, 'C'est pour loiauté maintenir', hardly expresses its religious aim. Rather it illustrates the fact that one of the most decisive of the reasons which provoked the creation of Orders of chivalry, so frequent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the desire of princes to attach to themselves a band of faithful followers of high standing.<sup>2</sup>

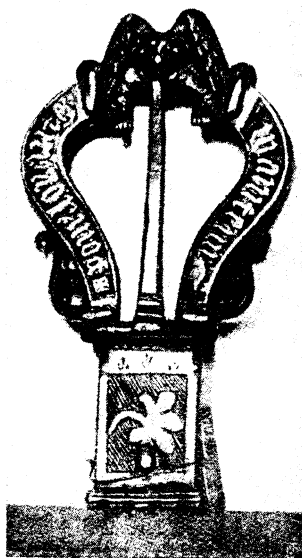


Fig. 7. Silver Buckle of the Order of the Sword.

in the West in M.L., *H.* II, p. 239, n. 1. See also the same writer's *Rel. pol. et comm.* I, pp. 491 (occupation of Gorhigos), 492-9 (Adalia), 506-15 (the Grand Karaman's attack on Gorhigos). On Peter see also the sketch by K. Herquet, *Cyprische Königsgestalten* (Halle a.S. 1881), pp. 9-31.

<sup>1</sup> There is a description of the insignia and their symbolism in Machaut (vv. 357-506). The badge was a silver cross-hilted sword on a blue field, with the motto *C'est pour loiauté maintenir*; and the knights wore a collar of SS. A silver buckle of the Order (Fig. 7) has fortunately been preserved; see C. Enlart in *Annales de la Soc. d'Archéol.* xxiv (Brussels, 1910), pp. 209-12; also *Deux Souvenirs du royaume de Chypre* (Soc. nat. des ant. de France, *Mémoires*, LXIX, 1910, pp. 10-12). The sword takes the place of the sceptre in the King's hand on Peter's coins (Fig. 6). It also occurs in connexion with his coat of arms, as on the Cornaro Palace (Frederick Cornaro was admitted to the Order by Peter, who stayed in his palace). See Hasluck, in *B.S.A.* xv (1908-9), p. 272; xvi (1909-10), p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Marc Bloch, *La société féodale; les classes et le gouvernement des hommes* (Paris, 1940), p. 255.

Good fortune placed in Peter's hands, at the very beginning of his reign, the opportunity of establishing himself on the coast of Asia Minor. From a military point of view, he thus protected his rear; commercially, he secured a channel of communication with the interior of Asia Minor, to which caravans brought the products of Central Asia. The people of Gorchigos, seeing themselves in danger of falling into the power of the Turks (for the reigning King of Armenia, the usurper Constantine IV (V), was powerless to defend them), offered to place their town in his hands in return for his protection.<sup>1</sup> Unlike his father, who had refused the same gift some years before (p. 298), Peter accepted it at once. Within a week he despatched the two galleys, which he kept up, according to the terms of the league, for the defence of Smyrna, carrying four companies of archers, under Sir Robert, an English knight whose surname is uncertain.<sup>2</sup> The gates were opened and Sir Robert took command in the name of King Peter, to whom the inhabitants swore allegiance. From that time onwards, until Gorchigos was lost in the reign of John II, Cyprus provided two galleys yearly, and pay for the garrison.

The occupation of Gorchigos alarmed the Moslem rulers of the neighbouring regions of Asia Minor. A league was promptly formed between the Grand Karaman and the Emirs of Alaya, Tekke (with its

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<sup>1</sup> The envoys arrived on 8 Jan. 1359 (1360 N.S.). Strambaldi and the Oxford MS. of Machaeras (114) have 1361. Both writers are much confused about this affair (see Dawkins on Machaeras, 113, n. 1). The offer of Gorchigos to King Hugh, who died in 1359, must have been before then; but the King of Armenia who retired to France was Leo VI, who did not come to the throne until 1374. If it was a King Leo whose inability to protect Gorchigos prompted the offer to Hugh, he must have been Leo V (1320-42). But from the remark made by Hugh (above, p. 298) it would appear that the offer was made in the time of King Guy.

<sup>2</sup> On this mysterious person, whom most agree, after Strambaldi, to call Robert de Lusignan, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 114, n. 3. Of the various readings *τε Λουζᾶ* (Machaeras), Tolosan (Fl. Bustron), Tulassan (Amadi), Lusignan (Strambaldi), surely the last is the least acceptable, since in a chronicle of Cyprus it was the corruption most likely to creep in. So it is better to leave his surname unidentified. But was he possibly the Englishman Sir Robert le Roux whom we find in Peter's service in 1367? (Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 356-7). Stubbs (*Seventeen Lectures*, p. 221) quaintly hopes that, if he was engaged in the sack of Adalia, he was only by courtesy an Englishman, coming from the continental estates of the Plantagenets; as if Englishmen in those days were immune from the charge of barbarity. In any case, there is no definite authority for supposing of Sir Robert that, like Chaucer's knight, 'at Lieys was he and at Satalie, when they were wonne'.

centre at Adalia) and Monovgat.<sup>1</sup> They fitted out all the ships they could command, intending a raid on Cyprus, which however they seem never to have carried out. Peter's preparations, on the other hand, were formidable. Including four galleys which the Grand Master Roger des Pins sent at his request, two from the Pope, ships from Cyprus and other kingdoms, and twelve privateers, no less than a hundred and twenty vessels great and small left Famagusta on 12 July 1361, and sailed to Aliki (Larnaka), thence to a port called the Mills, where they provisioned and embarked horses.<sup>2</sup> At this place envoys from Tekke found Peter; the Emir had written repeatedly begging the King not to attack him. Peter took the presents which they brought, but was not dissuaded from his intention. He landed at Tetramili near Adalia. His brother the Prince of Antioch went forward with part of the forces, and could have taken the place at once, but left the honour to the King, who, arriving next day with the rest of the army, took it by storm in the evening of St Bartholomew, Tuesday 24 August 1361.<sup>3</sup> Considering that the fortress was supposed to be almost impregnable, its speedy capture must be explained by the absence of the Tekke Bey, who immediately afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture the place, but was obliged to retire to his camp at the Narrows.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the geographical extent of these emirates see Iorga, *P.M.* p. 114; Atiya, p. 324, n. 3f. The Grand Karaman's land comprised a large part of central Asia Minor, corresponding to ancient Cappadocia and part of Lycaonia, and coming down to the Mediterranean between Armeno-Cilicia and the Gulf of Adalia. Alaya or Scandelore (Coracesium) and Monovgat, at the mouth of the R. Melas, were respectively within the borders of the Karaman and Tekke.

<sup>2</sup> D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 141, n. 3, suggests identification with Menehou or Monehou, a little to the south of Larnaka. (Cp. M.L., *H.* III, p. 221.) The spot on the road to Kiti so marked on the maps is a good two miles from the sea.

<sup>3</sup> The date is fixed by the inscription in the wall of Adalia recording the capture by Peter: Hasluck in *B.S.A.* XVI (1909-10), p. 185. Heraldic slabs with the arms of Peter and another man, and the bearings of the Order of the Sword: *ibid.* xv, 1908-9, pp. 271-3. Slab, now lost, with arms (Jerusalem quartering winged lion—probably incorrect) in B. Pace, *Annuario d. R. Scuola arch. di Atene*, III (1916-20), p. 187. There is no reason to suppose that the lion with dragon's tail, *ibid.* p. 188, is Lusignan. For the bibliography of Adalia, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 120.

<sup>4</sup> Matteo Villani (lib. x, cap. 62) says that he attacked with more than 3000 horse and foot and would certainly have retaken the place but for the Hospitallers, who, knowing the methods of the enemy, were constantly on their guard; they withstood the first assault and gave time for the others to arm and come to the defence. This account, which I do not find in any other early source, seems to be the one accepted

The city was sacked and burnt; according to Froissart<sup>1</sup> Peter had 'slayne all that ever were within none except'. The King put in a garrison under James de Nores, the Turcopolier, and left three armed galleys to guard the port. It was to remain in Christian hands until 1373, when it was given up to the Turks.<sup>2</sup> Peter Thomas lost no time in visiting the place and establishing the Christian religion there.<sup>3</sup>

The Moslem league crumbled on the capture of the most important fortress on the coast; the Emirs of Alaya and Monovgat offered submission. Peter went first to Alaya, exacted an oath that the Emir would be 'his slave to serve him', and handed back the keys of his town. The Emir of Monovgat did not come before the King in person, but his envoys, who excused his absence, were told that he was to be regarded as Peter's man. On 22 September Peter was back at Kerynia. The two Emirs undertook to pay an annual tribute and to fly the King's standard in their towns.

This submission of the minor Emirs, however, meant little. The Tekke Bey continued his attempts to retake Adalia. In the winter of 1361-2 the place suffered from famine; there was no forage for the horses but the leaves of the citron-trees (for which Adalia is famous). An attack by a large force in April 1362 was repulsed. The Tekke Bey cut off the water supply, but without effect. On 9 May a relief arrived, and Sir John de Sur, the Admiral, took the place of the Turcopolier as commandant. The Admiral's first act was to make a raid on Myra, burning the castle and sacking the town, from which he carried off a famous icon of St Nicolas, which he placed in the church of St Nicolas of the Latins.<sup>4</sup> The Tekke Bey now offered to buy back Adalia, and received a suitable reply from the Admiral. Again, when Sir John Carmaïn had relieved the Admiral as commandant, the Tekke Bey

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by Iorga (*P.M.* p. 124) and D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* pp. 141-2. Machaeras, on the other hand (122), says that the Tekke Bey entered the castle (Iorga, following Strambaldi, says *city*) by a secret entrance, but, seeing the Christian flag already flying on the walls, retired. For the Narrows, which may be one of the places called Bogaz, see B. Pace, *loc. cit.* p. 186.

<sup>1</sup> I, c. 216 in Bourchier's translation. Only Froissart and Machaut mention this sack; Atiya, however (p. 326), seems to go too far in the other direction when he says that the gates were opened and the fortress surrendered to avoid bloodshed.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 368.

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, 1361, p. 62, § 9 (Ph. de Mézières).

<sup>4</sup> Presumably the cathedral of Famagusta.

collected an army of 45,000 men<sup>1</sup> to attack the place by land, while eight galleys from Alaya supported him by sea. The commandant sent for reinforcements from Cyprus, and three galleys under Sir John de Brie arrived just in time. The attack resulted in a complete rout of the Tekke Bey's land army and the destruction of his eight ships.

In 1362 and 1363 the plague once more devastated Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> Like the Arabs in the year 747,<sup>3</sup> the Turks took advantage of the depletion of the island to raid it. In 1363 Mehmed Reis came to Pendayia with twelve galleys and carried off a number of prisoners, and another fleet of six galleys raided the Karpass and nearly captured the wife of the Lord of the Karpass, Alphonse de la Roche. A series of retaliatory raids followed,<sup>4</sup> ending on balance very much in favour of the Cypriotes, although the commander of the Christian fleet, Francis Spinola, perished.<sup>5</sup> The Turks who were taken prisoners were all dragged at the horse's tail and hanged. Sir John of Antioch and the Admiral Sir John de Sur sacked and burned Anamur, but failed at Siki. Meanwhile Mehmed Reis, for whom the Cypriote fleet was looking, escaped to Tripoli. As this was in the dominions of the Sultan, who was at peace with Cyprus, the Admiral demanded that the local Emir, Mangli-Bugha el-Shamsi, should not harbour him. The Emir declined to expel him without the Sultan's leave, and at first agreed to send two Saracens with the Admiral to the Sultan; but finding that he had prisoners from Anamur on board withdrew his offer, and the Admiral returned to Cyprus disappointed.<sup>6</sup> In the same year three Christian pirate ships attacked Aboukir (in May), and six others Rosetta, from which they were repulsed. Further raiding

<sup>1</sup> So, too, Machaut makes the Great Karaman in 1367 attack Gorhigos with 45,000 men. In both cases the figure is probably an exaggeration.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 135, Strambaldi, p. 53, and Amadi, p. 412, all agree on 1363 as the year of the plague. But Philip de Mézières and the Legate, Peter Thomas, were both in Cyprus when the plague declared itself in Famagusta and spread to Nicosia, and the Legate ordered processions and masses and preached sermons. Now both Philip and the Legate left Cyprus with Peter when he started for the West in Oct. 1362; so the plague must have died down in the autumn and begun again in March 1363. It had appeared in the West in 1361; in England 15 Aug. 1361 to 3 May 1362 was reckoned as the date of the Second Pestilence. (Sir H. Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, p. 389.)

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 140ff. (Strambaldi, pp. 54ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras (141) says in one place that he was shot, and in another that he was drowned; but from Strambaldi (p. 55) it would seem that it was another captain (Henry de la Couronne) who was drowned.

<sup>6</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 276, n. 1, from al-Nuwairi.



by the Cypriotes took place in the autumn of 1364 from Adalia to Alaya, where an engagement between three Cypriote galleys and five Turkish was indecisive, owing to Sir John Goneme's refusal to obey Sir Nicolas Lase's order to ram an enemy vessel;<sup>1</sup> but a raid by the Turks on the north coast of Cyprus ended in the destruction of three Turkish ships and their crews.

We hear no more of attacks by raiders from Asia Minor during the reign of Peter. But the Saracen menace now took another turn. A demand was addressed by the Emir of Damascus to the Regent of Cyprus, to release a Saracen who had been captured at Adalia. It was refused. The correspondence on the subject, curiously enough, was carried on through the Cypriote merchants in Damascus, who were arrested and compelled to write threatening letters to the burgesses of Cyprus. It was these threats, communicated by the Regent to the King, and by him to the Pope and others at Avignon, that finally stirred up the West to join in Peter's Crusade.

Peter's departure from Cyprus for the West on 24 October 1362 was partly in response to an invitation from the Pope<sup>2</sup> to come in person to reply to the King of France, who disputed the allowance which had been agreed with Hugh, Prince of Galilee, in settlement of his claim to the throne. The case was thrashed out again at Avignon, the original allowance confirmed, and Hugh took the oath as Peter's liegeman.

The King had already, before leaving Cyprus, written to the Signory of Florence, asking its help in the armament of his Crusade, on which he proposed to embark on 1 March 1364.<sup>3</sup> We may be sure that he made similar appeals to other Powers at the same time.

Sailing from Paphos on 24 October 1362, the King was accompanied by his Chancellor, Philip de Mézières, and by the Legate, Peter Thomas, both deeply in his confidence. Peter, who had complained to the Pope

<sup>1</sup> Goneme was afterwards put under arrest by the Prince of Antioch.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Urban's later letter of 29 Nov. 1362, when the agents of Hugh, Prince of Galilee, and his mother had appealed to the Pope, and he wrote urging Peter to be accommodating (Lecacheux, *Lettres secr.* no. 119; to the Prince of Antioch and the Legate, Peter Thomas, on the same matter, nos. 120, 121). Peter had never replied to letters from Innocent VI on this subject, and Urban offered to take cognizance of the case himself in a friendly way.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 236f. (15 June 1362); Müller, *Documenti*, p. 119; *Capitoli del Comune di Firenze, Inventario e Regesto*, II (Florence, 1893), pp. 543-4; Iorga, *P.M.* p. 142, n. 2. The date, given as *prima die Martis* (il primo martedì) 1364, must be a misreading of *Martis* for *Martii*.

at the beginning of his reign about this Legate as a mischief-maker, had found reason to change his opinion about him. The party was joined at Rhodes by Sir Peter de Sur and Sir James le Petit, who came from Adalia. Venice was reached on 5 December 1362.<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary here to relate in all its details Peter's journeying, which has been so fully described elsewhere. The important stages were the following. He was at Genoa in February and March 1363;<sup>2</sup> on 5 March he renewed the old privilege to the Genoese. On 29 March he reached Avignon,<sup>3</sup> when the case of the claim of Hugh, Prince of Galilee, was finally settled, and he induced John II, King of France, to take the Cross with himself. Urban V, who had succeeded Innocent VI in October 1362, was to be for a time an enthusiastic promoter of the Crusade.<sup>4</sup> Then Peter continued his travels through Flanders, Brabant and Germany, back to France, and so to England, where he reached London on 6 November. He was present at a tournament in Smithfield some day after Martinmas

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<sup>1</sup> Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 655, has 5 Dec. 1361, a year out. Sabellico (f. 111) makes him come to Venice in the spring of 1362. There is something wrong with the date 3 Dec. 1362 given by Matteo Villani (lib. xi, cap. 34) as that on which the King 'went to Avignon' (cp. Raynaldus, 1362, p. 76, § 17). He left Venice on 2 Jan. 1363, M.L., H. II, pp. 247, 240n. Caroldo's account of Peter's journey is in M.L. *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, pp. 68-72.

<sup>2</sup> So he cannot, as Caroldo says, have reached Avignon at the beginning of February.

<sup>3</sup> In a remarkable passage of the *Dittamondo* (bk. iv, c. 21; quoted by M.L., H. II, p. 246), Fazio degli Uberti says the King of Cyprus has been staying several days in Avignon. He doubts whether any good will come of the Crusade; better let sleeping dogs lie.

<sup>4</sup> Urban wrote to Peter on 25 May 1363 (Lecacheux, *Lettres secr.* no. 488; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 14, no. 60) that he had fixed the date of the passagium for 1 March 1365, with John, King of France, to lead it. But as John cannot be ready before then, and Peter is anxious to start earlier, he may take forces from various districts before that date. Cp. Lecacheux, *Lettres secr.*, no. 489 (indulgences to crusaders). He appointed Peter Thomas, Patriarch of Constantinople, to be Legate to the expedition (*ibid.* nos. 1051, 30 June 1364, and 1080, 10 July 1364). Tithes and indulgences for the passagium: C. Tihon, *Lettres d'Urban V* (Analecta Vaticano-Belgica), I, nos. 719 (31 March 1363), 1854 (6 Oct. 1366). The tithes of Cyprus were also appropriated for the defence of Smyrna: Lecacheux, no. 112 (19 Nov. 1362): Peter Domandi, Archdeacon of Lemesos, to receive from the prelates of Cyprus the money which they raise in tithes; no. 113 (same date): the Archbishop of Nicosia and suffragans to pay the tithe for three years for the defence of Smyrna and other places; nos. 459, 460 (12 May 1363): 3000 florins a year, half the contribution due to Peter Racanelli, Captain of Smyrna, to be paid by Peter Domandi, who is to get it from the collectors of revenues in Cyprus (the other half to be contributed by the Hospital).

(11 November). For this tournament King Edward presented him with a pair of gauntlets and a steel aventail for his helmet.<sup>1</sup> City of London tradition has it that he was entertained by Henry Picard, Master of the Vintners Company and sometime Mayor of London, at a banquet at which four other kings were present, and that he lost money gambling with his host, who, since Peter showed annoyance, returned his money to him. It is unnecessary to dwell on this legend, the foundation for which has been shown to be very slender.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, no reason to doubt the story that he was held up and robbed by highwaymen on his way back to the coast.<sup>3</sup> But Edward paid all his expenses, and gave him a fine ship, the *Catherine*, which Froissart saw in Sandwich harbour two years later.<sup>4</sup> Peter left it behind, though it had been specially built for the voyage from England to the Holy Land. Edward was, however, quite unwilling to take any personal part in the enterprise; at the same time, Peter was given to understand that if he recovered the Kingdom of Jerusalem he would be expected to hand over to Edward the Kingdom of Cyprus which Richard Lion Heart had given to his predecessor. Peter indeed understood, and was disillusioned; but he said nothing.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 247, publishes from a wardrobe account a note of a payment to the King's tailor 'pro coopertura unius paris plattarum datarum domino regi Ciprorum per regem pro hastiludiis factis in Smethfeld post festum Omnium sanctorum'. (Public Record Office, Exchequer Accounts (K.R.) Wardrobe and Household, 37 and 38 Edward III. Roll of liveries by Henry de Snayth, keeper of the Great Wardrobe. E. 101/394/16, m. 17.) Kingsford, on the other hand ('The Feast of the Five Kings' in *Archaeologia*, LXVII (1916), p. 125), gives from another account (37-38 Edward III, Exchequer L.T.R. 4, m. 9) the record of payment for 'j Aventail de acere per breve Regis de privato sigillo dato primo die Novembris', and this was 'pro hastiludio facto in Smethfeld post festum Sancti Martini'. I take it that there was only one tournament; in any case, Mas Latrie is wrong in supposing that one was on All Saints' Day. If the scutiform enamelled pendant with the Lusignan arms, described by Enlart (*Deux Souvenirs du royaume de Chypre*), had really, as he says, been found in London, it would not have been fantastic to suppose that it had fallen from Peter's horse-trappings. But the object bears, written on its back, 'Hitchin'.

<sup>2</sup> C. L. Kingsford, as above, pp. 119-26. The *Eulogium Historiarum* (Rolls Series, III, p. 233) says that Peter came to London bringing with him two Pagan kings, the 'King of Lecto' and another known as the 'Lord of Jerusalem'. Then came to London the King of Scots, so that with Edward III there were five. Other versions bring in John of France and Waldemar of Denmark, both impossible, but omit the 'Pagan kings'.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Monk of St Albans*, ed. Thompson (Rolls Series, 64), 1874, p. 54. (Walsingham, I, p. 299.)

<sup>4</sup> Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, VI, pp. 381, 385-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. des quatre premiers Valois*, p. 128, ed. S. Luce (1862); Iorga, *P.M.* p. 181.

Returning to France he spent Christmas at Paris and then visited the Black Prince in Aquitaine. There followed the death of two of the strongest supporters of his plans, Cardinal Talleyrand de Périgord (on 17 January 1364), and King John (who died in May). After attending the *sacre* of Charles V at Rheims, Peter returned to Germany,<sup>1</sup> finally reaching Prague, where he interested the Emperor Charles IV in his enterprise. Charles proposed a conference with the Kings of Poland and Hungary at Cracow, and general agreement was reached to invite all the German princes to take part in the Crusade. Thence Peter returned by Vienna (where he enlisted the support of the Duke of Austria) to Venice, which he entered on 11 November 1364. Throughout this lengthy tour he had taken part in splendid tournaments, had been lavishly entertained, and received innumerable presents of value; he evidently made a brilliant impression. But the practical results, so far as the Crusade of his heart's desire was concerned, were few. At Venice he was more successful. He had earned the gratitude of the Venetians by the help which he had given or intended to give in crushing a formidable rebellion which had broken out in Crete.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the arrest and robbery, by the men of Louis, Seigneur of Neuchâtel, of messengers from Peter to the Pope, see Lecacheux, *Lettres Secr.* nos. 1216-18.

<sup>2</sup> Little is known of what was actually done by Peter in connexion with this revolt in Crete, as to which see Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 229ff. and I. Jegerlehner in *Byz. Zeitschr.* xii (1903), pp. 78-125. The Doge Laurence Celsi wrote on 11 Oct. 1363 to Peter announcing its outbreak, and asking him to forbid his subjects to communicate with the Cretans (*M.L.*, *H.* iii, p. 742). Peter replied from London, 24 Nov. 1363, undertaking to go to Crete himself with a picked force, and also wrote to the Queen and Regent that they were to regard the Cretans as rebels and cut off all communications with them (*M.L.*, *H.* ii, pp. 250-2; *Libri Comm.*, *Reg.* iii, p. 23, nos. 110, 111; Flam. Cornaro, *Creta Sacra*, iv, pp. 326-8). On 29 Nov. the Doge explained to Peter that owing to the revolt he could not furnish the ships promised for the Crusade as early as March (*M.L.*, *H.* iii, p. 743); and in January 1364 (Jegerlehner gives the date as 19 Jan., *M.L.*, *H.* iii, pp. 744-5 as 29 Jan. in the heading and 28 in the text) that the Count of Savoy (Amedeus VI), who was making no small preparation for the Crusade, also proposed to take Crete on his way. Although Venice had got ready an expeditionary force and necessary transports, it was prepared to wait until the middle of March; and if the Count of Savoy's and other troops for the Crusade were at Venice in sufficient numbers by that date it was willing to transport them first to Crete and, after the recovery of that island, to wherever they wished. On 28 Jan. the Doge wrote to the Legate and the Chancellor that he required a thousand crusaders to come to Venice and proceed to Crete, the subjugation of which was an essential preliminary (*ibid.* p. 745, n. 1). In a letter to Peter of 22 Feb. (*ibid.* p. 745) he undertook at his own cost to transport up to a thousand mounted men by the middle of June over a period

Peter remained in Venice until the end of June 1365.<sup>1</sup> During this long delay, the treaty with the Genoese was, as we have seen, at last brought to a conclusion on 18 April 1365.<sup>2</sup> The King wrote to the

of three months, making no charge for freight, while, for another thousand, Venetian ships might be hired; also three or four galleys might be equipped for the transport of the King and his followers. Peter's representatives had evidently been very successful. On 26 Feb. the Doge answers the Pope that in spite of the pressure on his resources caused by the revolt, he is ready to do everything in his power to provide transport for the crusaders (*ibid.* p. 746). Peter had already written, from Paris, on 17 Feb. (his letter doubtless crossed that of the Doge of 22 Feb. mentioned above); having first offered his help in Crete, he now told the Doge that his colleagues, the Count of Savoy being specially mentioned, are not sufficiently forward in their preparations; therefore it will suffice if the ships are ready by the coming August, by when it is hoped the rebels will have been suppressed. [This is the substance of the letter as summarized in *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 27, no. 131, where it is dated 17 Feb. The résumés given by M.L., *H.* II, p. 252, n. 1 (date 27 Feb.), Iorga, *P.M.* p. 240 (16 Feb., a date also given by Caroldo) and Atiya, p. 336, n. 6 (17 Feb.) appear all to be of the same letter. But Atiya's version, that the King in it informed the Doge that he had suppressed the revolt and that the crusaders would not be ready by August, differs fundamentally from the other two and is unintelligible to me.] The Doge accordingly, on 26 April 1364, informed the Captain General of the Sea, Dominic Michiel, and other officers in Crete, that owing to the prolonged absence of Peter in France nothing serious would be attempted against the Sultan; they were to get this information to the consul in Alexandria (M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, p. 72). Candia actually submitted on 10 May, and the news reached Venice on 4 June (Romanin, *Stor. doc.* III, p. 224). Urban wrote congratulating the Doge on 27 June (Lecacheux, *Lettres secr.* no. 1045). The Pope's letter of 2 June to Genoa (Raynaldus, 1364, p. 96, § 8; Lecacheux, no. 979), deprecating her intervention against Venice in the Cretan revolt, which he hoped would soon be put down by King Peter, therefore came too late to be necessary or useful. From the available evidence it is difficult to conclude that Peter gave any actual armed assistance to Venice. In celebration of the crushing of the revolt he arranged a jousting in the Piazza of St Mark's and tilted with the son of Luchino dal Verme, who had returned from Crete covered with honour (Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 659; Sabellico, f. 114b). With Petrarch, he sat with the Doge when he presided at a musical competition which formed part of the celebrations (Roberti, in *Riv. Contemporanea*, 1888, I, p. 62). He called at Candia on his way back (Machaut, v. 1601), perhaps, thinks Atiya, to verify the fact of the suppression of the revolt, but also to recover from sea-sickness (*ibid.* vv. 1644f.).—I have not had access to Nani Mocenigo, *Delle ribellioni di Candia*, 1205–1365 (1902).

<sup>1</sup> In Venice he stayed in the palace of Frederick Cornaro of Episkopi, in 1362, 1365 and 1368. Frederick lent him 60,000 ducats, and was admitted to the Order of the Sword, with the right to bear the arms of Lusignan and the emblem and device of the Order. M.L., *H.* III, p. 815.

<sup>2</sup> The Pope's congratulations to Peter, 26 April 1365 (wrongly dated 30 April by Raynaldus, 1365, p. 119, § 18). Lecacheux, *Lettres secr.* no. 1724. Peter's special envoy,

Genoese Doge, Gabriel Adorno, a month later,<sup>1</sup> expressing his pleasure at the conclusion of the peace, regretting that the three Genoese galleys in which he had hoped to return to Cyprus were not available, and asking that they should follow him, and if they did not catch him up go straight to Famagusta. On 27 June he sailed from Venice.<sup>2</sup> The Pope's blessing on his enterprise followed on 19 July.<sup>3</sup>

None but a few in the King's confidence knew what was the objective of the expedition. Incidental references to it during the period of preparation show that some expected an attack on Syria, and probably Peter was not unwilling that rumours to that effect should get abroad. He was well aware that Italian commercial interests might lead to news of the expedition being betrayed to the Sultan.<sup>4</sup> It appears that the Venetians had actually exacted from him, before he sailed, an undertaking that he would not land on any part of the Sultan's dominions before the end of October.<sup>5</sup>

The rendezvous was fixed at Rhodes.<sup>6</sup> Thirty-one galleys came thither, partly direct from Venice with the King, partly via Genoa and Cyprus. The Grand Master contributed four galleys and a hundred knights. A Cypriote fleet of a hundred and eight units sailed from Famagusta with the Regent, in whose place the Turcopolier Sir James de Nores had been appointed on 25 June. It reached Rhodes on 25 August, but without the Regent, who fell ill and remained in Cyprus, though he joined the expedition later.

The gathering of these forces at Rhodes alarmed the Moslems on the neighbouring mainland. The Emirs of Ephesus and Miletus applied to

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Peter Malocello (Marosello) was sent back by the Pope from Avignon, with a letter dated 17 April 1365, complimenting Peter on the way in which his representative had fulfilled his mission (Lecacheux, no. 1700).

<sup>1</sup> 16 May 1365. M.L., H. II, pp. 266-7.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. III, p. 752; Iorga, P.M. p. 277; Atiya, p. 341, n. 5. On 22 June Philip de Mézières was granted the citizenship of Venice. M.L., H. II, p. 272; *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, pp. 74-7; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 41, no. 217. Peter's physician, Mastro Biagio Gori of Florence, was also granted Venetian citizenship on 6 Aug. 1365 (*ibid.* p. 42, no. 223). But Pero Tafur (tr. Letts, p. 166) goes a little too far when he says 'the great people...pride themselves on becoming citizens of Venice, in order to have her favour, such as the King of Cyprus'

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, 1365, p. 120, § 18.

<sup>4</sup> Atiya, p. 342. So Frederick II had betrayed to the Sultan the plan of an earlier expedition (p. 140).

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, p. 79, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> On the number and kinds of ships, see Atiya, p. 343, n. 4. All the authorities agree on a total of 165 units.

the Grand Master, Raymond des Pins, for his intermediation, and Peter entered into treaties of peace with them.<sup>1</sup>

There were many reasons which may have prompted Peter's choice of Alexandria as his immediate objective. Some of the seven enumerated by a contemporary Arab historian seem trivial.<sup>2</sup> But recent information indicated that, although the walls of that city were immensely strong, the harbours were inadequately defended. From the point of view of loot, this, the richest city of the Mediterranean, offered unique attractions to those of the crusaders—and events showed that they were the majority—who cared more for plunder than for the recovery of the Holy Land. What probably inspired Peter was, first, its military importance; based on an occupied Alexandria, his fleet could blockade Egypt, and his army march on Cairo. Secondly, by seizing the chief entrepôt of the eastern Mediterranean, he would cut off the main source of the Sultan's revenues. But indeed, as we have seen (p. 278), the advantages of a direct descent on Egypt had long ago been stressed by Henry II in his recommendations to Clement V—recommendations which must surely have been well known to Peter.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the King may, as Machaut relates,<sup>4</sup> have been advised by his chamberlain, Percival of 'Cologne' (Coulouges?), to choose Alexandria; but, if so, the advice must have squared with Peter's own wishes. 'What might have been' is not the business of the historian, but it is fair to conjecture that a permanent establishment of the crusaders on the Egyptian seaboard, such as that at which John de Brienne and St Louis had aimed, would have saved Cyprus from the Mameluke invasion and perhaps meant the recovery of Syria-Palestine.

During the period of idleness at Rhodes, while waiting for the later arrivals, it was not surprising that quarrels should occur between drunken sailors. In one such disturbance many Cypriotes and Rhodians were killed. The death penalty for brawling had to be imposed by the King and the Grand Master before such rioting ceased.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Phil. de Mézières, *Vita S. Petri Thomasii*, in *AA.SS.*, Jan. III, p. 629, c. 90; Machaeras, 166; Strambaldi, p. 66. Cp. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche (Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, II, 1934), p. 75, who suggests that Venice may have inspired this arrangement.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Nuwairi, Atiya, p. 350. Among them it was alleged that the Sultan had refused to grant a request by Peter to be crowned at Tyre.

<sup>3</sup> Atiya, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 1962ff. For 'Cologne', Kervyn de Lettenhove (*Froissart*, XXI, p. 45) suggests 'Coulouges'; D.L.R., *F.O.* I, p. 125, n. 6. The Latin form of the latter is *Colongiae*.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 166; Strambaldi, p. 66.

When all was ready at Rhodes, the King sent to Cyprus to inform the Queen and the Prince; they were to forbid all traffic with Syria and to warn all Cypriotes to leave that land. This would of course encourage the belief that Syria was his objective.

The force went aboard on Saturday, 4 October 1365, Peter Thomas preaching a sermon from the royal galley. The fleet coasted along as far as the island of Crambusa (at the extreme south-east point of Lycia, near the Chelidonian Islands), and then for the first time received orders to make for Alexandria, which was sighted on Thursday, 9 October.

Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> but for occasional raids on the harbours, had not known war since the conquest of Egypt in 641. The Governor was absent on a pilgrimage; his deputy, Janghara, was incompetent. The garrison was small and disorganized. The Nile Delta was under the annual inundation, which would hamper relief from Cairo. The people were unable to conceive that the intentions of the large fleet which had come to anchor were anything but friendly, and streamed out of the city to trade. The landing began on the 10th from the Old Harbour on the west. It was opposed by the ill-organized defenders, and there was some stiff fighting in the shallow water.<sup>2</sup> As the Christians fought their way on to the land, the Hospitallers landed their horses from the New Harbour, and took the Egyptians in the rear. The struggle was soon

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<sup>1</sup> Full descriptions of the attack and capture may be read in Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 290f., and Atiya, pp. 353ff. The latter has made full use of al-Nuwairi. The account given by Machaeras and Strambaldi differs considerably. The chief points to note in Machaeras are the following. On Thursday, 9 Oct., on the fleet reaching the harbour, some 10,000 Saracens tried in vain to prevent the landing, which was at first effected by the forces on foot. The horses were landed at early dawn next day, and the Saracens were panic-stricken at the sight of them, and went into the city to defend it. The Christians on land burned the gates of the town and forced their way in, and the galleys attacked by the gate of the Old Harbour. When the city was taken, mass was said; the King knighted his brother James and others; James was made Seneschal, Sir John de Morphou titular Count of Roucha (Edessa), and the King's nephew Hugh, who had once claimed the crown from him, Prince of Galilee. But see above (p. 309, n. 4). The expedition remained at Alexandria three days after entering the city. The King took nothing of the spoils, expecting to be able to keep the city for himself. The Legate and the knights all agreed in advising evacuation. The crusaders on their return landed at Lemesos, while the galleys carried the spoils round to Famagusta.—G. J. Capitanovici, *Die Eroberung von Alexandria* (Berlin diss. 1894) has a useful map and chronology and details of Peter's forces.

<sup>2</sup> Machaut, vv. 2258ff., has stories of many deeds of individual prowess—among others Hugh de Lusignan distinguished himself.



over, those who could not escape within the walls being massacred. Janghara himself was wounded. The defenders succeeded in closing the gates, but the Pharos peninsula and all the sea-beach outside the fortifications were in Christian hands. Now Peter called a council of war, and the rottenness at the core of his company at once revealed itself. A speaker who recommended the abandonment of the siege of a city so immensely strong, well-garrisoned and well-equipped (this was incorrect), carried a large body of opinion with him. But Peter this time had his way, and it was decided to attempt to storm the city. Meanwhile, within the walls, Janghara had taken certain measures. He sent his gold and silver away by the Land Gate to Cairo, and removed a number of Christian consuls and merchants as hostages. His defences were organized chiefly on the western part of the wall facing the Pharos peninsula; but in the part of the wall east of the Sea Gate there was a vulnerable point by the Customs Gate which either from negligence or from treachery was left undefended.<sup>1</sup> It was here, where there was no moat, that, after a first abortive attack on the Sea Gate, the wall was scaled, a sailor having first made his way in by the undefended conduit through which the freshwater canal entered the city, and gone up to the ramparts.

During the assault, if we may believe a not impartial writer, the five Genoese vessels, with crews numbering some four hundred, lay in the harbour taking no part; but after the city was taken they secured plunder to the value of 800,000 florins.<sup>2</sup>

Once inside the walls, the attackers met with no resistance, except from a few armed bands that remained hidden in the centre of the city. Garrison and people alike made for the land gates. There was a bloody massacre—the figure given by Machaut is over 20,000. Outside the city, however, large numbers of Moslems lay in ambush, and foiled an

<sup>1</sup> The inner gates of the Customs House Yard were closed by the officials, and the outer wall was thus inaccessible from within the city; also a tower without a through passage blocked the way along the wall between the Sea Gate and the Customs Gate.

<sup>2</sup> Philip de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, M.L., H. II, p. 388; cp. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 298. Philip accuses the Genoese captains of having offered to defend the city for the Sultan, and had the impudence to boast of this to the King after the fighting was over. Philip was there at the time, but when he wrote he had lost any love he ever had for the Genoese, who had taken Famagusta from the Cypriotes. Also it is in itself unlikely that the captains would have pitted their crews against the much larger forces of the other crusaders.

attempt by Peter to destroy a bridge over the canal, by which reinforcements from Cairo might reach the land gates, two of which the crusaders had foolishly destroyed. During this sortie Peter was nearly killed in a skirmish. On the following night a large force of the enemy made its way in through one of the land gates, but was thrown out by a much smaller body of defenders.

At another council of war there was a majority (including the King's own two brothers<sup>1</sup> and the Admiral, John de Sur) for evacuation. On the King's side, for holding the city against any attempt of the Sultan to recapture it, were the Legate and Philip de Mézières; but, bitterly disappointed, he had to give way.

Three days long the Christians sacked the city, slaying without respect to age or sex, taking all the valuables they could carry away, and destroying the rest, burning state buildings, private dwellings, palaces, mosques, warehouses—including the *funduks* of the western merchants. The arsenal and munitions store escaped through being overlooked; but all the gates save one were burned. Seventy ships they loaded with spoils—throwing overboard what made them too heavy—and some five thousand men and women, Moslems, Jews and Eastern Christians, were carried off as slaves. These prisoners, who were largely distributed among Western rulers, were to figure in the subsequent negotiations for peace.<sup>2</sup>

Having plundered to their hearts' content, and reduced the city to a heap of ruins, littered with corpses, the soldiers of the Holy Cross retired to their ships, waiting only for the King and his few faithful adherents to join them. The relieving force from Cairo was already entering the city when Peter went aboard. The Governor of the city, whose absence on a pilgrimage partly accounted for its easy capture, had returned and actually planted his flag on parts of the walls by 13 October, and next day sent a parliamentary to negotiate the exchange of prisoners. The

<sup>1</sup> The Legate (Philip de Mézières, *Vita*, p. 632, c. 103) accuses the English knights of combining with a prince whose name he suppresses *ex parentela et dolosa sequela*. This was William Roger, Vicomte de Turenne.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras says the King took no loot, but qualifies by adding that he expected to have the city for his own. Philip de Mézières also abstained, as he tells us, and we may be sure that the Legate and many other decent people did not join in the pillage. Walsingham (*Hist. Angl.* ed. Riley, I, pp. 301f.) says that after the sack all kinds of spices became rarer and more expensive, although the Sultan tried to prevent merchants from deserting the city. Much spoil was brought away by men from England and Aquitaine: 'pannos aureos et olosericos, splendoresque gemmarum exotics'.

King, however, set too short a time limit, and the negotiations came to nothing. The fleet, which had lain in the harbour for two days after the council decided on evacuation, sailed, probably on 16 October. In spite of a storm, which scattered it, and which the genuine crusaders among the host regarded as an expression of Divine wrath, all the ships arrived safely at Lemesos or Famagusta.

From Lemesos the crusaders dispersed to their homes.<sup>1</sup> The King, with the Legate and the Chancellor, went to Nicosia, where a grand procession of thanksgiving was held.<sup>2</sup> A ban was proclaimed by the Legate on all commerce with the Saracens.<sup>3</sup>

The news of these *Gesta Dei per Francos* had to be communicated to the West. The Legate, in the bitterness of his heart, had written a letter of lamentation, apparently on the voyage back, which he intended to send to the Pope and the Emperor.<sup>4</sup> He appealed to the latter, on pain of incurring the wrath of Heaven, not to fail to go to the deliverance of Jerusalem.

Sir John de Sur, the Admiral, had been ordered on arriving at Famagusta to keep his ship in readiness to go to the West, in accordance with the King's agreement with the Genoese.<sup>5</sup> He waited for the Legate, who was to sail with him, but Peter Thomas died at Famagusta on 6 January 1366.<sup>6</sup> It would seem that the Admiral started from Famagusta before the Legate's death and waited at Rhodes for him until March. Then, having news of the death, he went on to Genoa,<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Machaut, vv. 3644-7.

<sup>2</sup> Philip de Mézières, *Vita*, p. 632, c. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* c. 108. He relates (a great miracle) how a Venetian, scorning the Legate's ban, started in his ship for Alexandria, but was driven back by a storm to Cyprus and wrecked, losing his ship and all that he had.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 631-2. *Oratio tragica*, f. 195, cited by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 303, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> In the treaty of 1365 (above, p. 315); although the King is said to have refused to banish him. Apparently, so long as the Admiral went to Rhodes or farther west, the Genoese had no objection to his going even to Genoa.

<sup>6</sup> Full details of his last illness in Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 311-15. Machaeras (174) and Strambaldi (p. 69) wrongly say that he died at Rhodes, and Machaeras gives the wrong date, 6 June 1366. But if we omit the words 'and the Legate also went to Rhodes', which are not in the Venice MS., Machaeras agrees that he died at Famagusta. From Machaeras also it would seem that the Admiral waited at Rhodes (not at Famagusta) for the Legate until March 1366. At Rhodes he found the Bailie, John de Soissons, on his death-bed and buried him.

<sup>7</sup> Machaeras (175; not in Strambaldi) says he went to Rome first, but is probably mistaken, forgetting that the Papal Court was at Avignon.

thence in August to Avignon, where he presented the Pope with a banner captured at Alexandria.<sup>1</sup>

The news from Alexandria, which had been communicated to Urban by the Doge of Genoa,<sup>2</sup> if it had not reached him before, caused great excitement in the West. For the failure to hold the prize the blame attached not to Peter but to his followers.<sup>3</sup> This failure must, it was felt, be made good.

The Count of Savoy and the King of France are both specially mentioned as proposing to go out against the infidels,<sup>4</sup> and the latter sent a messenger to Cyprus promising the despatch of a great host.<sup>5</sup> Exaggerated rumours filled the air; in February 1366 a report reached France that Peter on 5 December 1365 had retaken Alexandria and was holding it.<sup>6</sup> Bertrand du Guesclin decided in 1366 to take the Cross and go to Cyprus to the aid of the King, 'so truly Christian, faithful good and brave'.<sup>7</sup>

But at this moment the whole project was shattered by the Venetians, who sent out a galley with the news, which turned out to be false, that

<sup>1</sup> Second life of Urban V in Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Aven.* ed. Mollat, I, p. 387. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 305, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Acknowledged by the Pope, 7 Dec. 1365 (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 305, n. 1).

<sup>3</sup> Petrarch wrote later (*Senilia*, lib. viii, ep. 8, 20 July 1367; quoted by Raynaldus, 1365, p. 125, § 21, and Iorga, *P.M.* p. 305): 'The conquest of Alexandria by the King of Cyprus, a great and memorable achievement, would have provided a mighty foundation for the augmentation of our religion, if as much courage had been shown in holding the city as there had been in taking it; it was lacking, report says, certainly not in him, but in his company, collected as it was chiefly from the transalpine people, who are always better at the beginning than at the end of an enterprise. In the middle of his glorious task he was deserted by these men, who were following a pious king not out of piety but out of cupidity. When they had gathered their spoils they departed, frustrating his pious vow while they satisfied their own greed—*piique voti impotem, avari voti compotes, fecere.*'

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 175; Strambaldi, p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> According to Dawkins on Machaeras, 175, Τζουάν τε Λαβιέρ is John d'Olivier, but Iorga's John de la Rivière (p. 306; cp. p. 278, n. 3) seems a more likely identification.

<sup>6</sup> *Grandes chroniques de France*, ed. P. Paris, vi, pp. 244-5.

<sup>7</sup> Cuvelier, *Chron. de Du Guesclin*, I, pp. 239-40, vv. 6543-55. Atiya assumes (p. 370) that it was at this time that Florimond de Lesparre actually came in his own galley, and interprets Machaeras (187) as saying that when he reached Famagusta he changed his mind and went to the help of Edward III against Charles V. But it is John d'Ibelin of whom Machaeras says this. Lesparre came later (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 354). See below, p. 344.

Peter had made peace with the Sultan.<sup>1</sup> The King of France dropped his plans; Amedeus of Savoy, who had actually started for Cyprus, diverted his effort to Byzantium;<sup>2</sup> Du Guesclin went off to fight in Spain.

The diplomacy of the Venetians had been complicated, and it is difficult now to disentangle it.<sup>3</sup> They had of course a rooted dislike to a state of war with the Moslems, as interfering with their trade. Why then did they show something like enthusiasm in supplying Peter with transport and other facilities, going even so far as to share the expense? That Peter saw beneath the mask is clear from the secrecy in which he veiled his immediate objective. But wherever he attacked he would be damaging Venetian commerce, though less in the Aegean—which was more the preserve of the Genoese—than in the eastern basin. One can only conjecture that they banked on Peter's winning, in which case they would be in a favourable position to secure still greater privileges. Some change of policy may also have come about when Mark Cornaro succeeded Laurence Celsi as Doge on 21 July 1365. Their anxiety was acute. Hard on Peter's heels<sup>4</sup> they sent the Captain of the Gulf of Venice with three ships to keep touch with the King's fleet, follow him as far as Rhodes or Adalia, and send daily reports of the direction he was taking, where he landed with his force, and what were his plans—not a single possible detail of information was to be omitted. As soon as the King had landed, an aviso from the Candia station was to return to Venice, while another was to stay behind to watch how he prospered, and then return with full information to Venice. On 3 July<sup>5</sup> the Senate ordered the proveditors of Crete, if the King should attack any part of Turkey with which Venice was at peace, to inform the local emir and the Turks in Venetian service in Crete that the attack was without the knowledge of the Republic. Meanwhile, commerce with the Sultan's lands continued.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 175; Strambaldi, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, p. 415; Fl. Bustron, p. 263. In Jan. 1366 Urban wrote to the Emperor John V offering to induce Amedeus and King Louis of Hungary and Peter of Cyprus to go to his aid if he would sincerely come into the fold of the Roman Church (Raynaldus, 1366, p. 129, §§ 1, 2; 25 Jan.).

<sup>3</sup> On this problem see D.L.R., F.O. I, pp. 128f.

<sup>4</sup> 26 and 27 June. M.L., H. III, pp. 751f.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., H. III, p. 752.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. the dispute with the Viscount de Turenne, from whom Venice had bought the right to send forty ships to the Sultan's lands; but had only been able to send six, owing to the prohibition by Innocent VI. M.L., H. III, p. 749 (25 June 1365); *Comm. et expéd. mil.* pp. 156-8 (27 Nov. 1372).

But with the capture and ruthless destruction of Alexandria, a blow had been struck at the interests of the Venetians, and indeed of all the trading communities, from which it would be very hard to recover. The city itself had been ruined, the property of those communities suffering equally with the rest; and the Emir Yalbugha al-Khassiki,<sup>1</sup> the ruler of Egypt (for the Sultan was a boy and a mere shadow) had been stirred to a furious passion for vengeance, which he indulged by reprisals on all the Christians on whom he could lay hands.<sup>2</sup> He began to build a fleet, evidently for an attack on Cyprus.<sup>3</sup>

In the first place, Venice demanded from the King reparation for the damage she had suffered.<sup>4</sup> To the consul of Alexandria and the bailie in Cyprus, Peter Basegio, the King is reported to have returned an insulting reply, asserting that the undertaking not to land in the Sultan's dominions had been given under duress. The Venetians could get no satisfaction from him.<sup>5</sup>

The Pope made an effort to restrain the hostility of Venice to Peter, and its desire to resume negotiations with Cairo. He understood that the Sultan was sending envoys to Venice to negotiate peace. He hoped that during preparations for a Crusade the Signory would not listen to the offers of the infidels, and he forbade all negotiations without the licence of the Holy See.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless envoys sailed, Francis Bembo and Peter Soranzo.<sup>7</sup> A mission was also sent to Avignon, but found Urban determined to support the King; later, in fact, he declared invalid all agreements concluded by the envoys in Cairo.<sup>8</sup>

The business of these envoys<sup>9</sup> was— in addition to making presents

<sup>1</sup> For Yalbugha see Herzsohn, *Ueberfall Alexandriens*, pp. 42–5.

<sup>2</sup> Machaut, vv. 3798–3809.

<sup>3</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 307. Makrizi ap. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv, p. 513 (100 ships). According to al-Nuwairi (Atiya, p. 372, n. 3) he built a fleet of 150 units.

<sup>4</sup> Before the end of 1365, Iorga thinks (p. 309), although the record is not found before 1370.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, pp. 79–80 (1371); Iorga, *P.M.* p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> 25 Jan. 1366. Caroldo, *Chron.*, quoted by Iorga, p. 309, n. 4; cp. *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 45, no. 251. He wrote on the same date to the Emperor of Constantinople about his plans for a great expedition; Louis of Hungary was to go by land, Peter of Cyprus by sea: Iorga, *P.M.* p. 328. But this was for the succour of Constantinople. See above, p. 336, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> On 29 Jan. 1366 the Doge authorized them to borrow any money they required for the purposes of their embassy. M.L., *H.* III, p. 753.

<sup>8</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 310, 325.

<sup>9</sup> Machaut, vv. 3818–39.

in useful quarters—to give assurances that it was not with the knowledge or desire or assistance of the Venetians that the attack had been made on Alexandria; what they desired was peace, the return of their prisoners and the renewal of the old treaties. The Emir replied that he would not consider making peace with anyone unless he had first made it with the King of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> With this answer the envoys returned.<sup>2</sup>

This must have been the embassy of whose reception at Cairo we have a curious account from another source.<sup>3</sup> Frankish envoys arrived at Alexandria at mid-March 1366, and asked for hostages before leaving their ship. They were fobbed off with convicts, who had been condemned to death, but were dressed up as Emirs—a trick which would have won the approval of Don Martin Enriquez, who served John Hawkins in the same way in 1568. On arriving at Cairo they handed to Yalbugha the letter from their government. They undertook, if Peter would not restore his captives and booty, to ally themselves with the Sultan. They asked for renewal of the peace, free admission of their merchantmen to Alexandria, and reopening of the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, which had been closed since the sack of Alexandria. Yalbugha kept them waiting for three days, and then presented them to the Sultan, but sent them away disappointed, since he was determined to continue the war with Cyprus.

On putting in at Famagusta, they found a fleet ready to sail under John de Moustry<sup>4</sup> to attack Beirut. They went at once to the capital,

<sup>1</sup> Machaut, vv. 3840–97.

<sup>2</sup> Machaut (v. 3900) makes them land at Lemesos. Machaeras, 176, Strambaldi, p. 70 and the Oxford MS. of Machaeras say the envoy came to Famagusta on 25 April 1366; the Venice MS. has 25 April 1365 (which of course means 1366 N.S.) but attaches it to the next sentence, according to which Peter, 'returning to Cyprus', ordered the expedition to Beirut. In any case the date does not refer to Peter's return to the island, for he had been there since he left Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, IV, p. 513, with the wrong date 1368 instead of 1366, as Herzsohn has pointed out (*Ueberfall Alexandriens*, p. 44).

<sup>4</sup> For the name of this man I have preferred Moustry (with Iorga) to Monstri or Monstry (with Mas Latrîe and Dawkins), for the following reasons. Tankerville-Chamberlayne, *Lacr. Nicoss.*, p. 25, no. 25, read on a tomb-slab in the Omerieh Mosque ... MOUSTRI. FIS. D'.S. IO[H]AN. MOUSTAR' etc., where in the last word AR is obscure. The MSS of Machaeras, according to Dawkins, have Μουστρήs, Μουστρή, Μουστρή or Μουστρή, never with N. Strambaldi, Amadi, Fl. Bustron have consistently *Mustri*. On the other hand Mas Latrîe, in two documents of 1368, and in a *vidimus* of 1379 of a third document of 1368, prints *Monstri*; but I suggest that this needs verification. The MSS of Machaut have usually *Monstry* or *Monstri*, but in two

and impressed on the King that further attacks<sup>1</sup> on the Sultan would utterly ruin Venice, and begged him to make peace; they even offered to pay the expenses incurred by his preparations. Peter, disappointed in his hopes of western aid, and with the threat of Saracen invasion ever increasing,<sup>2</sup> was ready to listen to them. He agreed to postpone his attack on Syria, and told the Venetians that, though he could not empower them to treat in his name, they might invite the Sultan to send an envoy to discuss terms. With this invitation they returned to Cairo.<sup>3</sup> Moustry's fleet was diverted to the Turkish coast, where he raided from Alaya to the river of Monovgat, and then returned from Adalia to Famagusta.<sup>4</sup>

Our source<sup>5</sup> for the history of the negotiations makes the Venetians tell Yalbugha that they had made the King disarm, but that Peter did not really believe that Yalbugha wanted peace. He must send envoys to conclude it. Accordingly on 31 May 1366<sup>6</sup> the Venetian galley landed the ambassadors<sup>7</sup> at Famagusta; on 2 June<sup>8</sup> they were at Nicosia, honourably lodged in the house of the Lord of Tyre. The Haute Cour was assembled to hear the letters read, and was in favour of further negotiation. The King offered terms which were, at least in one particular, not modest. The whole Kingdom of Jerusalem was to be returned; Christian captives to be released, with all that had been taken

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places (vv. 4587, 4790) Mas Latrie gives a variant *Moustri* from MS. C. For his *Munstri* (*Hist. de Ch.* II, p. 338 n.) there seems to be no authority; and 'Jean le Monstre (Monstri)' in Du Cange-Rey, p. 671 is quite unwarrantable. The evidence of the tombstone, Machaeras, Strambaldi, Amadi and Fl. Bustron seems to me easily to outweigh the rest. The arms on the tombstone are per fesse indented of three points.

<sup>1</sup> An earlier expedition in the spring under Bremond de la Voulte, with three ships, against Asia Minor was damaged by storm and with difficulty got back to port. Machaut, vv. 3667-3773. He does not mention the objective of Moustry's expedition.

<sup>2</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 318 f.

<sup>3</sup> Machaut, vv. 4036-63; Machaeras, 177-9; Strambaldi, pp. 70 f.

<sup>4</sup> Machaut, vv. 3948-4023; Machaeras, 180; Strambaldi, p. 71; Amadi, p. 415; Fl. Bustron, p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 181-2; Strambaldi, p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 321, n. 3 (Trinity Sunday). Machaeras says 27 May.

<sup>7</sup> The High Admiral, Tokbugha, and the 'noble, wise and discreet' Genoese renegade, Nasr ed-Din. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 321; cp. p. 363, where he identifies this man as Ser Lucian dell' Orto (there was a Genoese family of that name). This is his interpretation of σίρε Λουσίερ τε Λόρτ (Machaeras, 203; Reuchiet Delore in Strambaldi, p. 81). See however Dawkins, *ad loc.*

<sup>8</sup> So Machaeras, Venice MS.; Oxford MS. says 10th, Strambaldi 5th.



from them; the Sultan was not to harbour the King's enemies, but hand them over to Cypriotes; Cypriote merchants were to be exempt from customs duties. Naturally, Yalbugha's ambassadors said they had not power to agree to such terms, and the King must dispatch his own plenipotentiaries.<sup>1</sup> Peter accordingly sent three Catalans<sup>2</sup> with the Egyptian ambassadors back to Cairo.

The instructions<sup>3</sup> given to these envoys, quite apart from the extravagance of the King's open demands, suggest that he had no real wish to come to terms, but was merely playing for time. They were not to yield a single point, and were thus to throw on the Saracens the blame of the resulting war. They were to offer to decide the struggle by a combat between champions, a thousand or a hundred or ten on each side, or, if Yalbugha was willing, by a personal encounter between himself and the King. Before the envoys left Cyprus a great jousting was given by the Cypriote knights, to the admiration of the Saracens, who wondered that they did not kill each other.<sup>4</sup>

The negotiations had apparently taken such a promising turn that the Venetians assumed that peace was as good as concluded.<sup>5</sup> Francis Bembo and Peter Soranzo gave that information to the Senate; by 30 May it was believed at Venice that a complete settlement had been reached. A firman had actually been issued for the release of the captive Venetians and the renewal of the old treaties.<sup>6</sup> Genoa and the Pope at Avignon were informed of the stage reached in the negotiations,<sup>7</sup> and the latter was asked once more for licences to resume trading with

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<sup>1</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 321 f., from a letter of Philip de Mézières. Cp. Machaut, vv. 4105–70.

<sup>2</sup> John d'Alfonso, a baptized Jew, Sir George Settica and Sir Paul de Belonia. Machaut, however (vv. 4180 f.), names none of these, only a lawyer Antony, as to whom see Iorga, *P.M.* p. 322, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 322 f., from a letter of Philip de Mézières.

<sup>4</sup> Machaut, vv. 4171–9.

<sup>5</sup> That was the opinion of the Venetian ambassadors and the consul of Alexandria, Andrew delle Grazie. Caroldo, cited by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 323, n. 5. See *Libri Comm.* vii, 268 (*Reg.* iii, p. 48): reports had been received from Andrew delle Grazie and the ambassadors Bembo and Soranzo; liberty and safety of commerce and good treatment of Venetians in Egypt had been secured by a firman and edict of the Sultan. Unfortunately this entry is not dated.

<sup>6</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 323, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> The Pope wrote to Peter on 1 July 1366 that he had been told by the Doge's own ambassador that 'concordia tractabatur'. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 329, n. 7, assumes this to mean a statement that peace had been concluded; it means only 'was being negotiated'.

Egypt. Everything was settled; it remained only for Peter to conclude peace for his part.<sup>1</sup>

It is generally assumed that the action taken by Venice was deliberately intended to mislead. It certainly caused the collapse of the preparations in the West; but that same collapse, when the news of it reached Cairo, also caused the failure of the negotiations; and the Venetians were the first to suffer. It is not impossible that they were convinced that peace would result from the negotiations which were now in progress, and their optimistic attitude could easily have led to a misunderstanding. In any case, those who had been making preparations to sail to Cyprus may well have asked themselves whether it was worth while persisting in their efforts while negotiations were proceeding for a peace which would render them futile.

Peter himself did not relax his efforts in preparation for war. The fleet which had raided the Turkish coast was in being. Philip de Mézières was sent to Venice to preach to the Doge.<sup>2</sup> Peter, in letters of 22 June, which Philip carried, announced his intention of sailing against the infidels in August with what forces he could collect. Philip's appeal fell on deaf ears. Venice wanted its trade, and had succeeded in getting the licence from the Pope before the end of June,<sup>3</sup> although it was on condition that she did not carry any of the usually prohibited goods or anything but Venetian merchandise, or prejudice the prospects of the Crusade by treaties or otherwise, and all agreements which might have been made by the Venetian envoys in Cairo were declared null and void. But Urban revoked his grant on 17 August, thanks, probably, to the persuasion of Philip de Mézières, who had shown him the real state of affairs.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Venetian ambassadors at Avignon, 6, 14 and 25 June, 1366 (M.L., H. III, pp. 754-7): 'concordium predictum amodo est in manibus domini regis Cypri predicti'.

<sup>2</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 324 ff. Later, probably some time in July or August, Peter, doubtless with a view to inclining Venice to listen to him, made a present to the Commune of two houses, one in Famagusta, one in Nicosia. On 1 Sept. 1366 the Pregadi accepted the gift, and instructed the Bailie to thank the King politely. M.L., H. II, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 325 and n. 1, 23 June 1366; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 47, no. 267. Urban informed Peter in a letter of 1 July 1366: Iorga, p. 330 and n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 48, no. 273, p. 49, no. 274; Raynaldus, 1366, p. 137, § 16; Iorga, *P.M.* p. 327, n. 6, p. 337. The licence was withdrawn from Genoese and Catalans at the same time. Exception was made for ships which had already started. The Pope's action was taken at the instance of the envoys of the King of Cyprus, and because the Sultan was trying to gain the friendship of other Christian Powers.

At the same time he invited the Doge to mediate, and obtain a peace or a truce advantageous to the King and his knights.

Venice took little notice of papal admonitions. On 22 August the Council of the Pregadi forbade the export of arms and horses to Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> On the 25th, subjects of the Republic were forbidden to take part in the expedition which the King was preparing, and on the same day, acting on the report of their ambassadors who had returned from Alexandria, the Council gave authority to spend up to 600 ducats on falcons to be sent as a present to Yalbugha.<sup>2</sup> Both Urban and Peter strongly protested against the obstructive measures of the Senate.<sup>3</sup> The Senate had pretended that Peter had no accredited agent in Venice, although he had appointed Frederick Cornaro as such before he came away. The Venetians, he pointed out, were breaking both their treaties with him and their engagement with the Pope. But Urban realized that he was powerless; Venice had succeeded in destroying all chances of a Crusade, and Peter, he wrote in October 1366, had better make peace.<sup>4</sup> Yet on the 6th of the same month he had appealed to the Emperor Charles IV and to Edward III to go to Peter's help.<sup>5</sup>

The King's envoys came back from Cairo with a request for the return of the Saracens who had been brought away captives from Alexandria, after which Yalbugha promised to conclude the peace.<sup>6</sup> The King found some that he could collect in the island (as we have seen, large numbers had been distributed in the West)<sup>7</sup> and sent them with Sir William de Ras and Sir Paul de Belonia as his envoys; the former however fell sick at Paphos, and Sir Paul went on alone, and

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 285. Next day, Louis de Molino, about to go out as bailie to Cyprus, was exempted from this restriction, so far as concerned the arms and horses he was bound by his commission to have in the island.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 285-6.

<sup>3</sup> The Pope to the Doge, 15 Oct. 1366: M.L., *H.* II, pp. 288-9 (under wrong year 1367); *Libri Comm., Reg.* III, p. 51, no. 296; Iorga, p. 338. Peter to the Doge, 23 Nov. 1366; M.L., *H.* II, pp. 286-8; *Libri Comm., Reg.* III, p. 53, no. 305.

<sup>4</sup> Raynaldus, 1366, p. 135, § 13 (23 Oct.); Iorga, *P.M.* p. 340 (22 Oct.).

<sup>5</sup> Raynaldus, 1366, p. 136, § 15; Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* II, p. 405, no. 12; Rymer, *Foed.* III (ii), 1830, p. 807.

<sup>6</sup> Machaeras, 184; Strambaldi, p. 72; according to Iorga, *P.M.* p. 353, the two Saracen envoys, Tokbugha and Nasr ed-Din, came back to Cyprus with this request.

<sup>7</sup> Only fifty, according to one account (see below), were sent back; the others were to be sent on the conclusion of peace (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 353, n. 1). Machaeras says that all that the King could find were returned.

delivered his charge (October 1366). Yalbugha, having got them back, and aware that owing to the dispersal of the crusaders from the West he was no longer threatened, made the excuse that the King had insulted him by sending an envoy of such low rank, seized Sir Paul, and would have taken the galley also had not the captain sensed danger and stayed outside the harbour. He returned to Cyprus and reported to the King.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Venetians, convinced that peace had been made between the King and Yalbugha, sent three galleys with seventy merchants to trade at Beirut. They were apparently well received at first, but the news of the affair with the other Venetian ships at Alexandria having arrived, fifty-eight of the merchants with their goods, to the value of 60,000 ducats, were seized.<sup>2</sup> A similar affair took place at Tripoli, as the Venetian Bailie in Cyprus reported on 12 November 1366.<sup>3</sup>

The Catalan traders, who were suffering in the same way as the Venetians by the stopping of their traffic, now induced the King to send envoys with them to make another attempt to soften the heart of Yalbugha. They failed, and returned to Famagusta on 26 November.<sup>4</sup> They found the King's fleet ready to start on a new expedition. Peter, after the seizure of Sir Paul de Belonia and the attempted capture of his ship, had renewed his endeavours to enlist the assistance of the Count

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 185; Strambaldi, p. 73. An Arab version of the affair, by Ibn Kadi Shuhbah, in Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv, p. 514, is as follows. In the month Safar 768 (7 Oct.-4 Nov. 1366) the King of Cyprus sent fifty prisoners to Egypt, promising to send the rest after the conclusion of peace. Yalbugha agreed, and after a month the envoys returned, but without the prisoners. Yalbugha, enraged, wished to execute the envoys. They threw the blame on the commander of the Cypriote ship. Yalbugha ordered three warships to capture it and its crew; but it took refuge among Genoese and Catalan ships. In a fight which followed, the Christians killed fifty Egyptians. They then sailed away. The Venetian account is again different (*Libri Comm., Reg.* iii, p. 52, no. 302, from Beirut, 18 Nov. 1366; Heyd, ii, p. 55, n. 3): five Venetian galleys were at Alexandria, with a Genoese and a Catalan ship. The Sultan's officials pretended that they had Cypriotes on board, and sent four galleys to take them. Forty-six Venetians were seized; but as they write from Beirut, it appears that these were the merchants, to be mentioned immediately, who were imprisoned by the Beirut authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Caroldo ap. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 340, n. 1; Machaeras, 188; Strambaldi, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> According to Iorga, *P.M.* p. 340, n. 2, the King of Cyprus was sympathetic, and promised on his next expedition to capture enough Moslems to ensure the release of the merchants. The résumé of the Bailie's report in *Libri Comm., Reg.* iii, p. 52, no. 301 and the text in *M.L., H.* ii, p. 361 do not mention this.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 189; Strambaldi, p. 74.

of Savoy, who however pleaded that he could not desert the Emperor, to whose aid he had gone to Constantinople after the Venetians had told him that peace had been made.<sup>1</sup> Florimond de Lesparre, however, arrived in Cyprus with his own galley, accompanied by Sir Bremond de la Voulte.<sup>2</sup> The King's cousin, John d'Ibelin, Seneschal of Jerusalem, also arrived from the West.<sup>3</sup>

Thus a fleet of a hundred and sixteen sail had assembled at Famagusta. A contingent had arrived from Rhodes on 11 November preceding. A first start was delayed by the illness of the King.<sup>4</sup> When eventually the fleet sailed, in January 1367,<sup>5</sup> a storm soon dispersed it.<sup>6</sup> The King was driven back to the Karpas, but Florimond de Lesparre and fourteen others reached Tripoli, captured the captain of the castle, and sacked the town. After waiting twelve days for the others, they returned to Cyprus.

Yalbugha, in spite of the comparative failure of this expedition, seems to have been impressed by it as a sign that the King's militant spirit was as strong as ever. He decided to resume negotiations,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 186; Strambaldi, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> According to Lesparre's own account (Machaut, p. 228) Peter sent Bremond de la Voulte to Constantinople to invite him.

<sup>3</sup> John d'Ibelin had previously left the King's service and gone to fight for Edward III of England against Charles V of France. He now came and asked and received the King's pardon. Atiya (p. 370, n. 3) appears to misinterpret Machaeras and Strambaldi, referring this story of desertion to Florimond de Lesparre. The passage is obscure, but it seems clear that the desertion had taken place some time before. On John d'Ibelin see Dawkins on Machaeras, 187, n. 3. He is to be distinguished from his namesake the Count of Jaffa.

<sup>4</sup> Machaut, vv. 4280ff. This was probably the quartan fever of which Peter was cured at Meniko near Akaki. He built a new church at that place, and had the heads of SS. Cyprian and Justina, which were revered as relics there, covered with silver. Machaeras, 39; Strambaldi, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> 7th or 17th, Machaeras, 191 (see Dawkins's note). Strambaldi, pp. 75-6. Amadi (pp. 415-16) and Fl. Bustron (pp. 263-4) have 6 June, which is clearly wrong.

<sup>6</sup> Machaut, who dates this expedition in 1366 (vv. 4300ff.), says that the King on his return was very ill, and kept his room nearly all November. He does not mention Lesparre's attack on Tripoli.

<sup>7</sup> On the first stage of these negotiations, see the King's later memorandum, 19 May 1368 (M.L., *H.* II, pp. 291-302; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 72, no. 425; summarized by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 375), details of which are to be interpreted by the instructions which he gave next day to Venetian and Genoese envoys (M.L., *H. ibid.* pp. 302-8; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 72, no. 426). Machaut, vv. 4352-4453, 5676-5943; Machaeras, 192-3; Strambaldi, pp. 76f. The latter two have Sir James instead of Sir Paul de Belonia, a mere slip.

brought Sir Paul de Belonia out of prison, and sent him to Cyprus with two ambassadors, whose suite numbered forty persons.<sup>1</sup> They landed at C. Kiti<sup>2</sup> and were taken to Famagusta to the King, who said that he was willing to satisfy the desire of the Venetians, Genoese and Catalans for peace. The Haute Cour, consulted, recommended the King, in view of the unexhausted resources of the enemy, to proceed with negotiations; this they are curiously reported to have said in the presence of Yalbugha's envoy on Sunday, 10 February 1367.

With little delay, terms were agreed and sworn to by the King and the envoys to be referred to Yalbugha for ratification.<sup>3</sup> Peter's demand for the Kingdom of Jerusalem seems to have been dropped. Among the terms the following may be mentioned. The customs duties which were levied in Syria and Egypt, at Tyre, Beirut, Sidon, Tripoli, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Damietta,<sup>4</sup> were to be halved. Pilgrims were to have free access to the Holy Places and to be exempt from the tax (of five florins a head) on showing a certificate that they were relations of the King or belonged to his household. Terms generally similar to those made with the trading communes were agreed for consuls (who were to be appointed by the King and to be removable only by him), punishment of malefactors, freedom of trade from control once dues had been paid, aid in salvage of wrecks, punishment of fraud in passing goods through customs, recovery from defaulting debtors.<sup>5</sup> Stipulations were made for mutual aid against enemy attacks, by the Turks on Cyprus, by corsairs on the Saracens. Finally, two points of special interest may be noted. First, any alleged breach of any of the terms was to be referred to the rectors and councils of the Venetian, Genoese and Catalan Communes in the East, and if the party adjudged to be in

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<sup>1</sup> 'Homar el Seyffy et Nassar el Din Mahmet Craia': M.L., *H.* II, p. 292. The latter was the Genoese renegade who had already been in Cyprus for the negotiations in June and again later in 1366 (p. 339, n. 7; p. 342, n. 6).

<sup>2</sup> St George at Dades. Dawkins on Machaeras, 192.

<sup>3</sup> Machaut elaborates some of the terms, but they are by no means all of the most importance, as can be seen by comparison with the memorandum of 19 May; and some of his details are not in the memorandum. Such is the return of the Column of the Flagellation, which was to be sent to Famagusta, where the King proposed to build a special chapel for it; a visit to which, by papal indulgence, would count in time of war instead of going to Jerusalem: vv. 5756-71.

<sup>4</sup> Machaut, vv. 5696-5714, puts the full duty at 10 per cent.

<sup>5</sup> But the Cyprus government would not be responsible for defaulting Venetians or Genoese.

fault refused to pay the penalty, the other should have a just *casus belli*, and the said Communes might aid him without prejudice to their franchises. Secondly, war should not be made from either side without a formal challenge and the lapse of a year from the date thereof.

The King appointed Sir James de Nores, the Turcopolier, and three other envoys to carry these proposals to Cairo.<sup>1</sup> All unbaptized Saracens in Cyprus were collected and handed over to the Turcopolier to take with him; and any baptized Saracens, and others from Syria who wished, were also to be permitted to go. Leave was given to a few knights (out of many who demanded it) to accompany them and visit not only Egypt but the Holy Places.<sup>2</sup>

So certain did the prospect of peace seem, that it was actually made public before the departure of the envoys.<sup>3</sup> They were detained at Famagusta by bad weather. Meanwhile news reached the King that Yalbugha had been murdered because he favoured peace. The envoys, questioned by the King, assured him that the Sultan and all the Emirs wished to make peace, and they were accordingly given permission to proceed.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, Venice had not been idle. She obtained permission from the Pope to send two galleys to Alexandria, with Dominic Michiel and Francis Bembo as envoys, to obtain the release of the prisoners and their goods, and treat of peace between the Sultan and the Christians. They sailed on 18 February 1367.<sup>5</sup>

As to Genoa, she had sent a worthy merchant, Peter de Canale(?), to Cairo; but he was told by the Sultan that no peace would be made with Christians unless it could first be made with the King of Cyprus. Canale came straight back to Cyprus to beg the King to lose no time

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 193; Strambaldi, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Machaut, vv. 5872ff., names with eulogy among these an Englishman 'Messires Robers li Rous' (see above, p. 320, n. 2); also (vv. 5902ff.) John of Reims, who was refused permission, but persuaded a Genoese, who was one of the envoys, to take him as one of his suite.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 416; on 10 Feb. But this was the day on which, according to Machaeras, the barons agreed to begin discussions (above, p. 345). Iorga (P.M. p. 357, n. 3) says 23 Feb. on I know not what interpretation of Amadi. Fl. Bustron gives no date.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 196; Strambaldi, p. 78. Cp. Machaut, vv. 6162f. (Yalbugha's successor against the treaty).

<sup>5</sup> Caroldo ap. Iorga, P.M. p. 340, n. 3. Papal licence for the galleys, *ibid.* and *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 55, no. 319 (22 Jan. 1367). The dates of various sailings from 1367 to 1377 are recorded in a note in *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 47, no. 267.

in dispatching his envoys.<sup>1</sup> On 14 March 1367<sup>2</sup> the whole company, the Turcopolier and his companions, a galley of the King of Aragon, and Canale's galley, sailed from Famagusta. They reached Alexandria on 25 March and were honourably received at Cairo.<sup>3</sup> They had however been warned on their arrival at Alexandria that the Egyptian Emirs meditated treachery. Although, before they reached Cairo, Yalbugha had been murdered, the policy of his successor and of the young Sultan Sha'ban remained unchanged. After a first polite reception, in a second interview, at which the Turcopolier spoke his mind rather too freely about the Egyptian practice of playing fast and loose, Sha'ban lost his temper, and was only dissuaded from mishandling the 'swine of an envoy' by an Emir who reminded him of the inviolability of ambassadors. Finally, after twenty days of discussion, the Sultan sent the envoys back, with two of his own (one being again Nasr ed-Din) bearing new terms, of which we know only that they were dishonourable to the Christians. When they reached Famagusta, they found that the King was absent at Rhodes; on 28 June they went on thither, with the Prince of Antioch.

Announcing that the previous agreement was null and void owing to the death of Yalbugha, they presented the new terms, which were promptly rejected.<sup>4</sup> The King sent Sir Leon d'Antiaume to Cyprus to prepare an expedition against the Saracens, pending his own return.

Although Peter broke off negotiations, Venice persisted, writing on 29 September to Cairo to ask for the resumption of trade, and on 3 October giving instructions to its envoys and setting up a committee of three *savi* on the affairs of Cyprus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 197-8; Strambaldi, p. 79. On the various forms of the name of the merchant, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 197, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras and Strambaldi, *loc. cit.*; Machaut, v. 5948.

<sup>3</sup> For the proceedings from this point to the return of the envoys and the end of the negotiations, see Machaeras, 202-5; Strambaldi, pp. 80-2; Machaut, vv. 5978-6721.

<sup>4</sup> Machaut (v. 6679) says they came before the King. Machaeras on the other hand (205; Strambaldi, p. 82) says that, having heard the Turcopolier's report, Peter would not allow them to land. From 213 (Strambaldi, p. 85) it appears that he put them in prison at Kerynia. Machaut seems to imply that they were sent back from Rhodes (v. 6720), which in view of subsequent happenings cannot be true. It must be confessed that Peter had no more respect than the Sultan for the inviolability of ambassadors.

<sup>5</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 364, n. 6.



Early in the year, while these negotiations with Egypt had been taking their tedious course, events of a more exciting kind had occupied the military forces of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> In February the Grand Karaman attacked Gorhigos with a very large force.<sup>2</sup> He did so, it was reported, at the orders of the Sultan, but the envoy from Egypt, when questioned by the King, could only say 'God forbid that this should be done by my lord'. The castle was very strong, but the commandant sent to Cyprus a stream of messengers begging for relief. Peter, detained in Cyprus by the peace negotiations, ordered the Prince of Antioch to sail with ten galleys and a distinguished company of knights, a force of 600 men-at-arms and 300 archers. The expedition left Famagusta on 26 February and following days.<sup>3</sup> On their arrival they found the place closely besieged; the Turk was in possession of a tower just outside the castle, and his position on the neighbouring heights was very strong. The first to arrive, despite their inadequate numbers, made rash attacks on the enemy, with ill success; the engines which the Turk had installed on the heights did deadly work. In the course of this fighting two of the Christian leaders, Philip d'Aumont and Bonau de Bon, were killed, and Florimond de Lesparre, Moustry and Rochefort were wounded.<sup>4</sup> The Prince now prudently withdrew his forces into the castle, and sent the Turcopolier, Sir James de Nores, with the six galleys for reinforcements. For eight days there was a lull in the fighting; on the ninth (Sunday, 7 March) the Cypriotes made a sortie, and an engagement developed, which ended in the complete rout of the Turks. The Karaman himself was wounded, the tower was retaken, and much war material captured. When the Turcopolier returned after three days, with news of reinforcements to come, they were no longer

<sup>1</sup> Machaut devotes a disproportionate number of verses (4454-5675) to the recital of the fighting for Gorhigos. His materials were doubtless largely supplied by old campaigners, such as Jédouin de Beauvilliers, who would tell long stories of feats of arms. Machaeras, 194-6; Strambaldi, pp. 77f.; Amadi, p. 416; Fl. Bustron, p. 264. Full account in M.L., *Rel. pol. et comm.* I, pp. 506-15; D.L.R., *F.O.* I, pp. 130-7.

<sup>2</sup> Machaut says 45,000 men, probably an exaggeration. See above, p. 323, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> On the last day of February according to Amadi. According to Machaut four galleys reached Gorhigos early on that day (a Sunday); Moustry's galley arrived in the evening; Bremond de la Voulte on 1 March. But no more than six out of the ten galleys which had been ordered seem to have sailed. On this expedition, see D.L.R., *F.O.* I, pp. 131-7.

<sup>4</sup> Machaut calls Moustry Admiral of Cyprus, but he held that office only after the death of John de Sur. Mas Latrie on Machaut, p. 281, n. 20.

necessary. The Prince expected the Turks to counter-attack, but they had scattered. Peter recalled the Prince, who returned to Famagusta on 14 March 1367.<sup>1</sup>

The danger to Gorhigos had been dispelled, but trouble of another kind developed at Adalia.<sup>2</sup> The King, made anxious by the delay in the Egyptian negotiations, had detained at Famagusta the ships which should have taken the pay and provisions for the garrison, and the commandant Sir Leon d'Antiaume was unable to control the malcontents, whose ringleader was one Peter Canel. They took away the keys from the commandant, and threatened to hand the castle over to the Turks. Antiaume succeeded in dissuading them from this extreme course, while he sent an urgent appeal to the King. Peter at last, on 26 May, took the fleet which he had waiting at Famagusta (four Rhodian galleys, twenty-eight of his own and other small craft) across, beheaded Peter Canel, paid the garrison their wages, and put Sir Thomas de Montolif of Kliro in command in place of Antiaume. Then, taking Antiaume with him, he went on to Rhodes, for what object is not known, but probably to concert plans with the Grand Master.<sup>3</sup>

At Rhodes an incident occurred which illustrates the relations between the King and his knights as well as throwing light on Peter's character.<sup>4</sup> A quarrel blew up between the Sire de Rochefort and Sir John Mousty, in which Florimond de Lesparre seems also to have been involved on the side of the former. It came to Peter's ears that it was insinuated that Mousty had been found wanting in some point of Christian duty, and

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, who says nothing of the preliminary fighting, makes the Prince enter the castle after landing, remain there three days, then make the final sally in which he defeated the Turks, and then remain twelve days. According to Machaut, who is probably more accurate, the Prince entered the castle after the unsuccessful engagement of 1 March, stayed there eight days, and defeated the enemy on the ninth, which was Sunday, 7 March. The Turkish camp was taken on the 8th. Three days later, on the 11th, the Turcopolier returned. He does not give the date of the return to Famagusta, which is due to Machaeras.

<sup>2</sup> Machaut, curiously enough, has nothing about this episode. Machaeras, 199-201; Strambaldi, pp. 79f.; Amadi, pp. 416f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> To await news from Cairo, says Machaeras (201); but he could have received it more quickly in Cyprus. The Grand Master was at the time absent in the West; Peter may have wished to see him immediately on his return.

<sup>4</sup> Machaut does not know of Rochefort's quarrel with the King; he is concerned with Lesparre only. For the quarrel with Rochefort, see Machaeras, 206; Strambaldi, pp. 82f.; Amadi, p. 417; Fl. Bustron, p. 265. We are concerned for the present only with what led up to the rendering and acceptance of the challenge.

that he himself was not without blame. He gave Rochefort the lie direct. Rochefort retorted that Peter was a king, with an army at his command, and friends around him; strangers like himself and Lesparre could only have patience, whereas had they to do with a private gentleman, on neutral ground, they would show themselves no cowards. The King, doffing the crown which he wore, said he would never wear it again or call himself king, until he had proved himself a gentleman and a knight; he offered to meet Rochefort or any of his friends on any field as plain Peter de Lusignan. Rochefort challenged him to meet them on Christmas Eve<sup>1</sup> before the Pope. Peter accepted the challenge. Whether Lesparre was concerned in this particular quarrel is not clear.<sup>2</sup> However he it is, and he alone, of whom we hear in the subsequent course of this affair; Rochefort is mentioned only as having failed to put in an appearance and having been proclaimed as a coward. Lesparre, according to his own account, written at Rhodes on 3 August 1367, had been sent for by the King from Constantinople; he came and had served Peter for more than ten months, six of them at his own cost, for the rest at a salary from the King. Recently, for some reason he had never been able to discover, he had fallen out of the King's grace; if he had been accused by anyone he was ready to defend his honour with his body. Since no one came forward, he held himself cleared. Now, when the King was preparing a new expedition, he had offered his services, which had been rudely refused; if he were to go, the King threatened to do him hurt and dishonour. Henceforward he held himself free of all obligation to the King, and would seek the King's dishonour as much as the King sought his. He enclosed his cartel, giving the King the lie, and offering to meet him before the King of England, or his son the Prince of Guyenne (the Black Prince)<sup>3</sup> or the King of France, at any time for a year from the coming Michaelmas. 'Nor can you refuse on the ground that my birth is not so gentle that I can fight with you, for I hold myself as gentle, by father and mother, as yourself; nor are you any nobler than I, save that you wear a king's crown, of which I have

<sup>1</sup> This date may be a misunderstanding of Lesparre's demand (Machaut, p. 231) for a reply to be sent to his challenge by Christmas. The actual term for the duel was a year from Michaelmas 1367.

<sup>2</sup> Machaut (vv. 7358-7613) gives his version of Lesparre's defiance of the King, with the texts of the cartel and its covering letter, and the King's reply.

<sup>3</sup> The Lords of Lesparre were vassals of the Kings of England as Dukes of Guyenne.

heard many wise men say that no man is worthy to wear it who is false and wicked and a liar, as you are.'

The King had indeed broken Lesparre's appointment, and refused to allow him to join the expedition to Tripoli. Lesparre and his fellow-malcontent Rochefort took ship and sailed to the West. The former's fiery challenge was answered briefly by Peter from Kiti on 15 September 1367. As Lesparre knew, he was with his army in the service of God against the infidel; but on his return he would meet Lesparre at the court of the King of France within the appointed term, when Lesparre would get such an answer that he would never wish to write again to a Christian king as he had written to Peter.

Perceval of 'Cologne' was instructed by the King to proceed to Paris to make arrangements for the meeting, sparing no expense. Urban V highly disapproved of the affair, as derogatory to the royal dignity, and wrote on 2 December 1367 to the Archbishop of Nicosia that he should deter Peter from coming to the West for the purpose of this duel.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that at Rhodes Peter had broken off negotiations with the Sultan's envoys. He waited there for the return of the Grand Master, Raymond Bérenger, who was absent on a visit to the Pope. Raymond on his arrival informed the King that the Admiral, Sir John de Sur, had concluded the peace with Genoa, and was ready to come out to Cyprus for the new expedition. It was time that Peter also should return.<sup>2</sup> But it was desirable to secure himself against attack from the rear. Putting in therefore at Adalia, he sent for the Tekke Bey, who came and did homage to him. The other local Emirs also came and confirmed the treaties which they had with the King, and peace was publicly proclaimed.<sup>3</sup> Then he sailed on to Cyprus and landed at Kiti, in August or the first half of September.<sup>4</sup> Here he fell sick (probably of his old quartan fever) and retired for a time to Nicosia, leaving the Prince of Antioch in charge. On recovering his health he returned, and

<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, 1367, p. 155, § 13.

<sup>2</sup> He must have sailed before 4 August, for Lesparre's challenge of that date was, it would seem, sent after he had left.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 208; Strambaldi, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Amadi, p. 417; Fl. Bustron, p. 265. His reply to Lesparre is dated from Kiti on 15 Sept. (see above). According to Machaut (vv. 8225f.) it was while he was here that the Prince of Antioch warned him of the discontent of the barons. But on all this affair, which ended in the murder of the King, Machaut is a worthless witness.

the Prince fell ill in his turn and was carried to Nicosia. On 22 September the galley of Sir John de Grimante appeared; in it were the Admiral, Sir John de Sur, and the Bishop of Famagusta. Peter sent them on to Famagusta, with orders to the Admiral to return to Kiti and, if he were no longer there, to follow him to Tripoli.<sup>1</sup>

For it was Tripoli that, after a council of war, he decided to attack. The Moslems, indeed, believed that Alexandria was his objective, and Peter might have made it so, but his spies informed him that the Moslems were on their guard.<sup>2</sup> He had a fleet of some 140 or 160 units,<sup>3</sup> with 7000 fighting men,<sup>4</sup> including French, English and Genoese as well as his own Cypriotes. The master of a Venetian ship, Micaletto Rosso, had orders to follow the expedition and report.<sup>5</sup> Peter sailed direct to Tripoli, the crossing taking only a day, and arrived late at night.<sup>6</sup> The place was strongly garrisoned, and normally commanded by an Emir of high rank, Idmor, who was however absent at the time.<sup>7</sup> The raiders attacked from two points, 'above' and 'below' the city, at first with indifferent success. Eventually, the men who had been left in charge of the ships leaping ashore and terrifying the enemy by their yells, the town was carried, put to the sack and practically de-

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 209; Strambaldi, p. 83; Amadi, p. 417. Machaeras gives σίρ 'Επὸρ as the bishop's name. He had evidently just been appointed; for in 1366 the see was vacant, as it was again in 1373. Hackett, p. 582, n. 2. He may have been Arnaud, who was appointed in 1366 (Papaïoannou, III, p. 129).

<sup>2</sup> Machaut, vv. 6735f. The Moslems read it in their stars.

<sup>3</sup> Variant readings in Machaut, v. 6734.

<sup>4</sup> *Chron. des quatre premiers Valois*, p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> His report is used by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 364, n. 9, for certain details not in other sources. Among these are apparently the dates 18 Sept. for arrival at Tripoli, 19th for the attack, 21st for the retirement. If the date 22 Sept. for the arrival at Kiti of Sir John de Sur, before the expedition sailed, is correct (and Iorga accepts it, p. 354, n. 6), these dates are impossible; so I have ignored them.

<sup>6</sup> The dates given by various sources (ignoring Micaletto Rosso, see preceding note) are as follows. Sailing from Kiti: Machaeras 27 Sept. 1367; Strambaldi the same; Amadi 23rd. Arrival at Tripoli: Amadi 24th, evening. Attack on the town: Machaeras 28 Sept. (Sunday); Strambaldi 29th; Amadi 25th. (Iorga makes Peter go to Famagusta and sail thence; which again conflicts with his instructions to Sir John de Sur, above.) As to Machaeras, 28 Sept. 1367 was not Sunday but Tuesday. I do not attempt to reconcile these discrepancies, and indeed they are not important.

<sup>7</sup> The garrison numbered over 20,000 (Machaut, v. 6875 and *Chron. des quatre premiers Valois*, p. 185), among whom were 6000 Syrian archers (*Chron.* p. 186). *Rec. Cr. Arm.* I, pp. 716-17. De Guignes, *Hist. gén. des Huns*, IV, p. 238 (after Abu'l Mahasin), gives the name of the Emir.

stroyed. When, however, towards evening, the King sounded the recall, the Saracens, who when driven out of the town had taken refuge in the gardens and sugar-cane plantations of the suburbs, counter-attacked with success the disorderly rabble of looters. The Christian losses amounted to some three hundred, the Turcopolier of the Hospitallers being among the killed.<sup>1</sup> The King had difficulty in getting his people on board again, and most of the plunder was lost. Nevertheless he carried off as a trophy the iron gate of the castle. Two days afterwards he sailed for Tortosa. The attack on that place was better carried out.<sup>2</sup> It was pillaged; stores of oars, pitch and tow, intended for the Sultan's fleet, were found in the old cathedral and burned; iron and nails were dumped in the sea. The iron gate of the castle, like that from Tripoli, was carried off, and both were sent to the island of Crambusa off Gorhigos.

Peter proceeded on his raid.<sup>3</sup> The next place to be visited was Valania (the ancient Balanea, later Banias), which was burned. Stormy weather prevented a landing at Laodicea. Peter therefore proceeded to Malo, on the Cilician coast, whence, after a stay of two days, he turned back eastwards to Lajazzo on the Gulf of Alexandretta. Here he met with a stout resistance.<sup>4</sup> He succeeded in taking the island fort and the town,

<sup>1</sup> On the losses, which are minimized by Machaut, see Iorga, *P.M.* p. 367, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Machaut, v. 6997; Machaeras, 211; Strambaldi, p. 84; Amadi, p. 417; Fl. Bustron, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> Machaut (vv. 6994 ff.) says he destroyed three good towns, Tortosa, Laodicea and 'Valence', i.e. Valania, and many others. One would suspect a confusion of Laodicea with Lajazzo (cp. next note), did not Machaut tell in detail the attack on the latter place later on. The passage from the *Chevalerie de la Passion* quoted by Iorga (*P.M.* p. 368, n. 4, cp. p. 125, n. 6), telling how Peter took St Nicolas de Ftamirre (Myra), Stanamur (Anamur) and Antiochette (near Anamur), has nothing to do with the present raid. According to the *Chron. des quatre premiers Valois* (pp. 189 ff.) Peter attacked Tyre unsuccessfully. The Prince of Antioch was wounded, and Peter was forced to retire to his ship and being short of provisions to return to Cyprus. This looks like a confusion with Lajazzo. I do not know Iorga's ground for stating that Malo was destroyed.

<sup>4</sup> Machaut, vv. 6943-71, 7008-7113; Machaeras, 212; Strambaldi, p. 84; Amadi, p. 417; Fl. Bustron, p. 266. In the latter two, 'La Lizza' (Laodicea) is a mistake for 'La Jazza'. In the course of this expedition Peter was aided by a mixed body of adventurers. Four hundred English, Germans and others under one Philippot joined up with four Genoese and Venetian armed ships, and attacked Jaffa. They were at first defeated, but afterwards, with the help of 1600 pilgrims from a Hungarian ship, burned the town. They then joined Peter. *Chron. des quatre premiers Valois*, pp. 187-90.

but found the land castle too strongly defended to be worth the risk of attacking it. This brought the raid to an end, and Peter withdrew his fleet, probably to Gorhigos, where he waited for eight days. He had extended his expedition to Lajazzo at the urgent appeal of Constantine V of Armenia,<sup>1</sup> who had promised to meet him there. The blocking of the ports by the Saracens was preventing all communication between Armenia and Cyprus. Constantine, hard pressed by the Saracens, seems actually to have offered his Kingdom to Peter, presumably in exchange for refuge in Cyprus. But now he came neither to Lajazzo nor anywhere else to join the King for whose help he had begged. The winter was coming on, and Peter was anxious to go to Rome, partly to fulfil his engagement with Lesparre, but also to prosecute his cherished schemes for a Crusade. He returned to Cyprus, reaching Famagusta on 5 October.<sup>2</sup>

Although he was relinquishing his own military efforts for a time, Peter actively encouraged privateering, proclaiming that any one who wished to go raiding the Sultan's dominions might use Famagusta as a base and obtain supplies there. The brothers Sir Peter and Sir John de Grimante availed themselves of this permission, and with their two galleys raided Sidon, seizing there three merchant ships fully laden, and another on their way back, and brought them into Famagusta 'to the glory of the Holy Cross'.

Peter also now threw into prison the envoys of the Sultan and others of his men whom he had detained at Rhodes.<sup>3</sup>

The brothers Grimante continued their privateering expeditions, as did other adventurers, into the spring of 1368. Ships were seized at Alexandria and Damietta. The Sultan retaliated by sending Moroccan ships to raid Cyprus, but with comparatively little success.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of Urban's disapproval Peter was determined to uphold his personal honour against Lesparre. Doubtless, however, as already said, his desire to enlist the support of the Pope for his ruling passion, the

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<sup>1</sup> Or Constans, son of the Chamberlain Hayton, but alleged to be of base Cypriote origin (Dardel, p. 36).

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 213; Strambaldi, p. 85; Amadi, p. 418; Fl. Bustron, p. 266 (no date).

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 213; Strambaldi, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 219-22; Strambaldi, pp. 87f. The place Sarepta which was raided by Sir John de Colie (Σαραπέτς or Σαρέφ in Machaeras, *Zares* in Strambaldi) is the modern *Sarfend* or *Sarafand* near Sidon. See Beer in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* vol. 1A. 2, col. 2497.

Crusade,<sup>1</sup> was equally a motive for his journey to Rome.<sup>2</sup> His brother John, Prince of Antioch, was appointed Regent during his absence. Among those who accompanied him were his son Peter, his nephew Hugh de Lusignan, Prince of Galilee, the Turcopolier James de Nores, John de Moustry, Theobald Belfarage, and Philip de Mézières.<sup>3</sup> The charge of his household he committed to Sir John Visconte. These royal progresses were expensive affairs, and Peter resorted to the same vicious plan for raising money as he had adopted when he went to the West in 1362. But the richer *perperarii* had all bought their exemption on that occasion. The price even then had been gradually reduced from 2000 to 1000 white besants. Now it began at 1000 and finally came down to 200.

The King sailed from Paphos by Rhodes to Naples, where he was kept for some days by the illness of his son,<sup>4</sup> and was entertained by Queen Joanna. There a secretary of the Doge of Venice came to him with the news that ambassadors were about to go to Egypt to treat for the release of the imprisoned merchants; the Signory would be glad of his approval.<sup>5</sup> Venice had already convinced the Pope that Christendom was not in a condition to undertake a Crusade, and an ineffective attack would only irritate the infidels and still further imperil the imprisoned Christians. The Pope gave leave for ambassadors to be sent. When Peter learned of this he saw that it was useless to persist, and agreed to accept the mediation of the Venetians. Genoese ambassadors were also to proceed on a similar mission.

The King reached Rome (where Urban, in his abortive attempt to restore the see in that city, had been since 16 October 1367) before 16 March.<sup>6</sup> He expressed to the Pope his determination to exact

<sup>1</sup> Machaut, vv. 7141 ff., 7200 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sources for this visit to the West: Machaut, vv. 7210-7941 (chiefly concerned with the affair with Lesparre); Machaeras, 214-18, 223; Strambaldi, pp. 85-9; Amadi, pp. 418 f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 266 f.

<sup>3</sup> Philip, who had been in Europe since July 1366, came back to Cyprus some time after 16 Sept. 1367, when the Venetian Senate gave him leave to return (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 347).

<sup>4</sup> Caroldo, quoted by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 370, n. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Caroldo, *ibid.* n. 7. From an entry cited by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 376, n. 5, it would appear that the Venetians had already sent an ambassador to Cairo on 2 March. Nothing more seems to be known of this.

<sup>6</sup> On which date Urban, in a letter to the Doge Andrew Contarini (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 371, n. 5), mentioned that he had recently arrived. Queen Joanna also arrived on 17 March; on the 19th the Pope gave her the Golden Rose (although some of the



retribution from Lesparre by his sword. Lesparre himself, who had repented of his rashness, made a strong effort to recover the King's graces. Peter, at first obstinately refusing the Pope's mediation, at last yielded, and the reconciliation was effected at a grand collation on Easter Eve (8 April).<sup>1</sup> The King demanded and received a papal bull attesting his innocence.

Rochefort, who had failed to appear, after the summons had been issued for forty days, was proclaimed as a cowardly defaulter.

The King, immediately on his arrival in Rome, renewed his efforts to impress on the Pope the danger which was threatening the faithful in the eastern Mediterranean, but in vain.<sup>2</sup> The disturbed state of Europe, combined with the interests of the trading communities, put any warlike undertaking against the Saracens out of the question. All that Urban could do was to forbid embassies to Cairo without his special licence, and to invite the parties most concerned (Venice, Genoa, Aragon) to send representatives to Rome to come to an agreement with the King and with each other on the instructions to be given to the envoys who were to go to Cairo.<sup>3</sup> Peter, who had gone to Florence,<sup>4</sup> returned to Rome to meet them. He refused the gifts with which they endeavoured to make their views acceptable to him. But eventually he yielded to the Pope's pleading, and on 19 May issued a public memorandum,<sup>5</sup> already analysed above, setting forth the proposals of 1367 which Cairo had rejected. On the 20th he provided the envoys with the new terms which he was willing to accept.<sup>6</sup> In nearly all essentials they repeat the earlier proposals.<sup>7</sup> The envoys were to explain that the King's raid on Tripoli and Lajazzo was necessitated by the

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Cardinals thought it should have gone to Peter or his son), and on Easter Monday a gold-hilted sword, which she presented to Peter: Iorga, p. 374.

<sup>1</sup> Then the King put his crown on his head again, and called himself once more King Peter, with the surname the Valiant: Fl. Bustron, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Urban's letter to Contarini of 16 March, Iorga, *P.M.* p. 372, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 373. Dagnano Cattaneo and Peter Racanelli represented Genoa; Nicolas Falier and Francis Bembo, Venice. Aragon's representatives, if indeed any came, are not named.

<sup>4</sup> *M.L., H. II*, p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> *M.L., H. II*, pp. 291-302; *Libri Comm., Reg. III*, p. 72, no. 425; above, p. 345.

<sup>6</sup> *M.L., H. II*, pp. 302-8; *Libri Comm., Reg. III*, p. 72, no. 426. The Genoese envoys were Cassano Cigala and Paul Giustinani; the Venetian, Nicolas Giustinian and Peter Malocello.

<sup>7</sup> As to the remission of half the customs duty, the envoys are to do the best they can, obtaining a third or at least a quarter.

Sultan's breach of the earlier agreement, and to demand an indemnity for the expenses which he incurred thereby. If they should find on arrival that the Prince of Antioch had already begun or concluded a treaty with the Sultan, they were to support him and not in any way hamper the King's interests. If they could not obtain immediate assent to their terms, they might wait for eight days, and were given full powers to conclude as good an agreement as possible, so far as compatible with the above-mentioned terms. It looks as if Peter was inclined to be a little more yielding than in previous negotiations. Those of the envoys who first reached Rhodes were to wait there until the end of June for the others, that all might proceed together; after that date, they were if necessary to go on alone with full powers.

On the same day Peter advised the Prince of Antioch<sup>1</sup> that at the urgent request of the Pope and the Communes he had agreed to make peace with the Sultan, on the terms of which he enclosed a copy. The Prince was to hand over to the envoys the Saracen prisoners at their request. The Prince and the envoys were to give each other every assistance in these negotiations.

The Venetian envoys sailed in June,<sup>2</sup> and were joined by the Genoese at Rhodes in the course of the same month, leaving for Alexandria together, probably on 25 June. Their mission, as we shall see, was to be a complete failure.

The King made another magnificent progress through Italy on his way to Venice. Its details may be passed over here.<sup>3</sup> The Venetians

<sup>1</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 308; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 73, no. 434; Machaeras, 223; Strambaldi, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 376, says on 2 June. Machaeras (224; Strambaldi, p. 89) says that on 24 June the four galleys of the Republics were fitted out, and the envoys embarked, and a light ship was also sent with the King's commands to Cyprus. He goes on to say that they left Rhodes for Alexandria on 25 June. These two dates are obviously incompatible; the second may well be right.

<sup>3</sup> Fully described by Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 377-80. Peter is said to have helped to reconcile the Pope with Barnabò Visconti (Machaeras, 217; Strambaldi, p. 87; Amadi, p. 418; Fl. Bustron, p. 267). His ministers, Philip de Mézières and Peter Thomas, had been active in promoting such reconciliation at the time of his earlier visit in 1364 (Raynaldus, 1364, p. 94, § 4; Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 216-18). It has also been thought that at this time he betrothed his son to Valentina, Barnabò's daughter (e.g. Reinhard, I, p. 260). Litta (*Fam. Cel.*, *Visconti* tav. v) even says that 'Valenza' was married to Peter II in 1365, which is definitely incorrect. Negotiations may have been begun some time before the actual contract which was signed on 2 April 1376. See note on Amadi, p. 437, and Ch. VIII, p. 423.

showed themselves accommodating, giving permission for the supply of horses and equipment, and for the transport of Peter himself and his suite of three hundred persons.<sup>1</sup> He went aboard on 23 September, eight galleys being required for himself and his suite of now not three hundred, but more than five hundred persons.<sup>2</sup>

Before however he left Italy, while still on his progress, he received from Armenia an offer of the crown of that distressful country. When Peter was in the West on his former visit, he had sent for Bohemund de Lusignan,<sup>3</sup> with the idea of having him crowned King of Armenia.<sup>4</sup> But he died in Venice in 1363. His brother, afterwards Leo VI, was his natural successor, and as such was proposed by Peter. The Pope gave the King letters to be delivered to the Armenian clergy, barons and all people of the Catholic faith, recommending Leo to them. But on his return to Cyprus Peter learned of the death of Constantine IV. If the rather untrustworthy Dardel is to be believed, Constans (or Constantine V), whom the barons had elected to the crown, offered his Kingdom to Peter, and Peter accordingly suppressed the Pope's letter.<sup>5</sup> If we accept the story, we must suppose that as early as 1365 Peter was willing to oust his cousin from the succession to the throne, but took no steps to do so until three years later, when the crown of Armenia was once more offered to him. Also that the Pope, who must have known what was happening, made no protest. The Pope's letter, however, was certainly written; it is possible that it was afterwards withdrawn with the writer's consent.

<sup>1</sup> Authority for dispatch of 250 horses, 27 July; for sale of 2000 *stellae remorum* from the Arsenal, and of arms up to the value of 1500 gold ducats, and for transport of the King and his suite to Cyprus up to the end of September, 17 Aug. 1368. Instructions to podestà and captain of Treviso to receive the King, who wishes to reside there, 21 Aug. M.L., *H.* II, p. 312 and n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Philip de Mézières, Iorga, *P.M.* p. 383, n. 2. Machaut, v. 7353, gives the wrong date 28 Sept.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 150 (with Dawkins, n. 4; but see next note); Strambaldi, p. 58; Amadi, p. 413; Fl. Bustron, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> Dardel, p. 35. Bohemund was the son of John de Lusignan and Soldane. She had taken refuge in Cyprus, having escaped from the clutches of Constantine IV (Dardel, pp. 32-3). He is not to be confused with Bohemund the son of Amaury, Lord of Tyre.

<sup>5</sup> Dardel, p. 36. For the letter, Raynaldus, 1365, p. 126, § 21 (3 April 1365). From Dardel, p. 50, it appears that Leo had the Pope's letter in his possession when he was arrested by the Genoese at Famagusta in 1373.

Whatever may have been the facts, it is certain that Peter accepted the crown and called himself King (or Thakavar) of all the Armenians.<sup>1</sup> He did not, however, quarter in his arms the Armenian red lion on a silver field, as did subsequent kings after the death of Leo VI. And he never had a chance of visiting his new Kingdom.

Putting in at Modon in the Morea, Peter had an interview with his second cousin the Despotissa Margaret (Mary, Isabel) de Lusignan, who made him fine presents and two requests. The first was that, as she had no relations in Greece, he would allow her cousin Leo to come to her from Cyprus, in order that she might arrange a marriage for him and that when she died all her wealth, which was great, might be inherited by him. The second was that Peter would grant her a fief in Cyprus, in order that she might retire there if her husband died. Peter assigned to her the estate of Aradippou, with a revenue of 120,000 white besants. He also agreed to the other plan, and a marriage was arranged for Leo with Catherine, daughter of Erard III d'Aunoy (Kyr Mavros), Lord of Arcadia. Leo was also willing, but after the murder of Peter the Prince of Antioch refused to allow him to leave the island, lest he should go to the Pope and complain that he was being kept out of the fief which he ought to possess as the grandson of Amaury, Lord of Tyre.<sup>2</sup>

On his return to Cyprus, Peter heard of the collapse of the negotiations at Cairo.<sup>3</sup> The envoys of the Republics, who had sailed from Rhodes on 25 June, found the Sultan apparently ready to come to terms. He agreed to bring the Christian captives out of prison, and two ships left Alexandria on 8 August for Cyprus, to bring away the Saracen envoys and others who were held in prison there. The Genoese podestà and the Venetian Bailie at Famagusta were instructed to obtain delivery of the prisoners, which the Regent granted against a notarial acknowledgement, and they left Famagusta with their charges on 24 August. But when they reached Alexandria, the Genoese and Venetian envoys refused to allow the prisoners to be landed until the Sultan should have

<sup>1</sup> Silver coin with the King on horseback, E. Langlois, *Numismatique de l'Arménie au Moyen Âge*, 1855, Pl. VI, 9, pp. 96-7.

<sup>2</sup> Dardel, ch. xlviii, pp. 37-8; Binon, in *Mélanges Boisacq*, 1, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 224-30; Strambaldi, pp. 89-91; Amadi, p. 419; Fl. Bustron, pp. 266f. I do not understand Iorga's dates (p. 383 and n. 4): the envoys left Italy in June and arrived at Rhodes on 5 July and at Alexandria at the beginning of July. The Arab story applied by Iorga to this embassy is, as we have seen (p. 343, n. 1), about an earlier mission, in 1366.

concluded the peace. There was a stormy scene, an Emir<sup>1</sup> violently threatening the Genoese envoy Cigala. Another Emir, however, counselled peace; a third suggested that the King, if he heard that peace was being made, might return without an army, and then the Sultan would have his own way.<sup>2</sup> The Sultan was persuaded to put off the envoy, whom he accordingly sent back to Cyprus. Peter dispatched to the Sultan a reproachful reply, which seems to bear signs of the illness from which the writer was suffering at the time,<sup>3</sup> upbraiding him for his treatment of ambassadors and for playing fast and loose in the negotiations. Peter, trusting in the Sultan's words as the words of a king, had called off his preparations for a Crusade, and had handed over his captives, but the Sultan still kept the Christians in prison. Finally, he threatened that he would visit the Sultan and show what kind of man he was. He would not write again.

This was the end of Peter's dealings with the Sultan. He reported the situation to the Pope, pointing out how he had broken off his preparations for a *passagium* because it had been put about that peace had been concluded (a reference to the Venetians); 'and now we find ourselves deceived'.

The last two or three months of Peter's life offer a melancholy contrast to the brilliant scenes which marked earlier passages in his reign. This handsome, attractive 'athlete of Christ', as Urban liked to call him, developed another side to his character. It seems certain that he was, at least sensually, attached to his wife Eleanor.<sup>4</sup> But his affection for her did not prevent him from taking mistresses,<sup>5</sup> and it was this scandal that indirectly brought about his ruin.<sup>6</sup> The lady was Joanna

<sup>1</sup> Melek Bekhna, probably Mangli-Bugha el-Shamsi of Damascus. See Herzsohn, *Ueberfall Alexandriens*, p. 42. Dawkins on Machaeras, 159, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> It is hardly likely however that, if this was actually said, the Genoese and Venetian envoys would have known of it, unless they had their spies in the council.

<sup>3</sup> Machaut (v. 8249) says that he was seven weeks in bed.

<sup>4</sup> Witness the curious story of her shift, which he took with him on his travels, and discarded when he believed her unfaithful to him. Machaeras, 130, 216, 242; Strambaldi, pp. 50, 86, 95.

<sup>5</sup> As Machaeras says (242): 'and if any one say, "Seeing that he had such love for her, how was it he had two mistresses?"' This he did because of his great sensuality (λουξουριών), because he was a young man.'

<sup>6</sup> Machaut does not mention the King's relations with Joanna l'Aleman or Eleanor's revenge on her. As Mas Latrie has shown in his edition of Machaut, the poet was

l'Aleman, the widow of Sir John de Montolif, and Lady of Khoulou. That Peter was living in adultery with her, that he was parted from his wife, was matter of public knowledge, and may well have been a reason for the Pope's not having awarded to him the Golden Rose. Urban had written to him on 2 December 1367,<sup>1</sup> about the horrible report which had reached his ears from several sources, that the King had rejected the wife who was adorned by her noble birth and fine character,<sup>2</sup> and was unblushingly living in open adultery. At the same time Urban ordered the Archbishop of Nicosia to exert his influence on Peter to dismiss his mistress and take back his wife. Doubtless these exhortations were repeated when Peter reached Rome, but without effect. We can well understand that Peter would be deaf to them if reports of what was happening in his home were reaching him.

When he left for the West, Joanna was eight months gone with child by him. The Queen sent for her, and subjected her to the most revolting tortures in the hope of making her miscarry. When this failed, the wretched woman was sent home, and the midwives told to bring the child to the Queen as soon as it was born. This was done, and the fate of the infant is not known, but may be guessed. The mother was then consigned to a dungeon at Kerynia. The Regent, after seven days, changed the captain of Kerynia, putting in his place Sir Luke d'Antiaume, a kinsman of Joanna, with instructions, for love of the King, to make her condition a little easier. All this came to the ears of Peter, who wrote to Eleanor, swearing that if ever by God's help he should return to Cyprus he would do so ill with her that many would tremble. 'And so, before I come, do your worst.' The Queen (making it appear that she did so not out of fear of Peter but at the request of Antiaume and his wife) released Joanna on condition that she went into a convent. She chose St Clare's in Nicosia. In prison at Kerynia and in the convent she spent altogether a year, until the King on his return had her fetched out. 'And her beauty was not diminished.'<sup>3</sup>

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grossly misinformed about the circumstances of the murder of Peter. For the Queen and Joanna, see Machaeras, 234-7; Strambaldi, pp. 92-4; Amadi, pp. 419f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 268.

<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, 1367, p. 155, § 13; Reinhard, I, Beyl. 57, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Elegantia morum*, as to which Joanna l'Aleman might have had something to say.

<sup>3</sup> The story got into Cypriote balladry; two ballads on the subject, called ἄσμα τῆς ῥήγαινας καὶ τῆς Ἀροδαφνούσης, are in Sakellarios, II, pp. 46-52, a third in Κύπρ. Χρον. I (1923), pp. 327-9, and two others in Pharmakides, Κύπρια Ἔπη,

Another mistress, Échive de Scandelion, escaped the vengeance of the Queen, since her husband was alive.<sup>1</sup>

Hard upon the news about Joanna came a report from John Visconte, whom Peter had left in charge of his household, that Queen Eleanor was the mistress of John de Morphou, the Count of Roucha.<sup>2</sup> Their amour, it was said, was matter of public talk. The King's brothers questioned Visconte, who at first denied the truth of the report; who, he asked, can control popular gossip? Nevertheless they persuaded him that it was better that he rather than anyone else should convey the report to the King. His letter<sup>3</sup> protested that he did not himself believe in the Queen's infidelity, but he begged Peter to come and examine into the matter, and hoped to be proved a liar. The news threw the King into a fit of profound despondency. Since there was nothing more for him to do in the West, and peace seemed to have been concluded with the Sultan, he returned with all speed to Cyprus. The voyage was stormy, and the King, in danger of being wrecked, vowed to make gifts to all the monasteries in Cyprus, Latin and Greek, of all they required. His safe arrival was celebrated with rejoicings lasting for eight days. In the course of his visits to monasteries in fulfilment of his vow he found Joanna in St Clare's, made her put off her nun's habit, since it had been forced on her, and sent her to his palace. He found it difficult to get at the truth about the reports concerning Eleanor and

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pp. 88-96. Of the two in Sakellarios there is a French translation in Müller and Sathas's edition of Machaeras, II, pp. 400-8. See Dawkins on Machaeras, 234, n. 1, and below, Ch. xvii, p. 1108.

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 238; Strambaldi, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Sources for the affair of John Visconte and John de Morphou: Machaut (vv. 8030-8197: he does not believe the charge against the Queen, 'si vaillant et si prude femme et en tous cas si bonne dame'); Machaeras, 239-45, 249, 251-8; Strambaldi, pp. 94-101; Amadi, pp. 420-2; Fl. Bustron, pp. 268-71. On John de Morphou and his family, see Herzsohn, *Ueberfall Alexandriens*, pp. 23-41.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras and Strambaldi date it 13 Dec. 1368; Amadi and Fl. Bustron 13 Sept. It must have been much earlier, if it reached Peter in the West, for he sailed from Venice on 23 Sept. The astrological coincidence of the date of the letter discussed by Dawkins (note on Machaeras, 243) might enable us to fix that date to some earlier month; since all the authorities have the 13th, it looks as if the day of the month is right. Enquiry at the Royal Astronomical Society shows that the sun cannot have been in Capricorn in any of the months preceding September except January or February. As that seems too early, the abbreviated word must be 'moon' not 'sun'. Machaeras calls the letter naughty (ἄτσαλλον). Visconte uses the same image as Iago to Brabantio (*Othello*, I, i, 88).

John de Morphou. John, it was said, had bribed the King's two mistresses to say that the slander had been invented by John Visconte.<sup>1</sup> Peter was disinclined to believe them, but referred the whole matter to the Haute Cour. The barons seem to have played an ignoble part. If they found the Queen and John de Morphou guilty, and had them put to death, they would bring the vengeance of Aragon on the island, and the good name of Cyprus would be sullied. This and other reasons—which may be summed up in a desire to save the honour of the Queen and calm the King—led them to sacrifice the faithful Visconte, who was thrown into prison at Kerynia. A French lord visiting Cyprus on his way to Jerusalem was asked by Visconte's kinsmen to beg for his release. Peter took him out of Kerynia, but, instead of setting him free, merely transferred him to Buffavento, where he was starved to death. Both King and barons, whatever view the available evidence seems to favour, make a deplorable showing in this affair. And from this time onwards the King's demoralization seems to have proceeded apace. The process is described at great length by the Greek chronicle, from which it is clear that he became more and more unpopular with the knights, that he grew morose and suspicious that they were conspiring against him. His dislike seems to have extended to his brothers. A plan to entrap and confine them and a number of knights in a prison which he constructed in a tower (the Margarita)<sup>2</sup> is said to have been revealed by a Dominican who was confessor both to the King and to the Prince of Antioch. Tales of this kind may be regarded with scepticism;<sup>3</sup> but there is no doubt of the King's growing unpopularity<sup>4</sup> and brutal and

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras gives the source of his backstairs information about the two mistresses, an old dame who had been a serf of John de Morphou.

<sup>2</sup> See M.L., *H.* III, p. 265, n. 3 and Dawkins on Machaeras, 260, n. 1. Machaeras says that Peter built, in the upper part of the tower, a chapel in which he had painted a figure of the Misericordia, which gave its name to the chapel. Lusignan, however, says that James I converted the Margarita tower into the Misericordia chapel (*Descr.* f. 153b). In any case the original tower, as we shall see, seems to have been demolished by Peter II; and it seems reasonable to suppose that James built the chapel on its site after some visitation of the plague. See below, p. 446.

<sup>3</sup> On the real significance of the Margarita from a military point of view see Enlart, p. 522. Fl. Bustron (p. 26) says that the walling of Nicosia was begun by Peter I.

<sup>4</sup> There may be something in the view that Peter's insistence on war with the Saracens was disliked by the Cypriote Franks, and that they were jealous of the favour that he showed to knights from the West. Al-Nuwairi also says that he was mean to his nobles, and gave away all that he won at Alexandria to the kings of the West, deprived



illegal treatment of those who offended him. An incident on 8 January 1369 brought matters to a head. The crown prince Peter coveted a couple of fine Turkish greyhounds belonging to James, the son of Sir Henry de Giblet, Viscount of Nicosia. James refused to give them up, and his father returned a spirited reply to the King's request that he should part with them for a price. Peter was furious; he deprived Giblet of his office, and was going to send him off to Paphos as warden, but changed his mind and threw him into prison. He put the lad James in irons and sent him to dig with the labourers at the moat of the Margarita tower; and attempted to force Giblet's daughter Mary into marriage with a man of low degree.<sup>1</sup> He dragged her from the convent where she took refuge, and compelled the new Viscount of Nicosia, Sir John de Neuville, to torture her.<sup>2</sup> Neuville afterwards married her.

The King was evidently on the verge of madness. Apart from the brutality of his behaviour, he had violated the Assizes of the Kingdom by imprisoning a knight without the judgement of the Haute Cour, and by laying hands on his son and daughter, and trying to force her into a marriage quite against the provisions of the Assizes. The barons decided to protest.<sup>3</sup>

his barons of it and gave the preference to the French. The discontent began to show itself, as we have seen, as early as the expedition to Tripoli, when the Prince of Antioch warned him of it. Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 386f.

<sup>1</sup> A tailor, or a stableman; the descriptions differ. Mary was a widow; by the Assizes, after a year had passed, she should have chosen a new husband between three persons of lineage equal to hers; if she could not make up her mind, the King could marry her to any one of the three. See Machaeras, 277.

<sup>2</sup> The Viscount was head of the police, and would have to act under the King's orders. Machaeras's account of Mary de Giblet is embroidered by other writers, Amadi, Fl. Bustron, Malipiero and Lusignan; see Dawkins on Machaeras, 267, n. 1. According to these she was forced to work like her brother at the Margarita. She tucked up her skirts to dig, letting them down only when the King came to inspect the work, but not when the nobles came, explaining that they were no better than women, before whom she need not be modest; the King was the only man among them. 'The hen has no fear or shame before other hens, and respects only the cock.' This taunt stirred the knights to conspire the murder of the King.

<sup>3</sup> For the subsequent events, see: Machaut, vv. 8462-end (very inaccurate); Mézières, passages quoted by Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 390f. and M.L., *H.* II, pp. 332f.; Machaeras, 267-81; Strambaldi, pp. 105-14; Amadi, pp. 424-6; Fl. Bustron, pp. 273-6; Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 147. See also the notes of Mas Latrie, *H.* II, pp. 342-5 and his edition of Machaut, Preface, pp. xxiif., and notes, pp. 290f.

As their spokesmen they chose the King's two brothers, the Prince and the Constable, who represented to him that he had violated the Assizes which he had sworn to keep. Peter lost his temper and insulted the Prince and his brother, not sparing the latter's wife. The barons, taking leave of the King, offered to put the ruling of the Assizes in writing, and were told to bring their case before him next morning. They agreed among themselves to devote the night to the preparation of the document. But they assured the Prince and his brother that they were well content that Peter had treated his own brothers as no better than peasants; 'and if you will not put him from his place, God will do judgement, and the evil be upon you and upon your children'. They added that they considered themselves absolved from the oath which they had sworn to the King, because ever since he had returned to Cyprus he had been so arbitrary and had broken his own oath to observe the Assizes. The hatred which he felt towards them, they said, was fully returned. The Prince and the Constable approved this opinion and took their oath to it.

Meanwhile Sir John de Moustry, the Admiral,<sup>1</sup> who was much favoured by the King, intervened, pointing out to him that all his kinsmen were of one mind with the malcontent knights, and begging him to see them again and appease them 'before they lie down in their wrath and devise some evil'. Peter sent him to call them back, but his effort was in vain. For the knights persuaded the Prince and Constable that the King would make peace with them now only to treat them worse on the morrow. Moustry was obliged to return with the message that the knights would go to see the King next morning as they had promised. Assembled in the Prince's house,<sup>2</sup> they persuaded the Prince and the Constable to stand with them, and not leave the King until he had consented to rule according to the Assizes. If they failed, they would leave Cyprus and seek their fortunes elsewhere.

But when the King's brothers had retired, the others among themselves made up their minds to kill him. Early on the morning of Wednesday, 17 January 1369,<sup>3</sup> they went to the palace and were admitted

<sup>1</sup> He succeeded Sir John de Sur, who died on 10 May 1368. Machaeras, 222; Strambaldi, p. 89; Amadi, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mézières, in the house of Raymond Babin (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 389, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> This is the correct date. *M.L., H.* II, p. 345. Machaut has the 16th, Fl. Bustron the 18th. The murder took place between 6 and 7 in the morning (the fifteenth hour, according to Machaut).

by the usher to the King's apartment (where his mistress Échive de Scandelion was with him).<sup>1</sup> The lady having left the room, the Prince went in (forced to do so against his will by the others), but the Constable stayed outside. The Prince greeted the King, saying he had brought the written opinion; but retired at the request of Peter, who said he wished to dress. Now Philip d'Ibelin, Lord of Arsur, Sir Henry de Giblet and Sir John de Gaurelle,<sup>2</sup> pushed their way into the room and stabbed the King to death. Sir John Gorap, steward of the court, followed and cut off his head.<sup>3</sup> Finally Sir James de Nores, the Turcopolier, hearing the noise of the scuffle, came in, drew his sword and mutilated the headless body, saying 'it was this that cost you your life'<sup>4</sup>

During the affray, the King's brothers had been held back by the others, lest they should go to his rescue.

Such is the most probable story of the murder, as given by the more responsible Cypriote chroniclers, who differ only in slight details.<sup>5</sup> They acquit the Prince and the Constable of complicity in the murder, the plan for which had been kept secret from them. All that they had agreed to was that the King should be put under restraint from further arbitrary and illegal action. So far, and only so far as they encouraged in its initial stages the revolt which had so tragic an ending are they, in the eyes of these writers, blameworthy—unless we take in its full sense

<sup>1</sup> Philip de Mézières (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 390, n. 3) had often urged Peter to keep a guard about him, but without effect. According to al-Nuwairi, the barons obtained admission by pretending that two envoys had arrived with a letter from Genoa (Iorga, p. 390, n. 2)—an excuse that would deceive no one at that time in the morning.

<sup>2</sup> The *Chronographia regum Francorum*, II, p. 304, says that Peter was killed by his two brothers, and adds Peter de Mimars, mentioned by no one else in this connexion, to the number of the murderers.

<sup>3</sup> The evening before, Peter in a fit of rage, because there was no oil for his asparagus, had thrown Gorap into prison and threatened to cut off his head. Gorap was released by the conspirators before they went to the Palace; so was Henry de Giblet. Gorap escaped the vengeance of Queen Eleanor and was made by James I Auditor of Cyprus, as which he appears as late as 1390.

<sup>4</sup> Nores comes ill out of this business. It was said that he had not been party to the original plan to murder the King, and indeed was grieved that such a deed should be done, but thought it better to appear to be on the winning side.

<sup>5</sup> See the differences set forth by Dawkins on Machaeras, 280, n. 3. Lusignan makes the Prince and James guilty, but his historical value is small; for instance he makes the Count of Roucha accuse the Viscount of Nicosia of being the Queen's lover (*Chor.* f. 57; *Descr.* f. 146). It is unnecessary to consider Loredano's account.

the saying, quoted by Machaeras, that he who holds the legs of the kid is as much to blame as he who flays it.

These writers, however, are not quite contemporary. In the West, where the King had evidently made many friends, popular opinion made his brothers responsible for his death. Many contemporary sources give proof of this.<sup>1</sup> Philip de Mézières, who was not in Cyprus at the time, believed that Peter was killed while asleep in his bed by his own brothers and barons.<sup>2</sup> Machaut, misled by the impostor Walter of Conflans,<sup>3</sup> makes the Prince urge the murderers on to their fell deed. Froissart actually believed that the Constable was bribed by the infidels, who feared Peter so greatly, to murder him.<sup>4</sup> But the accuracy of his perspective may be gauged by his statement that when the Genoese, who loved Peter so greatly, as they had reason to do, heard of his death, they sent seven galleys to Cyprus and took the city of Famagusta and James within it. It is unnecessary to multiply instances of the repetition of scandalous reports.

That the Prince of Antioch and the Constable, when the deed was done, sided with the murderers, cannot be denied. But that they were accessories before the crime is not proved. After the murder they joined in the persecution of Peter's adherents. Philip de Mézières would hardly have felt himself obliged to avoid Cyprus if he had felt safe there; although it may be observed that, his hero being dead, his only link with the island was in any case severed. Eleanor of Aragon, when with the approval of Peter II she procured the assassination of the Prince of Antioch, claimed to be avenging her husband's murder. She would in any case hold him responsible for not preventing it. Nothing in these considerations proves against Peter's brothers more than weakness and lack of foresight before the deed and opportunism after it.

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<sup>1</sup> Besides those quoted in the text, see M.L., *H.* II, pp. 342f. for others: Cuvelier, *Chron. de Du Guesclin*, I, p. 270, vv. 7449f.; the First Life of Urban V in Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Aven.* ed. Mollat, I, p. 371; Christine de Pisan. The Pisa Chronicle (Muratori, *R.I.S.* xv, col. 1048) makes James commit the murder in order to acquire the crown for himself. Other references to western writers in Iorga, *P.M.* p. 394, n. 5. We may add, among later writers, Aeneas Sylvius (*Asia*, c. 97), whose account of the history of this time is however hopelessly inaccurate.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 390.

<sup>3</sup> Who actually accuses the King's mother, Alice d'Ibelin, of being privy to the plot (Machaut, vv. 8214-17, with Mas Latrie's note 82, p. 289).

<sup>4</sup> Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, XI, p. 231.

The historian of the Knights of St John asserts that the murderers intended to kill the King's son and heir, who was only saved from their fury by his mother, who hid him, and by the people, who took up arms in his defence.<sup>1</sup> We may hesitate to accept the story, since the barons had no grudge against the lad, and the local chroniclers all agree that he was at once proclaimed, and the lieges did homage to him.<sup>2</sup> The dead King was buried in St Dominic's.<sup>3</sup>

Peter I was undoubtedly the most striking figure of all the kings of the Lusignan dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Personally attractive, a spirit restless yet dominated by one ruling passion, the prosecution of war against the infidel in obedience to what he genuinely believed to be a divine call, lusty, sensual and hot-headed, he lost his balance in his last days and degenerated into something like a tyrannical brute. He was capable of inspiring admiration, not to say hero-worship, in men like Philip de Mézières and Peter Thomas, and hatred in the perhaps somewhat degenerate feudal nobility of his realm, whose interests were ill served by his extravagant adventures. So Chaucer<sup>5</sup> put it:

O worthy Petro king of Cypre, also,  
That Alisaundre wan by heigh maistrye,  
Ful many a hethen wroghtestow ful wo,  
Of which thyn owene liges hadde envye:  
And, for no thing but for thy chivalrye,  
They in thy bedde han slayn thee by the morwe.

Everything was sacrificed to those schemes for a Holy War. The revenue which might have been forthcoming from the tax-paying *perperarii* was capitalized by allowing them to buy their exemption

<sup>1</sup> Bosio, II, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 282; Strambaldi, p. 114; Amadi, p. 426; Fl. Bustron, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 57b ('con gran pompa'); *Descr.* f. 147b. Machaut's account of the funeral as being staged as a grotesque mockery is rightly described by Mas Latrie as an outrage to the dignity as much as to the truth of history. Lusignan (*Descr. loc. cit.*) says that when the church of St Dominic was destroyed in 1567 Peter's spurs were found; they were of gilt copper, engraved with the names of the three Magi. What reads like an epitaph of Peter in Froissart (Dawkins on Machaeras, 282, n. 1) is really an extract from that of Philip de Mézières (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 511, n. 5).

<sup>4</sup> La Monte is certainly right in identifying him rather than John II with 'le roy de Chippre de renon' of Villon's *Ballade des seigneurs du temps jadis* (*Romanic Review*, XXIII (1932), pp. 49-53).

<sup>5</sup> *Monkes Tale*, 401-6 (Skeat's text).

from taxation for a lump sum, which was promptly squandered. The exorbitant demands of the trading communities were granted in order to buy off their opposition—a vain hope, as we have seen. During the reign of Hugh IV and Peter I Cyprus rose to the height of her prosperity, but by the end of Peter's reign those parasites had done their work and the decline began.

The chroniclers speak at length of the wealth of certain merchants in the reigns of Hugh and Peter, as exemplified in the two Nestorian brothers Sir Francis and Sir Nicolas Lakha or Lachanopoulo.<sup>1</sup> It is a vivid record of vulgar ostentation. They may have thought to lay up treasure in heaven, for we are told that 'this man according to his faith did much charity for the good of his soul, and also built the Nestorian church from the foundations'.<sup>2</sup> But their wealth on earth vanished suddenly when it was taken by the Genoese in 1373, and we read how the two sons of one of them ended their days in poverty; George, having killed a man at Famagusta, went to Nicosia and entered the Hospital, earning his meals by acting as bell-ringer, while Joseph peddled sweetmeats at Famagusta. 'He was a poor little fellow, and him too have I seen', says Machaeras.

As a further example of the wealth of Famagusta in Peter's days, it is recorded that Simon of Famagusta, a Syrian merchant, was able to build the church of SS. Peter and Paul out of a fraction of the profits of a single operation with the Beirut galleys.<sup>3</sup> 'All the trade of Syria', we are told by the Greek chronicles, 'was done in Cyprus.' The merchant ships of the West did not venture farther, owing to Papal prohibitions; the wares of Syria were consigned to agents, such as the brothers Lakha, at Famagusta, where they were loaded on to the ships that took them to the West. 'And all this prosperity was destroyed after the coronation of the younger Peter the son of King Peter, because of the quarrel which arose with the Genoese; and the trade went to Syria.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 91-6, 452; Strambaldi, pp. 37f., 187; Amadi, p. 409; Fl. Bustron, p. 258. See also above, p. 292.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 93, with Dawkins's note.

<sup>3</sup> Malipiero, *Ann. Ven.* p. 593; Lusignan, *Chor. f.* 57b; *Descr. f.* 147b, and others; Enlart, p. 301 (but *nostrano* is not Simon's surname). Malipiero (who stopped writing in 1499) says that in his time the church was used as a grain-store, 'no so con che coscientia'. Up to 1934 it served for packing oranges. It has now been dealt with by the Department of Antiquities and is to be used as a museum. See p. 1128.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 91.

## CHAPTER VII

### PETER II (1369-1382)

### JAMES I (1382-1398)

#### PETER II

Peter (Perrin), Count of Tripoli, son of Peter I and Eleanor of Aragon, was a minor in his fifteenth year at the time of his father's death.<sup>1</sup> He had two uncles, John, Prince of Antioch and Constable of Cyprus, and James, Constable of Jerusalem, afterwards King James I.<sup>2</sup> The former, as the elder of these two relations, was offered the regency, which, after making a show of diffidence, he accepted.<sup>3</sup>

The Haute Cour assembled immediately after the murder, on the same day,<sup>4</sup> and without delay took steps to prevent future breaches of the *Assises* of the kind of which Peter I had been guilty. A committee of sixteen barons<sup>5</sup> was appointed to draw up a text of the *Assises* on the

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<sup>1</sup> His parents were married in 1353 (above, p. 308, n. 3). In a document of 16 Jan. 1370 (M.L., *H. II*, p. 346) he is described as a minor of fourteen years. M.L., *H. II*, p. 351, n. 2, says that he was eight years old in 1362, but the authorities which he adduces (Baluze, *Vit. Pap. Aven.* 1, col. 401, p. 384 in Mollat's ed. and Stella, *Ann. Gen.* in Muratori, *R.I.S.* xvii, col. 1096) give no information on this point. The Chronicle of Neri di Donato of Siena (*R.I.S.* xv, col. 194) however describes the lad as ten years of age when he was with his father in Siena in June 1368.

<sup>2</sup> James is spoken of throughout this chapter, until he becomes King, as the Constable, John as the Regent or the Prince of Antioch. The former also held the office of Seneschal (apparently from the time of Hugh IV, *Assises*, 1, p. 6; Machaeras, 86; although Amadi, p. 490 and Fl. Bustron, p. 349f. speak as if he was only given that office on the death of Peter II). The latter is frequently by various writers, from Lusignan to Zannetos, inadvertently called Prince of Galilee.

<sup>3</sup> *Assises*, 1, pp. 4-5. Cp. Machaeras, 320; Strambaldi, p. 130. An old précis of a lost letter of 16 Jan. 1370 (M.L., *H. II*, p. 346) says that Hugh de Lusignan, the Prince of Galilee, assumed the guardianship of the young King; but, as it has been observed (*ibid.*), the letter really showed that he renounced the regency; not that there is any other evidence that it was ever offered to him.

<sup>4</sup> On the 16th, according to the *Assises*, 1, p. 1, but it must have been on the 17th.

<sup>5</sup> Among them James the Constable, Philip d'Ibelin, John de Morphou, Thomas de Montolif the Auditor, Henry de Gibley, Raymond Babin, Butler of Cyprus, Thomas of Antioch, Renier le Petit; many of these had been concerned in the murder. *Assises*, 1, p. 6.

basis of the book of John d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, which had been composed in 1265-6. They completed their work by November. Donations made by King Peter I which were contrary to the *Assises* were revoked, such as the gift of the fief of Athalassa, which Peter had made to his mistress Échive de Scandelion, and others to foreigners.<sup>1</sup>

The Constable went to Famagusta to receive the oath on behalf of the King from the people there. Coming across Sir John de Moustry, who had gone out hunting, he brought him back to Nicosia. As an adherent of King Peter (see p. 365), Moustry was marked out for destruction, especially as he was suspected of an intrigue with the wife of Philip d'Ibelin, Alice of Majorca. Philip demanded his death, and he was arrested and sent to Kerynia. Thence he escaped in a caique towards Adalia, but being pursued and sighted before he could reach it had himself put ashore, and went up into the hills, where he died of exhaustion.<sup>2</sup>

It was necessary to present the facts of the assassination in as favourable a light as possible before the eyes of the West. The envoy who was sent by the Regent, the notary Bartholomew Scafes or Escaface,<sup>3</sup> must have been clever, for, although the Cypriotes were severely reproached, he came away invested with a canonry of the cathedral of Nicosia.<sup>4</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Dardel, p. 40. See below, p. 381, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 283; Strambaldi, pp. 114f. (who mistakenly says that it was the lady of Arsuf who demanded his death). Documents relating to this lady are discussed by Mas Latrie in *Arch. de l'Or. lat.* II, *Doc.* pp. 170-2. He holds that Machaeras, never unwilling to believe ill of women, has slandered Alice in accusing her of intrigues, first with John de Moustry and then with the man, the Genoese Admiral Peter of Campo Fregoso, who executed her husband Philip (423; Strambaldi, p. 172).

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 310; Strambaldi, p. 125. On the family, see references in Dawkins, *ad loc.* The family was Genoese, but apparently not noble; it is not in Scorza, *Fam. nob. Gen.*

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras and Strambaldi add that the Pope also invested the vicar with the archbishopric of Cyprus. This is misread by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 392, as a statement that the envoy was made vicar of the archbishop. It cannot mean that; at the same time, since there is no evidence of a vicar of the archbishop taking part in the mission, it is probable that the promotion of the vicar to the archbishopric was not actually made on this occasion, but is merely mentioned here by Machaeras because he happens to be speaking of the cathedral of Nicosia. He has a habit of tacking on pieces of information out of chronological order, as we have seen in the case of the dignities which he says were conferred after the capture of Alexandria (pp. 309, n. 4; 310, n. 3). As a matter of fact, the promotion was after 1374; for the vicar and dean in that year was one Bérenger, identical with the Παλουγκέρ afterwards mentioned as archbishop (Machaeras, 596, with Dawkins's note).



however well he had done for himself, he had nevertheless not appeased the Pope, and the Regent found it necessary to send other envoys,<sup>1</sup> who were more successful, receiving suitable presents from the Pope and others, and returned to Cyprus in February 1370. They brought back with them letters of encouragement to the Regent and of consolation to Queen Eleanor.<sup>2</sup>

The removal of the strong hand of Peter I made it still more necessary that the western Powers should lend their support to Cyprus under its new King. What Urban could do—which was no more than write letters—he did. Exhortations were addressed on 21 January 1370 to the Doges of Venice and Genoa, and to the Queen of Sicily, and on 13 February to the Grand Master of the Hospital.<sup>3</sup>

Although Philip de Mézières may have found it undesirable to return to Cyprus, he continued to hold the office of Chancellor, or at least to call himself such, to the end of his days.<sup>4</sup> And the Regent, at least for a time, kept on good terms with him, for in 1369 Philip told the Bishop of Treviso that the Regent was writing constantly to him reporting the affairs of himself and the Kingdom, from which it appeared that the young King was in good health, was increasing in wisdom, and was honoured and loved by all.<sup>5</sup>

In this letter Philip also mentioned that he had heard of the final breaking off of all negotiations with Egypt—which can only mean the negotiations which we have already described as having come to an end before the return of Peter I to Cyprus. We have seen that the Genoese and Venetian envoys had been sent back after the usual prevarication by the Sultan. On the voyage to Cyprus their ship captured

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Phocaea, Sir William de Charni, and George Syativa, *decretorum doctor*. Iorga, *P.M.* p. 400 and Dawkins on Machaeras, 310.

<sup>2</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 401 (1 and 13 Feb.). Raynaldus, 1370, p. 187, § 13.

<sup>3</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 400–1; Raynaldus, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34, pp. 84–6; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 133, no. 28, and R. de Mas Latrie, note on Strambaldi, p. 125; Iorga, *P.M.* p. 409.

<sup>5</sup> Letter quoted by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 396, n. 4. It was Philip who, on Peter II being crowned (6 Jan. 1372), on his behalf congratulated Gregory XI on his accession to the Papal throne, and on the accomplishment of his orders (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 406). But he was not, as D.L.R. supposes (*F.O.* I, p. 203), sent from Cyprus for the purpose. In his *Contemplacio hore mortis*, quoted by Iorga, p. 421, he complains that he was deprived of his fiefs and revenues. This must have been not later than 1373, when he became a councillor of the King of France, who, to compensate for his losses, gave him an annual pension of 1200 livres (Iorga, *loc. cit.*).

a Saracen which was on its way to Alexandria. The Regent issued a proclamation that anyone who pleased was free to draw ships and munitions from Cyprus for raiding the Sultan's dominions.<sup>1</sup> A ship from Famagusta set out for Syria and brought back no less than five prizes. More extensive was the performance of Sir John de Morphou, who was sent out by the Regent with four galleys from Famagusta on 3 June 1369.<sup>2</sup> On the 5th they attacked Sidon, with small success, for a storm made them afraid for their ships, and they had to retire after watering. They raided northwards as far as Lajazzo, which they reached on 17 June. After a call at Adalia, where the ships were caulked, they made for Alexandria, forcing their way into the harbour on 10 July. Here Sir John offered to send an envoy to the Sultan, but was told by the local emir that the Sultan had no desire to make peace. An attack on a large Moroccan sailing ship in the Old Harbour was repulsed with heavy losses, and Sir John retired to Rosetta. Prevented by the weather from landing there, he returned on 19 July to Sidon. After a successful assault, a storm again made him take to his ships, which returned by Beirut to Famagusta, arriving there on 22 July.

The definitive rupture of the negotiations with the Sultan seems to have slightly altered the temper of the trading republics<sup>3</sup>. On 26 July 1369 an alliance between Venice and Genoa against the Sultan was authorized by the Pope, and two days later concluded, at Montefiascone. It was to last until the end of 1370, and the penalty for defection was to be a fine of 20,000 ducats. The Grand Master of the Hospital and the Regent of Cyprus were to be invited to join.<sup>4</sup> The plan was for the allies to go in force to Alexandria and demand the release of the prisoners, threatening

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 284; Strambaldi, pp. 115f. The chronology is here uncertain. Machaeras mentions the breakdown of the negotiations in which the Genoese Cigala had been concerned, and the capture of the Saracen by the ship which was bringing him back, and then tells of the Regent's proclamation. Yet the dismissal of Cigala took place long before Peter's murder, whereas the proclamation evidently was made by the Regent after it.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 285-7; Strambaldi, pp. 116f. (3 July); Amadi, p. 427; Fl. Bustron, p. 277; Makrizi ap. Weil, iv, p. 523, n. 4; Herzsohn, *Ueberfall Alexandriens*, pp. 37-40; Iorga, *P.M.* p. 397 (makes the Syrian expedition follow the visit to Alexandria).

<sup>3</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 398f.; D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 165; *Libri Comm.*, *Reg.* iii, pp. 83-4 (nos. 509, 512). On 27 July (*ibid.* no. 510) all commerce with the Saracens was prohibited and indulgences were granted to those who took part in the war.

<sup>4</sup> Their adhesion is announced by Urban in letters of 10 May 1370 to the Doges of Venice and Genoa (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 401, n. 4).

reprisals if it should be refused. A regular campaign was to follow next summer. On 5 August<sup>1</sup> Peter Malocello, Chamberlain of Cyprus, reached Famagusta with a message<sup>2</sup> from the Pope to the Regent, who appointed two envoys, Sir Peter de Cassi and Sir John Gorap. They left on 8 October for Rhodes. There they had to wait for the Genoese, who had been delayed by the necessity of going in search of some Catalan galleys which had been raiding the Genoese coast. Finally eight galleys in all, representing Venice, Genoa, Rhodes and Cyprus, sailed for Alexandria, where the envoys were offered safe-conducts to Cairo. On asking for further guarantees for their safety (for they remembered the treatment of Cigala), they were refused; they might go on to Cairo or go away. They chose the latter course and departed, leaving a defiant note on the point of a spear. Reaching Paphos on 9 December they dispersed to their various homes. The Regent gave orders to the Captain of Famagusta to equip galleys to raid the Saracen lands.<sup>3</sup> The Sultan, having read the defiance left behind by the envoys, consulted his Emirs, who, fearing that Peter I's last appeal for help might have been successful, and that they might have to face another expedition from the West, advised that the Regent should be kept in play with negotiations until the spring. Two of the imprisoned merchants were accordingly sent to Cyprus, to explain that the envoys of the allies had refused to come to Cairo, and asking for others to be sent. The Regent replied that he must consult the Republics; meanwhile he ordered that no hostilities should be undertaken against Syria. The two merchants from Cairo were sent off on 10 February 1370 to report to Venice and Genoa. The Sultan, when they did not return from Cyprus with the answer which he expected, became anxious, released two more merchants, and sent them to Famagusta, where they found the Regent's reply, that he was consulting the Republics, not yet despatched. It was now forwarded to Alexandria, and the two merchants went after the others to Venice and Genoa. The Republics consulted the Pope, who wrote to the Grand Master and the Regent urging them to send envoys to conclude the peace. Genoese and Venetian representatives, with the four merchants, sailed to Rhodes, where they picked up an envoy from the Grand

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 290-4; Strambaldi, pp. 117-19; Amadi, p. 428; Fl. Bustron, pp. 277f.

<sup>2</sup> Borne, according to Machaeras and Strambaldi, by the 'Governor of Genoa'. The *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 85, no. 515 (29 July 1369), record the bull of Urban V urging the Regent to join the alliance.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 295; Strambaldi, p. 119.

Master. All reached Famagusta on 10 July 1370; and on the 28th they went on, with two colleagues from Cyprus, to Egypt, reaching Alexandria on 6 August. The Greek chronicle here makes the somewhat surprising statement that it was only then that the Sultan heard that King Peter I was dead, and that no help was coming to Cyprus from the West, and (more surprising still) 'he was moved with compassion for us and was willing to make peace'. He received the envoys of the Republics and the four merchants,<sup>1</sup> but the envoys of Cyprus were unwilling to land until peace was concluded. He demanded a receipt for the goods of the merchants which had been seized and which he was asked to restore; when this was refused, on the ground that no one merchant could give a quittance for other than his own goods, he threw the Genoese envoy Sir Walter Doria into prison, where he was joined by Peter Giustinian, the Venetian, at his own request. They were however released after four days after agreeing to give the receipt. A safe-conduct was now sent to the Cypriote envoy, Sir John Beduin, who consented to join the others at Cairo. Terms of peace were agreed and sworn to. The Sultan appointed two Emirs of high rank as his representatives, and the whole party, four envoys of the Republics, two of Cyprus, and two of the Sultan, reached Famagusta on 29 September. The tone of the speeches made by the Saracens when they came before the Regent was arrogant, and insulting to the young King, whom they informed that the Sultan pardoned him for his father's wrongdoings, and was making peace only at the request of the Republics, and that for any further misdeeds he and he alone would suffer. The Regent, following what seems to have become the usual procedure with outspoken envoys, threw them into prison. After four days they humbled themselves and were released, and both parties swore to the peace. The Saracens received notable presents and returned to Alexandria. The prisoners on both sides were released and returned to their several countries.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On 25 Aug. 1370, according to Makrizi (M.L., *H.* II, p. 347). This was evidently the date on which they first came before the Sultan, not that on which the terms were eventually sworn to, as Iorga (*P.M.* p. 402, n. 4) supposes; for that would make too long an interval between the agreement at Cairo and the arrival of the envoys at Famagusta (29 Sept.).

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 296-309; Strambaldi, pp. 119-25; Amadi, pp. 428f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 278-80. Makrizi, M.L., *H.* II, p. 347; the Saracen prisoners returned in the month of Jumada I (21 Nov.-20 Dec. 1370). The summary of the negotiations given by

In order to smooth the path towards peace, the Pope in September had relaxed the prohibition against trading with Egypt, excepting only trade in arms and provisions of war.<sup>1</sup>

Although we hear so much of the proposals which had been tossed to and fro in the tedious course of the negotiations during the last five years, no record of the actual terms of the treaty in which they culminated is known to survive.<sup>2</sup> It is only indirectly that we can arrive at some knowledge of them. For in 1403, when the Hospital sent an envoy to Cairo for the ratification of a treaty, the protocol with which he was supplied contained as its first clause 'that the peace which was made after the taking of Alexandria be kept and observed *à toutes generations franx*, according as contained in the articles which were then agreed'.<sup>3</sup> It is thus generally supposed that many of the terms of the treaty of 1403 were merely renewals of those of 1370, in which Cyprus was included with the other parties. Accordingly we are justified in assuming among the terms of 1370 access for pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, St Catherine's on Mount Sinai, and other holy places, on payment of dues to be agreed; also the fixing of customs dues at various Saracen ports; the punishment of merchants dealing in contraband; and finally the provision of a notice of three months before the commencement of actual war following the denunciation of the treaty by either the Saracens or the Christians.

The difficulties in which the Kingdom of Cyprus was involved after the murder of Peter I gave an opportunity to the Tekke Bey, who had

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G. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv, p. 524, is as follows: according to Makrizi, at the beginning of A.H. 772 (which began 26 July 1370) negotiations were begun. At the beginning of Safar (Aug. 1370) Frankish envoys arrived in Egypt, and returned with a Moslem who was to administer the oath to their King. At the end of Jumada I (20 Nov.) they came back with about 100 Moslem prisoners. In Jumada II (Nov.-Dec.) the Franks sent back the other Moslem prisoners, peace was concluded, and the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem opened again. So, too, Ibn Kadi Shuhbah, who (f. 196) expressly mentions Cyprus, and adds (f. 204) that the Christian prisoners in Damascus were released, peace having been made with Genoa, Cyprus, Venice and the Catalans.

(Weil seems to be in error in his equation of Hijra and Christian dates; Jumada I 772 began on 21 Nov., Jumada II on 21 Dec.)

<sup>1</sup> *Libri Comm.*, Reg. iii, p. 28, no. 140 (vii Id. = 7 April 1364), and p. 94, no. 587 (3 Sept. 1370); M.L., in *Archives des missions scient.* ii, 1851, p. 374 (date 7 April); D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 165 (bull *Exhibita nobis* of 18 Sept. 1370).

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* ii, pp. 347-50; D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* ii, p. 108; M.L., *H.* ii, p. 348; D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* pp. 291-2.

never relinquished his designs on Adalia, to make another attempt to recapture the city. A Turk was sent into the place and, pretending that he wished to be baptized, gained the favour of the commandant, Sir Thomas de Colie, who took him into his service. When this man had secured the support of a number of the people by promising them that the town should be given into their hands, the Tekke Bey attacked, set fire to the gates, took fourteen of the towers and killed a number of the garrison. The attack was nevertheless a failure; the Turks were thrown out and many killed, including an Emir, a nephew of the Tekke Bey, who withdrew discomfited. The Regent, suspecting the commandant of treachery, sent Sir Thomas de Montolif of Kliro with two galleys to the relief of the town, and superseded Colie by Sir Eustace Passanto,<sup>1</sup> a Genoese. Montolif, after raiding the coast, left Sir Eustace at Adalia, and returned with Sir Thomas de Colie, who was pronounced innocent of the charge against him.<sup>2</sup> This incident took place probably some time in 1370.

Although for a time there was no open breach between the Queen and the Prince of Antioch, yet Eleanor, from the time of the murder of her husband, nursed her plans for vengeance, which culminated in the assassination of the Prince in 1375. Employing one Nicolas de Naou,<sup>3</sup> a notary and a liegeman of Peter I, who had given him a high position in the Treasury,<sup>4</sup> she appears to have written letters to the Pope, to the King of France, and to other western rulers, accusing the knights of having murdered her husband, and asking that Genoese galleys should be sent to fetch her and the young King away, so that she might lay her accusation before the Pope. The notary was denounced on 29 August 1370 by one of his pupils, and copies of the letters were found among his papers. Letters for Genoa, asking that ships should be sent to destroy Cyprus, had been given to one Mark Grimaldi,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly da Passano, a Genoese family.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 317-18; Strambaldi, pp. 128-9; Amadi, p. 430; Fl. Bustron, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> For this incident, see Machaeras, 311-16; Strambaldi, pp. 125-8; Amadi, p. 430; Fl. Bustron, pp. 280f. On the name Naou (Nau, Naon, Naca are other forms) see Dawkins on Machaeras, 311.

<sup>4</sup> See R. de Mas Latrie on Strambaldi, p. 125, n. 7. He was probably bailie of the Secrète (καυτζιλίερην μέγαν τοῦ συνκρίτου, Machaeras; *gran cancellier della segretta*, Strambaldi; *maestro della cancelleria*, Amadi and Bustron.)

<sup>5</sup> This being a Genoese name is to be preferred to Grimani, the form favoured by Machaeras and Strambaldi, which is Venetian. R. de Mas Latrie, note on Strambaldi, p. 126.

a Genoese. Grimaldi was imprisoned by the Captain of Famagusta, and the letters taken from him. This imprisonment of a Genoese caused trouble with the Genoese podestà, for it was a breach of the Genoese privilege, and Grimaldi had to be handed over to the podestà to be put in his own prison. The Regent seems to have managed the situation with tact. The notary Naor was put to the torture and, after implicating Grimaldi (who the podestà had maintained was ignorant of the contents of the letters), was condemned by the Haute Cour as a traitor; as he was a liege he was handed over to the Regent, and was dragged at a horse's tail and hanged (September 1370). The podestà, on the advice of the Bishop of Famagusta, came and asked pardon of the Prince for himself and Grimaldi. It was granted, but the podestà had to take an oath not to reveal the matter in the West, or to take action against the interests of Cyprus, whatever orders the Queen might give. The incident was apparently closed, but it is easy to imagine what feelings it left behind in all the parties concerned.

Urban V, who had renounced his attempt to restore the papal residence in Rome, and left the city on 17 April 1370, died in Avignon on 19 December. His successor, elected on 30 December, was Gregory XI. The change did not mean any great alteration in relations between the Holy See and Cyprus. Gregory was interested in the island;<sup>1</sup> he was also ready to write letters, but promote another Crusade he would not. Thus he addressed a letter of encouragement to the King (1 March 1371),<sup>2</sup> and in response to a request from the Regent that he would appoint a guardian, sent out the Hospitaller, Bertrand Flote, with a companion.<sup>3</sup> The necessity of this appointment, considering the devotion which the nobles were said to be showing to Peter, seemed questionable. The Regent and the Queen had charge of his person, and Flote's function seems really to have been to advise the Regent, or strengthen his hand against the Queen. On the other hand we find that in June

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<sup>1</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* pp. 404 f., cites letters of recommendation in favour of persons who had interests in Cyprus, such as Isabel de Lusignan in respect of her fief at Aradippou, and the brothers Fantino and Frederick Cornaro, whose family had lent large sums to Peter I.

<sup>2</sup> Raynaldus, 1371, pp. 202-3, § 9. Letters to Peter of exhortation to be worthy of his predecessors, defend the Church and hearken to good advice, and to Eleanor to devote care to his education, followed in June 1372 (Raynaldus, 1372, p. 226, § 31: 13 June).

<sup>3</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 405. On Flote, see D.L.R., *Hosp. Rh.* p. 150, n. 1.

1371 the Queen's father, Peter the Franciscan, was sent out to Cyprus to be a support to her.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in spite of repeated pressure from the Pope, the Regent had been putting off the coronation of Peter. He yielded at last to Gregory's insistence, but it was not until 24 December 1371<sup>2</sup> that, Peter having formally demanded the charge of the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem, the Haute Cour fixed the day for the coronation. On 6 January 1372,<sup>3</sup> after having sworn to observe the *Assises*, he was crowned for Cyprus at Nicosia. The coronation for Jerusalem did not take place until October following.

As was usual at the beginning of a new reign, the Italian trading communities asked for the confirmation or extension of their privileges. On this occasion records are preserved of such action by Venice<sup>4</sup> and Pisa. By letters of 15 May 1372, addressed not only to the King, but to the Regent Prince John and to a number of other officers of the Crown, the Pisans asked that their old privileges, honours and dignities should be confirmed, and that their envoy Cola de Salmuli might be allowed to return home with his family, property and staff. Their request was

<sup>1</sup> Wadding, *Ann. Minor.* (Quaracchi), viii, p. 280: letter of Gregory, 4 June 1371. See also Golubovich, iv, pp. 160-6. He did not stay there long, for the Queen wrote to him in the West shortly after the coronation at Famagusta (below, p. 384). Under 1371, Raynaldus (p. 202, § 9) says that the Pope placed Cyprus under the guardianship of the Grand Master, Raymond Bérenger, but he was to administer the island in council with the Queen, her father, and the King's two uncles. Bérenger does not, however, seem to have taken any serious part in the administration.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras (319; Strambaldi, p. 129) dates the request of Peter to his uncle to be allowed to take his kingdom in Nov. 1370, which, as M.L., *H.* ii, p. 351, n. 2, points out, is a year too early. Full account of the proceedings in the Haute Cour in Machaeras, 320-3 (Strambaldi, pp. 129-31).

<sup>3</sup> On the day of the Epiphany, according to Mézières (Iorga, *P.M.* p. 406, n. 5 and p. 408). Machaeras, 324 (Strambaldi, p. 131) has Sunday 12 Jan. Amadi, p. 432, 13 Jan. Iorga (p. 406) says he was crowned by Raymond (de la Pradèle), Archbishop of Nicosia. Fl. Bustron (pp. 282-7) has a long description of the ceremony. Philip de Mézières, who was in Italy, and Guy de Nefin, Treasurer of Lemesos and Canon of Famagusta, were commissioned to go to Avignon, where they arrived early in 1372, congratulated the Pope on his election, and reported the coronation; it is from Philip's speech on this occasion that we know the date of the latter event.

<sup>4</sup> After the coronation at Nicosia had taken place, the Venetian Senate, on 8 June 1372, decided to send an embassy to offer its congratulations, and renew and enlarge, as far as possible, Venetian privileges in the island. On 11 July, however, the embassy was postponed owing to reports of a serious epidemic there. On 30 Nov. it was decided to appoint two envoys, the epidemic having abated. M.L., *H.* ii, p. 358.



granted, and a consul was appointed to reside at Famagusta with jurisdiction over Pisans throughout the island.<sup>1</sup>

Peter was crowned King of Jerusalem in St Nicolas at Famagusta on 10 October 1372.<sup>2</sup> A few days afterwards, he made the usual appointments to offices in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> But the barons inter-

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, pp. 104-7. Heyd, II, pp. 420-1.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras 324 (12 Oct.); Strambaldi, p. 131 (1374 by error); Amadi, p. 432 (2 Oct.). G. Stella (*Ann. Gen.*, Muratori, *R.I.S.* xvii, col. 1103) has 10 Oct., and this is confirmed by Machaeras himself (333; Strambaldi, p. 135) when he gives 12 Oct. as two days after the coronation. Fl. Bustron, p. 288 (a year after the coronation at Nicosia). Machaeras and Strambaldi take this opportunity to say that ever since Jerusalem was lost the crown of that Kingdom was conferred at Famagusta. Fl. Bustron says that at first it was at Acre, until the loss of that city. But, as we have seen, according to the *Assises*, when Jerusalem was not possible, the proper place was Tyre (p. 59, n. 2). There Aimery probably, and Hugh III and Henry II certainly, were crowned. Peter I was the first to be crowned at Famagusta (p. 308). Sanudo (*Vite*, col. 678) is wide of the mark when he says the reason for the crown of Jerusalem being given at Famagusta was that it was thence that the expeditions for the conquest of the Holy Land started.

<sup>3</sup> On the 17th Peter appointed or confirmed to offices in the Kingdom of Jerusalem his uncle James as Constable; Sir Leo de Lusignan (the future Leo VI of Armenia) as Seneschal; Sir Thomas de Montolif, Auditor of Cyprus, as Butler; James de Clorissa as Chamberlain. James, his cousin, son of the Prince of Antioch, he made Count of Tripoli. Machaeras, 326; Strambaldi, p. 132. As to Leo de Lusignan, we have seen that his marriage to the daughter of the Lord of Arcadia had been prevented by the Prince of Antioch (p. 359). For his future history, down to his accession as King of Armenia, see Dardel, chs. l-lxxii, pp. 39-57. He married a widow, Margaret, daughter of John de Soissons, in May 1369. To his request that the Prince should call together the Haute Cour to hear his claim to the fief to which he had a right as grandson of Amaury, Lord of Tyre, the Prince replied that he must wait until the King was of age. (The Prince meanwhile drew the revenues of the fief, which was one of those the grant of which was cancelled after the murder of Peter I). After Peter II had made him Seneschal of Jerusalem, he again asked for his fief; Peter would have given it, but the Prince made the excuse that the King was too recently crowned. Margaret de Lusignan, when she was in Cyprus after the coronation at Famagusta, managed to extract from the Prince a fief worth 3000 besants of Cyprus, which she handed over to Leo. When in September 1373 the Armenians offered the crown to him, Peter II postponed giving him leave to quit Cyprus until the war should be over. But he was arrested by the Genoese on the ground that he was concerned in the murder of Peter I—apparently Queen Eleanor was hostile to him. As the price of his release the Queen and the Genoese demanded 36,000 white besants (9000 ducats). His mother and wife by selling all they had at great loss raised 6000 besants; and a fief belonging to his wife was accepted as the equivalent of the remaining 30,000. Not without suffering further exactions he, with his mother, wife and people, succeeded

ferred when he began to distribute fiefs and grants at the bidding of his mother, and he consented to a decree of the Court that only grants made by him from his twenty-fifth year onwards should be valid. This check to Eleanor's plans for strengthening her influence naturally sharpened her resentment against the Prince of Antioch and his supporters.<sup>1</sup>

In connexion with the coronation the chronicles record a visit to Cyprus by Margaret (Mary, Isabel) de Lusignan, grand-daughter of Amaury, Lord of Tyre and Despotissa of the Morea.<sup>2</sup> She came to Cyprus about this time, bringing presents. But she arrived too late for the coronation; nor did she give Peter and the nobles the presents which she had designed for them, but sent them back to the Morea. It appears that the claims which she made for fiefs and revenues in right of her descent from Amaury were not fully satisfied, although besides Aradippou (which she had from Peter I) she was given a pension of 4000 white besants or 1000 gold ducats. She went on to the Holy Land, visiting Cyprus again on her way home.<sup>3</sup>

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in getting to Gorhigos. The captain of that place slandered him to the King and the Genoese, alleging that he intended to attack Cyprus, and he was nearly seized and taken back, but escaped and eventually sat on the throne of Armenia. The only authority for all this is the not too impartial Dardel.

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 327; Strambaldi, p. 132; Amadi, p. 432. Nevertheless a number of grants were made by Peter before the specified date and were annulled by his successor; Machaeras, 555 (Strambaldi, p. 234); Amadi, p. 479.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 359, for her interview with Peter I in 1368.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 345; Strambaldi, pp. 139-40; Amadi, p. 436; Fl. Bustron, p. 292. I have followed these Cypriote chroniclers in the text, but Dardel's account (p. 40), which differs in some details and explains others, must be mentioned. Her estate in Cyprus was one of those the grant of which by Peter I had been annulled after his murder (p. 371). She came to Cyprus with a suite of eighty persons and many fine presents, arriving on the actual day of the coronation at Famagusta. At the banquet she asked for her fief to be returned; the Prince, replying for the King, said that the grant was illegal, since the fief was not Peter's to give. Échive de Scandelion, who made her claim at the same time, got the same reply, which was upheld by the Court. Margaret in disgust sent back her presents and most of her suite. She was going on to Jerusalem, but the season was too late, and she spent the whole winter at the hotel of Leo de Lusignan. She returned to the Morea (Dardel does not say whether she went to Jerusalem first). Machaeras (351) is alone in mentioning an actual visit to the Holy Land and return to Cyprus, where she was present at τὸ στέψιμον τοῦ ῤηγός, and then went back to Constantinople. As Dawkins points out, στέψιμον usually means coronation, but, because it is said (Machaeras, 345) that she came too late for that event, he here translates it 'wedding'; and in this sense it is taken also by Binon.

The smouldering enmity between the Genoese and Venetians blazed up on the very occasion of the coronation into a conflict which marked the beginning of the end of the Lusignans as independent kings of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> It arose out of a dispute as to whether the Genoese (who had hitherto had the privilege) or the Venetians (who on this occasion seized it) should take the right-hand rein of the King's horse when he rode from the cathedral after the ceremony. The Venetians were encouraged by the fact that their numbers at Famagusta were just then larger than usual. The Prince and others dispersed the rioting crowd; but the Genoese podestà ordered his people to arm themselves secretly. At the banquet and ball which followed, the quarrel broke out again, the Genoese attacking the Venetians, who defended themselves as best they could. The Genoese consul, Paganino Doria, was particularly offensive. The Cypriote gentlemen interfered on the side of the Venetians. Some accounts of the affair assert that the Venetians accused the Genoese of intending to take the lives of the King and the Princes.<sup>2</sup> A number of the Genoese were wounded, and some killed, being thrown out of the upper windows of the palace at the command of the Prince. Meanwhile the people of Famagusta had come to join in the fray; seeing the hated Genoese being thrown from the windows, to the cries

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But the wedding did not take place until 1378; therefore Dawkins doubts the truth of the statement, since she can hardly have remained for six years in Palestine. Possibly, however, she stayed long in Cyprus; as Binon observes (p. 141) she seems always to have desired to have a retreat in the island, and may have spent her declining years there. The marriage of the King to Valentina Visconti seems to be antedated by Amadi, Fl. Bustron and Machaeras; but this is only another instance of the chronicler's habit, which we have already noted in Machaeras (p. 371, n. 4), and which may have also been true of his source, of mentioning allied matters in connexion with each other, though they were widely separated in date. Having described the first abortive proposal for the marriage of the King (below, p. 417), he clears off the subject by mentioning the marriage which actually took place later.

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 325, 328-39; Strambaldi, pp. 131-8. Sanudo (*Vite*, cols. 678-9) has a lively account of the proceedings at the banquet. Navagero, col. 1056, is very brief. Amadi, pp. 432-5; Fl. Bustron, pp. 288-91; Andrea Gataro, *Storia Padovana*, in Muratori, *R.I.S.* xvii, col. 256. Aeneas Sylvius (*Discrittione de l'Asia*, etc., Ital. ed. 1544, f. 161) has a grotesquely inaccurate account of the affair, placing it in the reign of James I; he does not know of the existence of Peter II. *Comm.* p. 320: the trouble began from a dispute as to precedence at a banquet which it was the custom to hold annually.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Aeneas Sylvius, *loc. cit.* P. Bizari, *Senatus Populique Gen. rerum...gest. hist.* (1579), p. 755. Lusignan (*Descr.* f. 148b) also believed this.

of the Cypriote gentlemen 'take them, kill the traitors',<sup>1</sup> the mob attacked and wrecked the Genoese loggia, and sacked the shops and houses of the merchants. Order was restored by the military, and the carrying of arms forbidden.

The distorted kind of version of the affair which became current later, especially in Genoa, is illustrated by the story that every Genoese in the island was put to the sword except one, who, wounded in the face, alone escaped to tell the tale.<sup>2</sup>

The podestà, Sir Antony Negrone or di Negro,<sup>3</sup> was summoned to the Court and rebuked by the Prince as the cause of the disturbance. He gave a surety until the morning that he would answer the charge; but it was not until two days later that the King (who was more interested in the tournament and other rejoicings that celebrated his coronation) sent for his answer. After making difficulties about the credentials of the King's messengers, which were satisfied by the formal appointment of a notary and Sir James de Saint Michel to represent the King, the podestà replied by demanding indemnity for the damage that had been done, punishment of the murderers, and restoration of books and papers which had been taken from the loggia and the merchants' shops. A hot dispute arose, and Sir James returned to the King, who ordered the imprisonment of all Genoese merchants who had been found bearing arms in his Court on the occasion of the coronation. On 18 October Sir James again went to the podestà, who undertook to send a full report to Genoa, and to order the Genoese who had not

<sup>1</sup> Defenestration, to use the technical word, was, says Strambaldi, a sign that they were traitors. That is illustrated by the treatment of the Pazzi conspirators in Florence in 1478, when some were thrown and others hanged out of the windows. Landucci, *Diario* (ed. del Badia, 1883), p. 19. Aeneas Sylvius and Bizari (*loc. cit.*) add the touch that soldiers waited below the windows and caught the falling bodies on the points of their swords.

<sup>2</sup> *Vix unus*, Aeneas Sylvius, *Comm.* p. 321. Sabellico, *Hist. Vinitiane*, tr. Dolce (1544), f. 122 b; P. Bizari, *loc. cit.*; cp. Sperone, *Real Grandeza* (1669), p. 93. Cp. also Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 148 b. Lusignan's account of subsequent events could hardly be more inaccurate than it is: the King takes refuge in Kerynia and only goes thence to Famagusta later; the Prince of Galilee (*sic*) defends St Hilarion and Kerynia, the Seneschal (*sic*) Buffavento and Kantara; the Queen returns to Famagusta from Nicosia; she has the Prince of Antioch murdered during the negotiations for peace, etc. etc.

<sup>3</sup> The readings in Machaeras and Strambaldi seem to favour the latter name, but Dawkins prefers the former. Both were Genoese families and both were represented at Famagusta (Desimoni in *Rev. de l' Or. lat.* II, p. 15).

taken part in the disturbance to go about their business as usual, provided that the King would proclaim their immunity. Proclamation was accordingly made that no one should do injury to a Genoese on pain of losing his right hand. The prisoners were pardoned and released, and it was further proclaimed that the Genoese should remain in full enjoyment of all their customary privileges of entering and leaving the island and trading. A large number of the Genoese, however, immediately departed secretly from Famagusta, taking all their treasure with them. This was more than the King and his advisers had bargained for, but it was too late to prevent them. In order that the Cypriotes might not be forestalled by the Genoese in complaining to the Pope, Sir Renier le Petit and Sir William de Charni were sent to represent the Cypriote case, and to demand the payment by the Genoese of the fine of 100,000 ducats which, in accordance with the treaty of 1365, was the penalty for breaking the peace (p. 316). The Queen also employed a Catalan merchant, Sir Alfonso Ferrand, to take letters to her father, the Franciscan Peter of Aragon, in which she detailed her grievances and asked him to help her to obtain vengeance.<sup>1</sup> Brother Peter was to lay these letters (together with suitable presents) before the Pope. They represented that, although Peter had been crowned, the Prince of Antioch was still taking all the revenues of the realm; many other complaints were made of the knights; and Gregory was asked to allow the Genoese to come to Cyprus, take vengeance for the death of Eleanor's husband, and put her son in possession of his rights.<sup>2</sup>

Before the envoys from either side reached Avignon, the Pope had received a report of the quarrel, and of the Genoese preparations for an expedition to avenge their wrongs. On 27 December 1372 Gregory wrote to the Doge deprecating war between parties who ought to be united against the infidel, and urging him to hold his hand until the Cypriote envoys, who he heard were about to proceed from Venice to Avignon, had arrived; possibly they might offer satisfactory compensation. The Patriarch of Grado and the Archbishop of Genoa were commissioned to attempt to placate the Genoese.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 340, 342; Strambaldi, pp. 138 f.; Amadi, pp. 435 f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 355; Strambaldi, p. 143; Amadi, p. 438; Fl. Bustron, p. 293. Since Ferrand's letters were presumably secret, one wonders how these details became known.

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, 1372, p. 226, § 31 (27 Dec. 1372), 1373, p. 234, § 8 (20 Jan. 1373); Reinhard, I, Beyl. 63, p. 96. Raynaldus names Gregory Thomas as Patriarch of Grado

The Prince's envoys succeeded in getting the ear of the Pope before the Genoese. Gregory was persuaded that the Cypriotes had a grievance and that, if the Genoese could not rebut the charge, they would have to pay the fine. He summoned them to plead their cause, which they did, converting Gregory to their view. The Cypriote envoys were ordered to report his decision that the Venetian murderers and any property stolen from the Genoese must be handed over, though the fine might be remitted, since there had been no intention to offend. Should the murderers and stolen property, however, not be delivered, then the fine, with costs, should be exacted.<sup>1</sup>

The Genoese now had an excellent excuse for the invasion of Cyprus. They thought it well to obtain the goodwill of the King of Aragon and of the 'lords of Barcelona',<sup>2</sup> to whom they explained that Queen Eleanor had appealed for support; they asked that they might have a free hand to give it. Peter IV replied that he had no objection, and Genoa might do as she pleased.<sup>3</sup> But neither he nor Queen Joanna of Naples, to whom Eleanor appealed to support the Genoese, was prepared to do more than express sympathy.<sup>4</sup>

Genoa therefore took her own course, and a fleet of seven galleys was equipped. The admiral appointed was Peter of Campo Fregoso, brother of the Doge Dominic. The expedition was to be financed by an institution known as the *Mahona*, the organization of which well illustrates the commercial efficiency of the Genoese.<sup>5</sup> The Mahona with

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and Bartholomew as Archbishop of Genoa. According to Eubel the Patriarch of Grado in 1372 was Thomas of Frignano; Bartholomew of Cochurno did not become Archbishop of Genoa until 1381.

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 353; Strambaldi, pp. 142 f.; Amadi, pp. 437 f.; Fl. Bustron, pp. 292 f.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, ἀφέντες, Strambaldi, *signori*, Amadi and Fl. Bustron *borghesi*. Probably the *concelleres* are meant.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 354; Strambaldi, p. 143; Amadi, p. 438; Fl. Bustron, p. 293. Machaeras says clearly that the reply of Aragon and Catalonia was: 'Since the Queen and her son have sent word that this seems well to them, it seems well to us also; do as you please.' Strambaldi's translation here is badly blundered. The other two say that Aragon and Barcelona replied that they did not wish to have anything to do with the matter, and the Genoese answered that since that was the wish of the King neither would they themselves have anything to do with it. Which, from what we know of the intention of the Genoese, was either nonsense or deep diplomacy.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 357; Strambaldi, pp. 143 f.; Amadi, p. 439; Fl. Bustron, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 358; Strambaldi, p. 144; Amadi, p. 439; Fl. Bustron, p. 294. On the Mahona of Cyprus see M.L., H. II, pp. 366-70; H. Sieveking, Genueser Finanzwesen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Casa di S. Giorgio', in *Volkswirtschaftliche*

which we are concerned (whatever may have been the origin and earlier history of the institution) was an organization for providing the Republic with the money, munitions and ships for the expedition. Dividends were paid out of the results, if any, of such an expedition, in cash, in goods or in land. The initial capital of the 'Old Mahona of Cyprus', as this organization of 1373 came to be called, was 400,000 gold ducats.<sup>1</sup> The Mahona did so well out of the capture of Famagusta that it made itself into a permanent company for trading under the aegis of the Republic.

Before the expedition sailed, information about it came to the knowledge of the Cyprus government.<sup>2</sup> A Genoese ship calling at Lemesos on its way to Syria brought letters to a number of Genoese, which came into the hands of the authorities. They contained information about the fleet and the designs of Genoa on Cyprus. Philip d'Ibelin, Lord of Arsur, was sent to Famagusta to put all Genoese ships under arrest and prevent any Genoese or their goods from leaving the island.<sup>3</sup> The arsenal and fortifications of the port were ordered to be strengthened. Whether anything was done towards the fortification of Nicosia at this stage may be doubted.<sup>4</sup>

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*Abhandlungen der Badischen Hochschulen*, Freiburg i. B. I (1898), pp. 177-80, II (1899), p. 104; E. Marengo, C. Manfroni, G. Pessagno, *Il Banco di S. Giorgio* (Genoa, 1911), pp. 64-70, 475-84; R. Cessi, 'Studi sulle "Maone" medioevali', in *Arch. Stor. Ital.* LXXVII (1919), I, pp. 5-69; R. di Tucci in *Atti della Soc. Ligure di Storia Patria*, LXIII (1934), pp. 319-20.

<sup>1</sup> Estimated by Herquet, *Cypr. Kön.* p. 33 n. in 1881 as equivalent to about 15,000,000 marks or £750,000. According to Machaeras and Strambaldi this sum was all collected from the widows of those who had been killed in Cyprus, and they were to have a profit of 60 per cent, amounting to 240,000 ducats a year. Amadi and Bustron say nothing about widows, and no doubt the money was subscribed, as in other cases, by all kinds of persons and corporations. The Commune of Savona, for instance, contributed two galleys and a two-decker (M.L., *H.* II, p. 360). In 1428 (see below, p. 491) the contributors to the Old Mahona are described as an infinite number of wretched persons, especially churches, monasteries, widows and orphans, whose sole means of livelihood was the interest on their shares. Cp. the treaty of 1441, M.L., *H.* III, p. 30, n. I.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi, pp. 439 f.; Fl. Bustron, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> Exactly such a case as is envisaged in the treaty of 1365 (above, p. 315).

<sup>4</sup> According to Amadi (pp. 439 f.) and Fl. Bustron (p. 294) it was now that the walls of Nicosia were heightened and the fosse dug out. But their description evidently goes back to some common source with that in Machaeras (384; Strambaldi, p. 156), who puts these measures about the time of the arrival of the second Genoese fleet (beginning of October). Probably the transference of the Genoese from Famagusta to Nicosia also took place at a later date.

The seven galleys sailed in March 1373, not under the Admiral, but under Sir Damian Cattaneo, who had orders to require of the King the fulfilment of the demands of the Republic, that is, for the punishment of the murderers in the presence of Sir Damian, and the restoration of the stolen goods. Should the demand be refused, he was to do what damage he could to the island, and send for the rest of the fleet. Should it be granted, no damage was to be done. Cattaneo's squadron reached Famagusta on 30 April.<sup>1</sup>

Before this, the Cyprus government had endeavoured to enlist the help of the Venetians against the invaders. The Archbishop of Tarsus had reached Venice as the King's ambassador by 21 May. The reply of the Senate to his appeal was sympathetic, but the Republic was too deeply engaged in the war of Chioggia to be able to give attention to anything else.<sup>2</sup>

Cattaneo, on his arrival at Famagusta, made some show of negotiation.<sup>3</sup> Messages passed between him and the King, he making the usual difficulties about adequate hostages to be sent to him in place of his own representatives who were to go to Nicosia. These moves came to nothing, and even before they ended the Genoese had begun hostilities.<sup>4</sup> On 12 May 1373 they attempted a night landing close to the harbour from three of their galleys, but were driven off by the watch on the tower. A second attempt from all seven galleys, which lay off the Island of the Oxen (one of the small islands closing the harbour),<sup>5</sup> was hardly more successful. They landed and ravaged the gardens at Tsiliri. But when the galleys came nearer the town, to the round tower of the Arsenal,<sup>6</sup> they were again driven off, and retired to the island. Here they were attacked and severely handled. They re-embarked in their galleys and lay off the harbour, only landing next day to bury their dead at Saint Catherine's church on the island.

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 359; Strambaldi, pp. 144-5; Amadi, p. 440; Fl. Bustron, p. 295; Stella, col. 1104. The order to attack the island is in Amadi only; Machaeras says merely that Cattaneo was to enquire into the strength of the Kingdom. Strambaldi's figure of sixty galleys is evidently a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 359-60.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 360, 361, 363; Strambaldi, pp. 145-7; Amadi, pp. 440-1; Fl. Bustron, p. 295.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 362; Strambaldi, p. 146; Amadi, pp. 440-1; Fl. Bustron, p. 295.

<sup>5</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 362, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> At the south-east corner of the enceinte, at the seaward end of the south wall. This tower was destroyed in the Turkish siege.



This action of the Genoese made it clear that they were not serious about the negotiations on which they had made a show of entering; nor did they send ashore any envoys, for whose security they had asked the King to send hostages. Two Genoese in the King's service, Sir Ralph de Carmaïn and Sir Thomas de Riou, and three knights who were to serve as hostages, waited for two days for the Genoese representatives, but, as they did not appear, returned to Nicosia.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the King, who had heard on the 13th of the attack on Famagusta, sent his uncle the Constable thither. To the bitter disappointment of the people, who were burning to fight the Genoese, and hoped that he would secure the Island of the Oxen and prevent them from landing for water, he proclaimed that no one should attack them, on pain of death. The King however imprisoned all the Genoese (except holders of fiefs) in Nicosia, and the Constable confined the Genoese of Famagusta in the Royal Court.<sup>2</sup>

The Genoese threat to Cyprus involved not only the island itself, but the important Cypriote possession across the sea, Adalia.<sup>3</sup> It was decided to sacrifice that place to the Turks, rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the Genoese. If it were besieged by Genoese galleys, its communications with Cyprus would be cut, and for lack of supplies it would have to surrender to the Turks. If it were given up, its garrison, and the money which was spent on its upkeep, would be available for the defence of Cyprus. Before, therefore, the Genoese began active hostilities, the government sent Sir Badin Mistachiel of Famagusta and George Pissologos of Nicosia to offer Adalia to the Tekke Bey, on condition that he would become the King's man and pay tribute, and to bring back the garrison and war-material to Cyprus. On 14 May 1373 the Tekke Bey encamped before the city, took the prescribed oaths to the

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 363; Strambaldi, p. 147; Amadi, p. 441; Fl. Bustron, p. 295.

<sup>2</sup> So Machaeras, 365; Strambaldi, p. 147; Amadi, p. 441. The latter (p. 440) and Bustron (p. 295) however say that all the Genoese had been transferred from Famagusta to Nicosia before the arrival of Cattaneo's squadron. The mention of this removal in combination with the proclamation against injuring the Genoese shows that all four sources refer to the same measure.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 366-9; Strambaldi, pp. 147-9; Amadi, pp. 441-2; Fl. Bustron, p. 296. Whether the Genoese actually demanded the cession of Adalia, as M.L., *Rel. pol. et comm.* II, p. 123 says, is not certain. Strambaldi, it is true, says 'lo domandorono li Genovesi che glielo desse che lo governassero'; but Machaeras has merely ἐξητῆσαν τὸ νᾶ τὸ δηγούν, which Dawkins translates 'they wanted to equip it for use in the war'.

King of Cyprus,<sup>1</sup> and made presents to the envoys. Sir Eustace de Bessan, the commandant, evacuated the fortress, embarking the garrison and people and war-material, together with a picture of the Virgin 'painted by St Luke'<sup>2</sup> and other treasures of the church. Two Genoese galleys lay in wait, but failed to intercept the Cypriotes, who arrived safely at Kerynia, with the exception of Mistachiel himself and eight others. He, fearing an attack on the Cypriote ships, took a ship's boat and coasted to Alaya, where he was captured and taken to Famagusta and put in irons. From him Cattaneo learned what had happened at Adalia.

The Pope's efforts for conciliation were continued after the Genoese expedition had actually started.<sup>3</sup> His bull *Nuper displicenter*, of 10 June 1373,<sup>4</sup> forbade the Hospital to lend any assistance to Genoa. In Rhodes the passage of the fleet, and the threats against Cyprus, were known, but the Grand Master took no steps until June, when he sent the Marshal on a mission of mediation.<sup>5</sup> The Genoese reply to the Marshal's enquiry for their terms was: delivery of the murderers, or 50,000 ducats; 100,000 ducats for the breach of the treaty; the same for the property taken from the Genoese merchants; and the same for the costs of the present expedition; in all 350,000 ducats. In the course of negotiations which followed, the Genoese added to their demands the cession of a stronghold in which their merchants should be able to live in security. All this was naturally refused, negotiations were broken off, and war was declared. Six Genoese who were still at liberty in the island were sent to join the others in the house of the Lord of Tyre; and, in addition, the 'White Genoese' from Syria and other Genoese colonies were also

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<sup>1</sup> There is no record of any tribute having been paid in accordance with the terms, and it may be doubted whether the oath of vassalage was taken seriously.

<sup>2</sup> On this, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 368, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, 1373, p. 234, § 8 cites (without dates) letters in which the Pope informs the King, the Queen and the Prince of Antioch of his failure to mollify the Genoese (cp. above, p. 384, n. 3).

<sup>4</sup> Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* II, p. 406. Abbreviated in J. Taaffe, *Hist. of the Order of St John of Jer.* IV, App. p.c. It may be mentioned here that the King of Cyprus was among the Christian rulers of the East invited by the Pope to the Congress of Thebes in Greece, which he summoned for 1 Oct. 1373 (Bzovius ad ann. 1373, col. 1420; Raynaldus, 1372, p. 224, § 29; W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 303). It is certain that he did not attend.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 370-6; Strambaldi, pp. 149-53; Amadi, pp. 442-3; Fl. Bustron, pp. 296-300.

interned, although they protested that they were not Genoese.<sup>1</sup> The Marshal of the Hospital, after a last attempt to induce the Cypriotes to listen to the Genoese demands, to which it was replied that Cyprus would be bound by the verdict of the Pope, gave up his mission and returned to Rhodes.

The war now took its course.<sup>2</sup> The Genoese galleys cruised raiding round the island. The Constable, leaving a thousand men to defend Famagusta, took the rest of his forces to Nicosia. Three hundred men were distributed as coastguards. At some places, such as Alikí (Larnaka) and Pendayia, the defence was too strong for the raiders to attempt a landing. Lemesos, however, they burned. They then invited all slaves, serfs and criminals to join them, and thus collected some two thousand Bulgarians,<sup>3</sup> Greeks from Romania and Tatars. Together they took the castles of Paphos, which they strengthened by digging a moat letting in the sea and heightening the walls, so that they were able to resist the engines<sup>4</sup> which the Cypriotes brought up against them. The Prince of Antioch was sent from Nicosia with a force of a thousand men, who were joined by the Bailie of Paphos with a number of horse and foot-soldiers. The Prince attacked the tower of Paphos on 30 July 1373, but

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<sup>1</sup> These had been granted the same privileges as the pure Genoese (see the treaty of 1365, above, p. 314); the consuls of Genoa had however attached them to the Republic and that was why they were interned. The White Genoese were not allowed to enjoy the advantages and evade the disadvantages of the Genoese to whom they were attached.

<sup>2</sup> For events up to the attack on Famagusta on 3 Oct. see Machaeras, 377-86; Strambaldi, pp. 153-6; Amadi, pp. 444-6; Fl. Bustron, pp. 300-3. Stella, *Ann. Gen.* col. 1104, has the date circa 16 June for the capture of Nicosia, which, though quite impossible, is accepted by Iorga and Delaville Le Roulx. He eulogizes Cattaneo for his chivalrous conduct of the war. Thus, when seventy virgins or young wives captured at Paphos were brought to him he released them, with the husbands of the latter, in spite of the protests of their captors, and refused to punish the man who was said to have killed a Genoese in the Coronation riot, because not he but his masters were to blame. Cp. Vincens, *Hist. de la Rép. de Gènes*, II, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> We find some of these Bulgarian mercenaries later fighting on the Cypriote side. They were probably slaves bought from the Turks. Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 84, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 377, n. 4. Machaeras uses *περδέσκες*, brattishes, which is generally applied to hoards or to machicoulis, attached to a wall for defence, not on an engine of attack. Here the Oxford MS. has *σπινγκάρδες*, springals, a kind of balista or catapult. The Cypriotes therefore probably used fighting-towers protected at the top by brattishes, with springals mounted in or on them. Machaeras (592) also uses *περδέσκες* of the fighting platforms constructed on masts of ships.

was defeated with heavy losses by the Bulgarians and by the Genoese from their galleys, although he used Greek fire with good effect on the latter. An attempt to board one of the galleys from the shore failed; a gallant young Cypriote led fifty others to the attack, but was deserted by them when he got on board and had to surrender. The Prince retired to Nicosia, and the Genoese landed and raided the neighbourhood, taking many captives and much booty in food and cattle.

The Constable James now took a large body of volunteers to Paphos, where he learned from some Genoese captured in an ambush that three<sup>1</sup> more enemy ships had arrived and that a large fleet was on its way. The Genoese, now reinforced, offered to the Constable to land and meet him in battle. He accepted the challenge, but when, after keeping him waiting for two days, they failed to come ashore, he retired, issuing a counter proclamation promising freedom to slaves and amnesty to criminals who should join the King's forces. He had spent ten days at Paphos.

News reached the King on 1 October that thirty-six Genoese ships had arrived at that port. They sailed on past Alikí (whence at their approach the people fled to Nicosia), reaching Famagusta on or before 2 October.<sup>2</sup> On that day, the King took measures for the security of his capital. A curfew was imposed, lights were not to be shown, church bells rung or clappers sounded at night, and the penalty for making a disturbance was death. On the 3rd the King inspected the fortifications and ordered that they should be strengthened. The ramparts were built up with earth and stones, and 133 platforms were constructed for the crossbowmen and archers to fight from, in addition to the towers.<sup>3</sup> The work was rushed through in twenty days. A large number of

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<sup>1</sup> These were probably part of the thirty-six which eventually arrived, for, with the seven of Cattaneo's squadron, the total seems to have been forty-three (so Ag. Giustiniani, II, p. 111); though another estimate (Machaeras, 484) is forty-nine galleys and one merchant ship, while Sanudo (*Vite*, col. 679) has forty-one galleys and two large ships.

<sup>2</sup> News reached Nicosia on 1 Oct. that they had been seen at Paphos, and on the 2nd that they had passed Alikí; therefore they may well have actually reached Famagusta on the 2nd. According to Machaeras the news of their arrival at Famagusta reached Nicosia on that same 2 Oct. Stella, however, says they did not arrive until the 3rd.

<sup>3</sup> Enlart (p. 523) interprets the description as meaning the addition of fosses and a belt of false braies, but the fortification was probably less elaborate than the latter detail would imply. According to Fl. Bustron the fighting platforms were 25 to 30 reeds (about 175 to 210 feet) apart.

Armenians and crossbowmen were enlisted. All males of fifteen years and over were registered and appointed to their proper stations.<sup>1</sup>

The Genoese Admiral Peter of Campo Fregoso on arriving at Famagusta, presumably with the fleet of thirty-six sail<sup>2</sup> which we have already mentioned, at once began hostilities. A Genoese writer says that he burned four of the King's galleys and another large ship in the harbour.<sup>3</sup> The King, on receiving the report from the Bailie of Famagusta, collected about two thousand men, both knights and infantry,<sup>4</sup> all that could be spared from the defence of the walls of the capital. Leaving Sir John de Neuville in command, he rode by night for Famagusta, accompanied by his mother and his two uncles. They reached Famagusta early in the morning of the 3rd, and tired as they were engaged the Genoese, who attempted to keep them out of the city; but they forced their way in. The Genoese were at first driven back to their galleys. The King however shut himself up inside the city, and the enemy invested it. Two days later, at the King's desire, the Constable made a sortie with 500 volunteers, and after an engagement, in which as many as 200 of the enemy were killed, as against only thirteen Cypriotes, rode for Nicosia. On the way he surprised a body of sixty

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<sup>1</sup> I have here combined the accounts in Machaeras (Strambaldi), where these measures are ascribed to early October, with those in Amadi and Fl. Bustron, according to whom they were taken much earlier (see above, p. 386, n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Stella, col. 1104E (followed by later Genoese writers) gives the number of the Genoese fleet as forty-three ships (which agrees with the other authorities), but says that there were also many transports. He adds (col. 1105C) that the troops in the expedition numbered over 14,000 (so, too, Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 58, *Descr.* f. 148b). Campo Fregoso left Genoa on 15 Aug. and reached Famagusta, according to Stella, on 3 Oct.; he captured it on the 10th. As Ag. Giustiniani says (II, p. 111), the Genoese entered Famagusta on the anniversary of the coronation riot. For the siege and capture, see Machaeras, 386-415 (Strambaldi, pp. 156-68), Amadi, pp. 446-52, Fl. Bustron, pp. 302-9. But it must be noted that Machaeras in 397-409 (Strambaldi, pp. 161-5) describes events, chiefly at Nicosia, which are later than the capture of Famagusta; similarly the section of Amadi, pp. 448-50; is out of order.—The capture of Famagusta is presumably the triumphant victory over the enemy of Genoa, 'to the praise and glory of the Lord our God and his glorious Mother Mary, and the blessed St George, standard-bearer of the victorious Commune of Genoa and of all the Genoese', of which the news was published at Savona on 21 Dec. 1373 (M.L., H. II, p. 360). The news of the occupation of Nicosia can hardly have arrived by that date.

<sup>3</sup> Bizari, *op. cit.* p. 756.

<sup>4</sup> So Machaeras 386 (Strambaldi, p. 156). Amadi (p. 446) and Fl. Bustron (p. 302) give 2000 all mounted; Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 36) 2000 soldiers and 500 horse.

or seventy Genoese returning to Famagusta from a foray, taking twenty prisoners and killing the rest. He entered the capital on 6 October.

The Prince of Antioch was anxious to emulate his brother's exploit, but the Famagustans had no heart for such an adventure. The city was well munitioned and provisioned; and although there were 6000<sup>1</sup> in the besieging force, they were all on foot. The Cypriotes on the other hand were mounted, and when they required provisions would send out 500 horsemen to skirmish with the enemy while as many more went foraging. The besiegers also suffered much from the cold and wet season, and their ships ran great risk of being destroyed by the storms.<sup>2</sup> There was also some fear of an attack by the Constable, who might arrange to fall on them with the 500 horsemen whom he had taken to Nicosia, at the same time as the 1500 remaining in Nicosia should make a sortie.

This did not happen, however, and the Prince grew tired of inaction, while his estates were being ravaged. He therefore, with the consent of the King, sent Sir John de Morphou and four other knights to the Genoese to propose a conference. Cattaneo refused to come ashore, alleging that the mob of Syrians and others would prevent fair discussion, but proposed that he and four companions should be admitted by the sea gate to the castle, to meet Sir John and his four colleagues. Each party should be accompanied by twelve guards. Strong objection was raised to this proposal by Sir Guy de Mimars,<sup>3</sup> Admiral of Cyprus, and others—once the Genoese were in, how should they be got out? A letter was sent from the King to the Constable at Nicosia, saying that matters were about to be settled,<sup>4</sup> but that he wished to make no

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<sup>1</sup> Fl. Bustron, p. 303. Probably this is an underestimate, if the total force of the Genoese numbered 14,000.

<sup>2</sup> According to Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 41) the Genoese could use only the little harbour of Constanza, that of Famagusta being defended by four galleys and a galleon. Even if these had been destroyed, as other sources indicate, the ships in the harbour of Famagusta would be much exposed to attack from the walls, so that the Genoese could not use it until they had occupied the city.

<sup>3</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 392, n. 1. He had succeeded Sir John de Moustry, who died in 1369 (see p. 371).

<sup>4</sup> So Amadi; Machaeras and Strambaldi make the letter say that they had been settled, which was, to say the least, misleading. But the Constable was evidently made to believe that peace was as good as concluded, as is shown by the proclamation which he made soon afterwards.

decision without the Constable's agreement, and asking him therefore to come to Famagusta. When the Constable learned that it was intended to admit the Genoese to the castle, he pleaded sickness, and declined to obey the King's commands. A second, more urgent summons, threatening him with punishment as a traitor if he disobeyed, would have been more effective, but the Constable was now prevented by the knights who were with him and the people of Nicosia from leaving the place. It was enough, the people said, that the King and Queen and the Prince of Antioch should have gone. If the Constable went to Famagusta, he must take the people with him, which would mean—as he wrote to the King—that Nicosia would be defenceless. A thousand men were put to guard the walls and prevent him from escaping. The most that he could do was to release the Genoese from their prison in Nicosia, and proclaim that no harm should be done them, since the King had made peace in Famagusta.

There, in the absence of the Constable, the knights who opposed the admission of the Genoese to the castle were over-ruled. The chroniclers are agreed that Campo Fregoso practised a deception on Sir John de Morphou, telling him that Hugh de Lusignan, his son-in-law,<sup>1</sup> was with them, and that they had come to put him into possession of the Kingdom. Sir John must therefore persuade the King to give them admission to the castle, when they would bring Hugh ashore and he would take possession of his own. Sir John was convinced and brought Sir Raymond Babin round to his view, and eventually it was agreed to admit the Genoese. As soon as they were in, they overpowered the twelve Cypriote guards, and Genoese troops swarmed into the castle. The five

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras makes them say that Hugh was only betrothed to Sir John's daughter, and had come to marry her. As a fact, the marriage had been arranged in 1360 (M.L., *Gén.* p. 17; cp. Machaeras, 214, 349 and Amadi, p. 410), and it is unlikely that it would have been delayed for thirteen years. See above, Ch. vi, p. 310, n. 4. Dawkins, however, on Machaeras, 409, n. 1, takes the other view.—As a specimen of the fantastic invention of which Loredano is capable, we may take what he says in this connexion about Sir John's son-in-law. Calling him 'Prince of Antioch' he says that he was hated by the people, because he had been concerned in the murder of Peter I; that he decided to quit the kingdom; that the Queen tried to have him murdered; that he escaped; some believed she had succeeded in killing him, others that he was intriguing in the West to secure the crown of Cyprus. This report being current suggested to Campo Fregoso the trick which he played on Sir John. Of course Hugh, the Prince of Galilee, had nothing to do with the murder of Peter I, even if he was in Cyprus at the time.

Cypriote representatives retired, and the two who were responsible were very sorry, 'even as Judas was sorry about Christ'.

John de Morphou, if this story is true, was guilty of foul treachery.<sup>1</sup> He was supposed to bear a grudge against King Peter, to whom he had aimed at marrying his second daughter.<sup>2</sup> After this episode, he practically disappears from history; he was however one of the many knights carried off by the Genoese as security for the payment of the indemnity in April 1374, and was imprisoned in Chios.<sup>3</sup> In possession of the castle,<sup>4</sup> the Genoese invited the King to send his envoys to conclude peace. No one was willing to trust himself in their hands, unless they would take a solemn oath at mass to do no harm to the envoys. On the next day Campo Fregoso landed in great pomp with a large company, went to the cathedral, and took an oath on the sacred elements to respect the safety of the King and the knights. Peter, his mother and the Prince of Antioch were then taken into the castle and locked up without food or service. When next morning the Admiral was reproached by the Queen for this breach of faith, he said that he had acted thus for their safety, since most of his people wished to put them to death. This danger was now past, and the knights and the Constable from Nicosia should be sent for to settle terms of peace. The Queen replied that no one would venture himself in their power unless they would set the King free. They agreed to release Peter and his mother, who were however kept under

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<sup>1</sup> If Loredano can be believed (Giblet, II, p. 38) this was not his first betrayal. When the Constable fought his way out of Famagusta (p. 392), Sir John gave secret orders forbidding troops to issue from other gates to support him and prevent the Genoese attacking him. That the capture of Famagusta was not the feat of arms it was represented to be in Genoa, was suspected by non-Genoese writers. Thus M. Ant. Sabellico (ed. of 1544, f. 122): the Genoese took Famagusta, but whether by force or by treachery, *chiaramente non si legge*. The surrender to the Genoese was quite commonly put down to the Queen: e.g. Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 58; *Descr.* f. 149; Sabellico, *loc. cit.*; Bizari, p. 756.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 349 (Strambaldi, pp. 141 f.); Amadi, p. 437; Fl. Bustron, p. 292. She afterwards married Janot de Lusignan, natural son of the Prince of Antioch.

<sup>3</sup> There is no further record of him unless we accept as historical the tale of Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 99) that he died suddenly at the King's table in 1379 (?), under suspicious circumstances, since it was supposed that the King had only just then learned of the liaison which he had entertained with Queen Eleanor. We do not know, except from this story, whether he returned to Cyprus.

<sup>4</sup> From this point to the conclusion of the war and the retirement of the Genoese fleet in April 1374, the sources are: Machaeras, 397-409, 416-543; Strambaldi, pp. 161-5, 169-230; Amadi, pp. 452-73; Fl. Bustron, pp. 309-32.



guard in their lodgings. But the Prince they kept in irons, as the murderer of his brother. It was their desire to get the Constable also into their hands. The Prince however, with the help of his cook, who disguised him as a kitchen-boy, escaped, first to his estate of Kolota, near Salamis, and thence to Kantara castle; and the Constable was safe at Kerynia. By the King's orders many knights and vassals were summoned to come from Nicosia, with their horses and arms, to do the service due on their fiefs. These were called into the castle, on the pretence of a peace conference, and were promptly imprisoned.

The Prince's escape caused a tumult, and the Venetian Bailie, who was suspected of having sheltered him, was roughly handled, though the Genoese asserted that they only placed him under what would now be called protective arrest.<sup>1</sup>

The King was now a prisoner in his own palace, with Genoese staff and warders, preventing him from communication with any Cypriote. The Admiral lodged in the same building. Nevertheless these restrictions seem to have been relaxed in time, for Peter was able to communicate with a number of knights, who had come later from Nicosia, but on learning that their fellows were in prison refused to enter the city. By the King's orders they dug a trench cutting off the castle<sup>2</sup> from the rest of Famagusta, but without effect, since the Genoese were able to sally out and, opening the sea gates, to occupy the city. All the knights they could seize there they imprisoned. Two or three times they pillaged the place, torturing the citizens to make them yield up their riches, and robbing both Jews and Christians.<sup>3</sup>

Queen Eleanor now began to taste the sweets of vengeance on those who had killed her husband, for the Genoese beheaded Philip d'Ibelin, the

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<sup>1</sup> Loredano (Giblet, II, pp. 58f.) reports this incident, which is not mentioned by the chroniclers. He says that Paganino Doria arrested the Bailie and took him to the castle, with Mark Morosini and all his friends and servants. On his protesting that Venice would avenge any injury done to him, they were released, but only to find their houses sacked, with damage to the value of 40,000 besants. Loredano is for once supported by good authority, for the Venetian claim to compensation for this injury is recorded in the document published by M.L., *H.* II, p. 365, art. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The castle was on the sea-wall, at the point where the quay turns north by east towards the chained entrance to the harbour. It is difficult to understand how, with the Genoese in occupation of the castle, the knights can have dug the trench as described.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 452 (Strambaldi, p. 187) describes how they robbed the Nestorian brothers Lakha of all their property, to the value of 2,000,000 ducats.

Lord of Arsur,<sup>1</sup> Henry de Gible of Meniko, and John de Gaurelle.<sup>2</sup> The Prince of Antioch and the Constable would doubtless have suffered the same fate had they not been out of the way. Proclamation was made that these knights were executed by the King's judgement for having murdered their lord. Many others were drowned or hanged on information laid against them by White Genoese.

We may now turn to Nicosia,<sup>3</sup> whence the Constable was prevented, perhaps not wholly against his will, from going to the aid of the King in Famagusta. He had a difficult task dealing with the population of the capital. Great resentment was caused about this time by the imposition on all classes in the island, by the advice of the King's council, of a forced loan, to a total sum of a million ducats.<sup>4</sup> The order to collect the contribution, when it reached Nicosia, was resisted by some, who were put in prison, but released by the Viscount on a violent demonstration by the people, who objected to paying the 'Genoese tax'. The watch on the Constable's movements was now reorganized; it had employed so many that it interfered with the ordinary occupations of the citizens; now a guard of sixty men under one Psilidi<sup>5</sup> saw that he remained where he was. He obtained permission, however, to write to the King explaining his position, lest it should be supposed that Nicosia had rebelled and made the Constable its ruler. Much as he desired to join the King, he was held under constraint. Now, however, came a letter from the captain of Kerynia, reporting that one Sir Francis Saturnino,<sup>6</sup> a

<sup>1</sup> According to Machaeras, 423 (Strambaldi, p. 172) Philip's wife, Alice of Majorca, came to Famagusta to serve her husband and became the mistress of Campo Fregoso. Philip offered great gifts to escape, but she urged the Admiral to take the gifts but kill her husband, who if he escaped would do her great harm. Mas Latrie regards this story as a baseless libel (above, p. 371, n. 2). Loredano (Gible, II, p. 60) substitutes John de Sur (who died in 1368) for Philip d'Ibelin.

<sup>2</sup> The date of the execution is given by both texts of Machaeras and by Strambaldi as 22 Oct. Amadi, p. 454, has 22 Nov.; Fl. Bustron, p. 311, has merely *tre di da poi*, and as the next previously mentioned events are the release of the King and Queen from the castle, the escape of the Prince of Antioch, the digging of the trench, and the Admiral's taking up his lodging in the palace, I assume that he is in favour of October. Dawkins prefers Amadi's date, because, as he says, in Machaeras 408 we are already in November; but, as observed above, Machaeras in 379-409 describes events out of chronological order.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 397-409; Strambaldi, pp. 161-5; Amadi, pp. 448-50; Fl. Bustron, pp. 306-8.

<sup>4</sup> See Ch. I, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Or Psychidi. Dawkins on Machaeras, 399, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Or Saturno (Machaeras and Strambaldi).

Catalan, had arrived there with a letter from the King, placing Kerynia under his command. The captain of Kerynia, however, suspecting that this letter was dictated by the Genoese, with the object of getting the place into their hands, or at least preventing its falling into those of the Constable, would not admit the Catalan, who returned to Famagusta. The captain now offered Kerynia to the Constable, to hold for the King. The Constable immediately sent a month's pay for the garrison, and communicated the offer to the King, who sent back Theobald Belfarage with confidential orders, to the effect that the Constable should go to Kerynia and hold the castle. Belfarage, who arrived with this message on 18 November 1373, had a hostile reception from the people, who shrewdly suspected that he had come to beguile the Constable to Famagusta, so that the Genoese would find Nicosia without a commander, or else to extort the Genoese loan by force. He was greeted with stones, but succeeded in pacifying the mob. Two days later the Constable sent a force of men-at-arms to Kerynia, with another month's pay and another 1000 besants for provisions. The people were still very riotous and suspicious of those whom, like Sir John Gorap, they supposed to be trying to lure the Constable to Famagusta, and whom they also stoned at sight. These noisy demonstrations robbed the Constable of his sleep, until he appealed to the mob to be quiet. He now told the knights of his council of the King's command, which he was bound to obey, and at their request appointed Sir Peter de Cassi to take his place. At the stroke of midnight on Tuesday 21 November he, with his wife Héloïse of Brunswick,<sup>1</sup> his young daughter and some thirty servants, rode out of the Gate of Ayia Paraskevi,<sup>2</sup> the sleepy guards letting them pass without guessing who they were.

The discovery of the departure of the Constable left the people stunned. It was supposed that he had gone to Famagusta. It was also suspected that there was a conspiracy among the knights to put Hugh, the Prince of Galilee, on the throne; some hint of the treachery of John de Morphou must have reached the capital. What more immediately concerned the people was that Nicosia was abandoned by the man whom they had trusted to defend it. And indeed Cassi seems to have been quite unable to prevent the Genoese from pillaging it. A force arrived which established itself on a long stretch of the wall, from the Tower

<sup>1</sup> To whom he was married in 1365; the Pope's dispensation is dated 13 May 1365. Tihon, *Lettres d'Urbain V*, I, no. 1484.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhere near the present Paphos Gate. Dawkins on Machaeras, 594, n. 1.

of St Andrew to the Market Gate,<sup>1</sup> and thence issued to sack the town. The tower they filled up with earth and stones and built on it a wooden castle to dominate the town.

But Kerynia<sup>2</sup> was held by the Constable, and the Prince of Antioch had gone from Kantara to St Hilarion. Campo Fregoso's efforts were now directed to getting these places into his hands. By brutal bullying of the King—whom he reduced to tears by boxing his ears—he forced him to write a letter ordering the Constable to hand over the castle, and to give the Queen permission to accompany the force which was to occupy it. The Queen made a show of accepting the Admiral's profession that, the Constable having been in the plot to murder her husband, the Genoese would be fighting her battle and taking the castle entirely for her benefit. She left Famagusta with the Genoese force of 700 men (300 mounted knights and 400 foot). Her young secretary, a White Genoese named Dimitrios Daniel, followed her later with a letter which the King succeeded in giving him secretly. She was to stay for four or five days at Nicosia, and send secret messages to the Bulgarian mercenaries who had joined the King's side, and were at Pendayia and Paphos, instructing them to camp in the pass across the mountains between Nicosia and Kerynia. Daniel caught her up at Askia (Asha), and went on with a letter from her to the Constable, telling him to collect his forces and hold the pass.<sup>3</sup>

On Sunday 4 December 1373,<sup>4</sup> the Queen reached Nicosia, where, pleading fatigue, she succeeded in detaining the Genoese for fifteen days.<sup>5</sup> They took from her the keys of the gates which had been placed in her hands. Mistakenly confident, on 6 December they attempted to disarm the people, who however resisted effectively, killed many of

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<sup>1</sup> The Market Gate was apparently on the site of the present Famagusta Gate on the east side of the city (the *porta Iulia over di sotto* of Lusignan's plan, below, p. 847). See Dawkins on Machaeras, 424, n. 2. It was not therefore, as Enlart says (p. 523), near the palace. The Tower and Gate of St Andrew are not identified.

<sup>2</sup> The attempt by the Genoese to capture Kerynia, and the supersession of the Constable: Machaeras, 425–525; Strambaldi, pp. 173–219; Amadi, pp. 454–72; Fl. Bustron, pp. 312–22.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel was then to come back from Kerynia to her at Nicosia; but as this last was only a verbal instruction, whereas the letter said that Daniel was to stay at Kerynia, the Constable kept him there.

<sup>4</sup> So the Venice MS. of Machaeras. The Oxford MS. and Strambaldi have 6 Dec. 4 Dec. 1373 was a Sunday.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 459, though in 431 he says six days.

them and recovered the keys. The Genoese were reduced to appealing to the Queen, who proclaimed that the people were not to meddle with the affairs of the Crown. The keys were returned, and the Genoese strengthened their position in the capital.

On 7 December the Constable, whom the Queen had instructed to stand on the defensive at the pass, advanced on Nicosia with a large force of Bulgarians. A body of thirty knights with a great number of foot-soldiers under Sir Matthew de Villiers went out and joined them. The Genoese made a stand on the Bridge of the Holy Apostles, but were driven off by Sir Nicolas Lase with a hundred and fifty cross-bowmen from the Constable's army. At this point the Genoese again appealed to the Queen, who sent the Viscount, Sir John de Neuville, to Sir Nicolas with orders to withdraw. He reported this order to the Constable, who obediently retired to the pass.

The unfortunate capital was now delivered over to anarchy—street-fighting, burning and pillaging by each side of the houses of those who were denounced as having relations with the other. The ordinary life of the town was at a standstill, the streets deserted, the handicraftsmen not venturing out of their houses. On 9 December Campo Fregoso, on the pretext that the Constable was trying to seize the Kingdom piece by piece, gained Peter's consent to the sending of another force to Nicosia, which they found in great part deserted. They set to work and pillaged the rest.<sup>1</sup> But the Gate and Tower of St Andrew were held by a guard of Armenians and Syrians. At first these men accepted a guarantee from the Queen that they and their property should be safe if they would evacuate the tower; but later twenty-two Syrians changed their minds and reoccupied it. They defended it to the last man. After this there was more pillaging, the Queen's guarantee being dishonoured. For this, of course, the action of the Syrians was sufficient excuse. A proclamation by the Admiral, that no Genoese should injure any Cypriote, was merely a trap to entice back into the capital citizens who had fled; once returned, they fell victims to their private enemies who denounced them. Psilidi and his guards (p. 397) had their flesh torn off with hot pincers before being hanged. On 18 December a priest Elias, who was of their company, was also hanged. A pitiful story is told of

<sup>1</sup> Philip de Mézières (*Songe du vieil pelerin*, quoted by M.L., *H.* II, p. 388) accuses them of robbing the cathedral and all the other churches of all sects, and slaying the priests, violating the women, carrying off all the gold and silver, precious stones, plate and jewels in the Kingdom, and imprisoning its nobles.

a poor woman, Virginella, whose husband had returned without her knowledge, and who said they might burn her if he was in the house. When they found him there they burned her alive and hanged him. The disarming of the population was completed by the proclamation of the penalty of death for all who did not give up their arms at the arsenal.

Kerynia, meanwhile, was in danger of running short of provisions; Sir Thomas de Montolif de Verni, who had been given money to obtain supplies when the Constable came there, had embezzled the funds. The Constable was obliged himself to go to the Pendayia, Morphou and Solia districts, where the population was hostile to the Genoese, and had struck against forced labour and taxes. Forces which were sent by the Genoese, by the Queen's orders, to exact the taxes were partly defeated, partly eluded, and the Constable was successful in obtaining provisions for both Kerynia and St Hilarion.

In the irregular kind of warfare which went on the Genoese seem usually to have been the losers. Their only success seems to have been the capture of Sir Peter de Cassi,<sup>1</sup> who, desiring to emulate the exploits of the Constable, took a company without orders (which would doubtless have been refused if he had asked for them), and blockaded the gates of Famagusta, cutting off its food-supplies. He was however betrayed by a peasant, who guided the Genoese to the tower of A. Sergios (near Salamis), where he and some sixty of his men were caught asleep without sentinels.<sup>2</sup> But, generally speaking, the position of the Genoese was uneasy. It was feared that the Constable and the Prince of Antioch might even attack Famagusta, and Campo Fregoso, advised of the danger by his compatriots at Nicosia, heightened the walls of the castle wherever they were low, and opened the moat which surrounded it to the sea.<sup>3</sup> The war was also costing money. The proceeds of the forced loan had passed into the hands of the Genoese, who adopted the other obvious means of raising funds by pillaging the possessions of the

<sup>1</sup> Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 60) quite baselessly accuses Cassi of deserting Nicosia because he was afraid to meet the enemy face to face.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 448; Strambaldi, p. 185; Amadi, p. 457. The statement in Machaeras, 469 (not in the other sources) that he was captured later in the Kerynia pass seems to be a false echo of this incident.

<sup>3</sup> It would appear that this is the dry trench which the Cypriotes had dug earlier (p. 396). In 1394 Martoni (*Exc. Cypr.* p. 22) describes the castle as being 'nearly all in the sea, except perhaps a fourth part on the city side, and there are fine ditches there constructed on either side which are filled with the sea water, and remain always full of the said water, making the said castle impregnable'.

Cypriotes. The house of the Prince of Antioch was sacked, his wife, who had up till now been kept at Nicosia, being sent away to Famagusta. The mean and miserly character of the Prince, we are told by the chroniclers, had enabled him to amass wealth, in the form of money, precious stones and gold and silver plate, estimated at over a million ducats. All this was confiscated by the Genoese, like the two millions of the Lakha brothers; and less wealthy citizens all over the island suffered in proportion, torture—often ending in death—being employed to extract a confession. The ill-gotten plunder from the third sack of Nicosia, however, was soon lost, for the train of camels and wagons on which it was being carried to Famagusta was surprised by the Constable at Sinda, and all the treasure captured. This was in January 1374. A little earlier, on 5 December 1373, six of eight galleys loaded with treasure went to the bottom, with all their crews, off Ayia Napa, only two reaching Genoa.<sup>1</sup>

About 19 or 20 December<sup>2</sup> the Queen consented to go to Kerynia with the object of persuading the Constable to hand it over to the Genoese. She rode, side saddle, on a very fine mule called Margarita, which had belonged to her husband. Arriving at a place called Anychia,<sup>3</sup> where the ground begins to rise steeply, she turned to sit astride, her squire put on her spurs, and she bolted for Kerynia, the Genoese escort, mounted on slower animals, being unable to catch her up on the steep, rough going of the pass. She was quickly with the Constable's army, who easily routed the Genoese when they came up.

In Kerynia she found the people discontented owing to the shortage of food. A considerable sum of money which she had in her possession was spent in buying provisions in the countryside, so that thanks to her and the Constable the castle was for the time well supplied.

Five months having passed since the mission of the Marshal of the Hospital (p. 389) without any definite news coming through of what was happening in Cyprus, the aged Grand Master Raymond Bérenger went himself in January 1374 to make another attempt at mediation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 549; Strambaldi, p. 232; cp. Malipiero, *Ann. Ven.* p. 595; Amadi, p. 477; Fl. Bustron, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 459: the Genoese say they had been in Nicosia fifteen days, and they had arrived on the 4th.

<sup>3</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 460, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be no authority for assuming, as Delaville Le Roulx apparently does (*Hosp. Rh.* p. 176), that Raymond offered his mediation because the King had begun to think of treating. He had been officially appointed by the Pope to take part in the administration of Cyprus (p. 379, n. 1).

In vain; he fell sick, it is said of vexation at his ill success, and died on 16 February. He was buried in the church of the Hospital at Nicosia.

Meanwhile, once more (on 14 January) Campo Fregoso had brought pressure to bear on the helpless King. He had to accompany a force of 2000 men with which the Admiral went as far as Dikomo, where they encamped, sending forward a detachment to try and force the pass. Several attempts made at intervals during eight days were all repulsed by the Bulgarians and other mercenaries. On the 22nd the Genoese were on the point of giving up and retiring to Nicosia, when a local Greek priest, whom they persuaded to believe their story that they were trying to win back Kerynia for the King, showed them a path over the mountain. By this they fell upon the flank of the Bulgarians in the defile, killing about a hundred of them and capturing others; the rest escaped to St Hilarion.<sup>1</sup>

The Genoese were now able to invest Kerynia.<sup>2</sup> The besieged raised the bridges and nailed up the gates; but their cattle, which they had not time to bring in, were taken. Repeated demands from the besiegers that the castle should be surrendered to them for the King were rejected.

The defenders used their arbalests, stone-throwers and Greek fire to such good effect that the besiegers had to remove their camp out of range. On 4 February the Bulgarians intercepted a force which was coming from Nicosia, and captured twenty scaling-ladders which were intended for the siege. Filling the fosse with branches and dry wood, and planting fresh ladders, the Genoese sent a herald with the usual summons in the name of the King to surrender, which was rejected in the name of the Queen and the Constable. An assault in force followed, the attackers protecting themselves under large wooden pavises, and encouraged by the offer of rewards to those who should set up the King's banner on the walls.<sup>3</sup> It was repulsed after two and a half hours

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<sup>1</sup> Among the prisoners, according to Machaeras (469; not in Strambaldi, Amadi or Fl. Bustron) was Sir Peter de Cassi, who 'was with the Prince in St Hilarion and had gone out on this service'. But, as we have seen (above, p. 401), Sir Peter had been captured earlier by the Genoese at A. Sergios; and that circumstantial story must be accepted rather than the incidental remark about the fight in the defile.

<sup>2</sup> Sources for this first attack: Machaeras, 470-84; Strambaldi, pp. 194-9; Amadi, pp. 460-2; Fl. Bustron, pp. 317-19. Jeffery's account ('Kyrenia Castle and its Sieges' in *Hist. and Arch. Buildings*, New Illus. Ser. no. 4, 1932, repr. 1937) is little more than a summary of the accounts in Amadi and Strambaldi.

<sup>3</sup> 1000 besants to the first, 500 to the second, 300 to the third, and 100 to the fourth. As each of these proclamations was heard by the defenders, they claimed the reward for themselves by setting up a banner.



fighting,<sup>1</sup> in which the Genoese lost 400 men. On 5 February fifteen volunteers sallied from a hidden gate and captured two of the scaling-ladders and other material,<sup>2</sup> and set fire to the wood in the fosse. Returning within the walls, the fifteen challenged the Genoese to combat and let down one of the bridges, the outer and shorter part of which was so contrived with a pivot and counterpoise that when the attackers came on it they fell into the ditch, where they were shot to death. An assault by a fresh force of 500 was repulsed, their captain Sir Louis Doria being wounded, without a single man of the defenders being hurt.

Having failed on land, the Genoese now sent for help from Famagusta, whence ships came on 10 February carrying engines, including a mangonel which launched a very heavy stone.<sup>3</sup> The fortress was now attacked both by sea and by land, but with no more success. The besiegers began to be short of provisions, and a food train was captured by the Bulgarians. Their hopes of taking the fortress were dwindling fast, and on 13 February the Admiral went back to Nicosia, taking the King with him. The besieging force, left at Kerynia, was continually harassed by the Bulgarians, who interfered with their communications with the capital, and on 28 February captured another convoy of camels laden with provisions. An assault on the fortress on the same day also failed, and the Admiral left Nicosia for Famagusta, again taking the King with him.

Both sides were now in a mood to parley, for Kerynia also was straitened for food. The besiegers made the first move, and provided a hostage<sup>4</sup> in the place of an envoy to go from Kerynia to Campo Fre-goso and the King at Famagusta. A French knight was despatched on this mission. The conversation which was held at Famagusta ended in

<sup>1</sup> So the Venice MS. of Machaeras (474), Amadi and Fl. Bustron. The Oxford MS. of Machaeras has three hours; Strambaldi has three days.

<sup>2</sup> Ten planks from the παβιέτρα, O.F. *paviere*, a shield. Dawkins translates 'pent-house', but the pavises may be meant.

<sup>3</sup> On the ship which carried this (πάφυλος, *panfle*) see K. Kemna (*der Begriff 'Schiff' im Französischen*, Marburg Diss. 1901, p. 128), who says that *panfle* from the 9th to the 15th cent. was the usual name for a ship, taller and stronger than a galley, with both oars and sails, and at first with two decks, later with only one. But it was also the name of a smaller ship (see p. 213, n. 5).

<sup>4</sup> Ten hostages, according to Machaeras, 485 (Oxford MS.) and Strambaldi (p. 200). But the one Genoese hostage of Amadi (p. 463) and Fl. Bustron (p. 320) seems much more acceptable.

a deadlock, the Admiral insisting as usual that he was fighting to restore Kerynia to the King, and demanding a million ducats as the price of withdrawal. The envoy returned to Kerynia on 2 March 1374. The next day a Genoese fleet reached Kerynia, which was also attacked by land by Sir Thomas Taga with a large force. An attempt was made to cut the harbour chain, but it was repaired. By land the Genoese brought up four fighting towers. One, called the *Sow*, which threw stones into the fortress, had three stages not further described. The second, the *Cat*, also of three stages, carried a ram,<sup>1</sup> and the top stage was so high that it overtopped the walls. The third, the *Falcon*, carried ladders for scaling the wall. The fourth had a *Cage* filled with cross-bowmen at the end of a beam. Six Bulgarians were sent out of the castle, who burned the *Falcon* and the *Cage*, and threw the *Sow* to the ground. All the men in the towers perished. When the Genoese withdrew, the defenders at night collected the nails from the machines and fastened them points upwards in planks which they covered with sand and placed in the fosse. When the Genoese returned to the attack next day the nails pierced their feet and they fell helpless victims to the bolts and stones showered on them from the walls. On the seaside the Genoese lashed two galleys together and fastened a yard crosswise between their masts; to the central part of this yard they fixed a beam upright carrying a shielded platform for crossbowmen, which stood so high that it overtopped the walls and commanded the interior of the castle.<sup>2</sup> A wooden screen however was erected on the wall opposite, so that the crossbowmen were unable to aim, and a lucky shot from a trebuchet carried away the platform into the sea. Of two other trebuchets which were directed against the force attacking by land, one disposed of the *Sow*, which had, it seems, been re-erected. Now ensued a wordy war of insults, in which the Cypriotes freely expressed their contempt for the commercial Genoese, the 'scum

<sup>1</sup> Or, as Amadi and Fl. Bustron say, picks and other tools to make holes in the wall; on the middle stage, which was as high as the battlements, were arbalesters who shot their bolts from the right and left, so as to cover the men at work below; on the top stage, from which you could see over the walls, were other fighters. On such engines, see Oman, *Hist. of the Art of War in the Middle Ages* (1924), II, p. 49; Dawkins on Machaeras, 496. The *Cat* as described by Viollet le Duc, *Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages*, tr. Macdermott, p. 62, is different.

<sup>2</sup> Jeffery (*op. cit.* p. 21 n.) points out, with some scepticism, that the walls were nearly 75 feet above sea-level, and asks 'how could it be possible for such a contrivance to be of any practical value?' It must certainly have been insecure. I have followed the texts as emended by Dawkins (on Machaeras, 498, n. 1).

of the market, scurvy curs of fishermen', whom they contrasted with their own noble knights, lieges and burgesses. A proposal for a fight in the open came to naught, for, though it was made in the first instance by the Genoese, they lost heart when the Cypriotes came out to meet them in the field. Instead, they proposed further negotiations. Hostages were exchanged, and the Genoese envoys who came to the castle (where they were lavishly entertained to disguise the fact that the defenders were short of food) spent six<sup>1</sup> days in trying to persuade the Constable to come to terms. But all their efforts were in vain. What is more, there seem to have been serious quarrels in the besiegers' ranks. The Admiral belonged to what the Genoese nobles called an upstart family; his brother Dominic, who rose to be Doge as leader of the *popolari* in 1370, when Gabriel Adorno was deposed and banished, was almost the first of the house to be heard of. Peter of Campo Fregoso was unpopular. Members of the families of Adorno, Spinola, Doria, Grimaldi and Fieschi, belonging to the opposite faction, would be jealous and hostile. Men of all these five names are met with among the Genoese in Cyprus at this time. We can therefore well believe that attempts were made to kill Campo Fregoso, and that the factions came near to destroying each other.

So the Genoese ceased to prosecute the siege actively, and most of the besieging force retired to Nicosia, being severely mauled by the Bulgarians in the pass. They continued to hold the capital, but the smallness of the garrison suggested to the Cypriotes who were on the watch outside that it might be captured. At that time the Genoese had in their pay a certain Count of Urbino and his brother Francis.<sup>2</sup> The Queen's

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 502. But later (531) he says that they were entertained for fifteen days. The Constable ground all the corn that he had and caused bread to be sold cheaply in the market, and when the envoys left gave them two loads of bread. This made a very useful impression, damping the hopes of the Genoese that they might starve out the defenders. These negotiations are placed by Amadi and Fl. Bustron after the attempt by the Count of Urbino.

<sup>2</sup> Attempts to identify this mysterious Count (or Duke, as Fl. Bustron calls him) have failed. See Dawkins on Machaeras, 504, n. 2. Nolfo was expelled from his possessions in 1359 and went into banishment; his subsequent history is unknown. He had a brother Francis, who however had been killed along with his father in 1322. The Count of our story can hardly be Antony (grandson, not son, of Nolfo), for by 1372 he had already recovered Urbino, if Litta (*Fam. Cel., Conti del Montefeltro*, tav. II) is correct in his citation of a document of 18 May of that year (it is not mentioned by Ugolini or Dennistoun).

faithful young secretary Dimitrios Daniel<sup>1</sup> entered Nicosia in disguise, carrying a letter, in response to which the Count and his brother deserted the Genoese and escaped secretly to Kerynia. The Queen tried to persuade them to attack Nicosia, and when they asked for horses sent Daniel again to get some. Meanwhile the Genoese had brought the King back, and Daniel was able to communicate with him through the Queen's confessor. Peter ordered his chief groom, one Premera, a Catalan, when he took his horses<sup>2</sup> to water, to let a shepherd boy, who would approach him with a secret sign, have as many as he wished. Daniel thus took thirteen and sent them off to Kerynia. But, the horses having been counted at the gate when they went out and returned, the deficiency was discovered. Premera was questioned and promptly hanged. Daniel, who had again entered the city to await an answer to the Queen's letter, now escaped through a conduit by which the water from the springs outside the walls at Trakhona<sup>3</sup> entered the city, and returned to Kerynia. The hole through which he had made his way was discovered and barred. Much against their will, at the persuasion of the Queen and the Prince of Antioch, the brothers of Urbino now undertook to attack Nicosia. They rightly urged that it was futile to make the attempt without a large mounted force, and in any case horses could not penetrate through a water-conduit, even if it were not barred, as in the event they found it to be. The attack was a failure; entry was made, it is true, by breaking down the Market Gate, but the little force was surrounded and cut to pieces. The Count and his brother were hanged at the Bridge of the Pillory.

This was the end of any prospect on the part of the Queen and the King's uncles of expelling the Genoese by force. The King was now compelled to write, at the Admiral's dictation, letters arranging for the expulsion of the Constable from Kerynia. A number of letters written

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<sup>1</sup> This and his next adventure in this business are described in picturesque detail by Machaeras (504-9), who shows a rare gleam of humour when, noting that the Queen's confessor was seized with terror when he saw Dimitrios, adds 'it is true that Dimitrios was an uglier fellow than the shepherd boy' whose place he had taken.

<sup>2</sup> Of the stud of 200 which Peter had inherited from his father, the Genoese had taken all but 62. Machaeras, 508.

<sup>3</sup> There is now nothing in the nature of a spring at Trakhona, which is about a mile north by west outside Nicosia. It is hardly possible that Trakhoni is meant, just south of Kythrea, where was the most famous spring in Cyprus.

on 14 March 1374 are preserved in the Greek chronicle.<sup>1</sup> The Constable was instructed to hand over his charge to Sir Luke d'Antiaume. He himself, with such of the people of Kerynia as he thought fit, was to embark in two galliasses and sail for the West; the Admiral gave him a safe-conduct, and eight ships' captains whom he might take with him as security for his safety. The Genoese undertook not to sail until he had been gone fifteen days. He was to go to 'Rome'<sup>2</sup> to protest against the destruction caused by the Genoese: the King would give him a letter of credit on Venice for 10,000 ducats for his expenses. By an instrument of the same date the King gave the Constable power to dispose at his discretion (by sale, mortgage or grant) of his country estates. Sir Luke d'Antiaume received instructions to guard the castle 'as long as the wolf stays in Cyprus', and to send the accounts to the King, so that the garrison might receive its pay for February. A letter to the people of Kerynia informed them of the decision to send the Constable abroad and put Sir Luke d'Antiaume in his place. On the same 14 March the Admiral and a number of other Genoese officers undertook, in a document drawn up by a notary and duly witnessed, not to interfere with the safety of the Constable and, if any harm should come to the King or his uncle or any of the crew of the King's galley, to pay a fine of 600,000 ducats to the treasury of the King of France.<sup>3</sup> This patent was delivered to the Constable. Another letter patent confirmed all the acts of the Constable, and proclaimed an amnesty to all malefactors and runaway slaves. The Prince of Antioch was also informed of the settlement, and told to guard St Hilarion as best he could. To the Queen, Peter wrote explaining why the Genoese had come to terms (which should be told her when she came to Nicosia). The reasons he gives are that there had been much strife between 'Guelfs and Ghibellines', who had fought sometimes even to the death, so that they had had to retire from the siege; that the Prince of Antioch had escaped their clutches; that she herself had tricked them; and they had lost heavily in the fighting. He is evidently trying to put the best appearance on the whole unhappy business. The internecine strife, to which we have alluded

<sup>1</sup> The statement of Fl. Bustron (p. 330) that all these letters were dictated by the Genoese is belied by the contents of some of them, which the Genoese would never have allowed to pass.

<sup>2</sup> The papal see was still at Avignon. Gregory XI did not return to Rome until 1377.

<sup>3</sup> Which Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 71) misconstrues as 'six hundred gold ducats of France'.

before, serves to explain the ineffectual way in which the operations of the Genoese seem to have been conducted throughout, quite apart from the fact that before the invention of cannon the defenders of a strongly fortified position were usually at an advantage. Had the Genoese not had the King in their hands, it is probable that they would never have achieved what they did. Be it noted that they did not succeed in obtaining possession of Kerynia, on which they had set their hearts.

The siege-camp before Kerynia was broken up on 15 March 1374.<sup>1</sup> The officers in command at Buffavento and Kantara, on hearing of the settlement, asked the King to relieve them.

The Constable officially acknowledged the King's instructions, which he undertook to carry out. In another letter he showed that he was sceptical of the security afforded by the Genoese hostages. 'God keep the Genoese fleet from coming near me! For who would dare to touch any one of their captains?' He would have preferred not to leave until after the Genoese had gone. But, that the King's pleasure might be done, he asked that some Genoese of standing should swear that his safe-conduct should be respected.<sup>2</sup> The Admiral appointed for this purpose Damian Cattaneo, who took the oath at mass under the most solemn conditions. He also swore that the Genoese would not leave Famagusta for fifteen days after the Constable's sailing. Sir James de Saint Michel, representing the King, swore that Peter would maintain all the promises made to the Admiral.

The Constable now formally handed over the custody of Kerynia to his successor Antiaume, and peace and amnesty were proclaimed in the town, although the treaty was not signed until 21 October.

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<sup>1</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 520, n. 1 for the discrepancies. The Venice MS. has 12 March; the Oxford MS. 15 March. Strambaldi, the 15th, with no month (but he has given 14 March as the date of the King's letters). Amadi has 15 May. Because the siege began in January, or at latest at the beginning of February (Machaeras, 465, 471), and Machaeras and Amadi say it lasted four months, R. de Mas Latrie and Dawkins think Amadi's date may be right. But it is highly improbable that the Genoese should have lingered before Kerynia for two months after the despatch of the letters of 14 March. And Machaeras (543) and Amadi (p. 475) say they sailed from Cyprus on 30 April. The day after the despatch of the King's letters to the Constable and others was the natural date for the breaking up of the Genoese investing force.

<sup>2</sup> It is pathetic that the Constable should have put any trust in such safeguards; for he must have known, from what had happened at Famagusta, how much respect the Genoese had for their most solemn oaths.

The Queen returned to Nicosia. Campo Fregoso sent all his army to Famagusta, retaining with him at Nicosia only his own guard. Before he himself left, the Constable sent Thomas de Montolif de Verni<sup>1</sup> to the King on 8 April to enquire whether the oaths to the settlement had been taken in the King's presence, and to obtain from the Admiral confirmation of the validity of the agreement. Once more the Admiral and the ships' captains in Nicosia swore on the Gospels to respect the terms.

Before leaving the capital, the Genoese also insisted that, in addition to Famagusta, of which they were in occupation, they should have other security for the 900,000 ducats<sup>2</sup> indemnity which the King had agreed to pay. The Constable, they said, was leaving the country, and the Prince of Antioch was remaining in possession of his property. They omitted to observe that they had already confiscated his treasure to the amount of some million ducats. They must have sureties for both until the debt should be paid. The Prince of Antioch, when the situation was explained to him by the King, sent his son James, Count of Tripoli, and his bastard John, as hostages to Famagusta. As to the Constable, the Genoese demanded that some of his estates should be transferred to someone else, whom they could hold as a pledge in Famagusta; whether this was actually done is not recorded. The Prince's wife was allowed to rejoin him.

The Admiral now despatched to Kerynia a royal galley, which was to carry the Constable to the West, and the eight ships' captains who were to sail in it as hostages for his safety were also sent to join his men. But the Admiral also, in spite of his oath, provided two galleys of his own, which were to accompany the Constable's ships.

Before embarking with his wife<sup>3</sup> and infant daughter, the Constable brought into Kerynia all the grain that could be found in the countryside, making Antiaume and his men swear to hold the castle for the King, and never to yield it to the Genoese, even if the King bid them do so, for he would only be acting under duress.

No sooner had the Constable set sail, about 15 April, than the two Genoese galleys bore down on him. In answer to his protest at this

<sup>1</sup> For his part in negotiating the peace this man received a fief of 1500 besants a year (Machaeras, 526; Amadi, p. 473; 1000 according to Strambaldi, p. 220).

<sup>2</sup> This sum, which is given more than once in the chronicles, does not square with the figures mentioned in the treaty itself.

<sup>3</sup> Héloïse of Brunswick. See above, p. 398, and M.L., *Gén.* p. 29.

patent breach of faith, he was assured that they were merely accompanying him as a guard of honour, and would leave him when he landed. The Constable knew better, but was powerless to resist. At Rhodes the Brethren and the Marshal, who was acting Master in the absence in the West of Robert de Juilly, received him honourably and lodged him in the castle. There his little daughter fell sick and died. The Genoese continued to urge his departure, and the Brethren, who were in terror of them, would have been glad to see him go. He begged the Brethren, if they could not shelter him, at least to provide an escort. They passed a resolution to do this, but delayed taking any action. After thirteen days there arrived ten more galleys, carrying the Admiral and the Cypriote knights who were being taken away as hostages. To the Admiral, who was angry to find the Constable still there, the captains explained that the Brethren were to blame. In spite of the Constable's tearful protestations, the Brethren insisted that he and all Cypriotes should leave within three days, and no one should provide them with weapons. The Admiral sent four knights to inform the Constable of the news from Cyprus, asserting that they had all but put the Queen to death for the trick that she had played on them. They promised on the seven sacraments and the holy Gospels that neither he nor his wife and servants and property should suffer at their hands, but that he must come with them to Genoa to bear witness to the peace. They gave him an undertaking in due legal form that after the summer was over he should be sent on to the King of France. The document was worthless, but the Constable had no help for it. He embarked in the royal galley on 3 June, but was kept in harbour for three days by stress of weather. Then he sailed, escorted by the twelve Genoese ships.<sup>1</sup>

The ten Genoese galleys already mentioned had left Cyprus on 30 April 1374; so far, the Genoese, if we do not count the two galleys which sailed with the Constable from Kerynia, had kept their promise to give him fifteen days' start. The captives they carried were sixty-five in number.<sup>2</sup> They included the Prince of Antioch's two sons, James, Count of Tripoli, and John or Janot. Besides those who were carried to Genoa were some who were imprisoned in Chios; among these was

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 544; Strambaldi, p. 230. It is probable that the Admiral returned to Cyprus. See Dawkins on Machaeras, 539, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 542, n. 1. List of the names in M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 34 (1873), pp. 80-4, and in Machaeras (542) and Strambaldi, pp. 229-30. Amadi (p. 475) and Fl. Bustron (p. 334) make the number 74.



Sir John de Morphou. A number of Cypriotes, whom the King had deprived of their fiefs for complicity in the murder of his father, went with the Genoese of their own free will. Finally, it is curious to note, the Genoese carried off some Cypriote knights, not to put them in prison, but to marry them to Genoese ladies.<sup>1</sup>

Of the forty-nine galleys and one merchant-ship which the Greek chronicle estimates composed the Genoese expedition to Cyprus, only twelve, and those badly equipped, went back to Genoa. Two galleys and the merchant-ship only remained at Famagusta, and it was difficult to find crews for them.<sup>2</sup> The thirty-five galleys which were lost must have been destroyed by storms, for there was no fighting at sea.

The Genoese left a captain at Famagusta in command of a force which is said to have numbered 500 or more,<sup>3</sup> and twenty years later was estimated at 700.<sup>4</sup> The fortifications were kept up, but about a third of the town and all the fine suburbs had been destroyed by the end of the century.<sup>5</sup> The trade which had been the pride of Famagusta gradually went elsewhere, as to Larnaka, where merchants were encouraged to settle by offering them the same privileges as they had enjoyed at Famagusta; whereas the Genoese monopoly had the effect of driving away the merchants of all other nations.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless it has

<sup>1</sup> One of these was Janot de Nores, whose betrothal to Andriola, daughter of Peter of Campo Fregoso, took place at Genoa on 11 June 1383. M.L., H. III, p. 771.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 484. Strambaldi's 55 galleys lost (p. 199) is probably a slip for 35. Bizari however (p. 756) says that Campo Fregoso sent home sixteen galleys in addition to Cattaneo's seven, and left five at Famagusta.

<sup>3</sup> Bizari, p. 760.

<sup>4</sup> Martoni (in Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 22); cp. Dawkins on Machaeras, 452, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> In 1376 Genoa agreed to compensate Venetian owners of houses which had been demolished to make way for the fortifications. M.L., H. II, p. 365, art. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Reinhard, I, p. 274. On the destruction of Famagusta and the ruin of its former prosperity, see Philip de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pelerin*, in M.L., H. II, p. 390, and Piloti (in Reiffenberg, IV, pp. 366-7). About 1420, the latter was told, the King had had two galleys patrolling Syrian waters to enforce the Papal prohibition against trading with the infidel, and any who were caught offending were sold as slaves at Famagusta. Before the Genoese occupation, Famagusta, 'fust jà en grant triumphe' for 60 years; afterwards, 'elle perdist tout son triumphe et le traffique de marchandise'. The general belief that the decay of Famagusta was mainly due to the Genoese is contested by R. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna, 1938), pp. 425f. Although we find, from a contract for farming the customs of Famagusta in 1395 (M.L., H. III, pp. 784-91), that the Venetians at that time paid the same tariff as the Genoese themselves, it cannot be admitted that the policy of Genoa towards other traders was on the whole generous. The constant complaints of Venice prove the

been calculated that about 1395 the commerce of Famagusta represented more than double the capital concerned in the trade of all Cyprus about 1855.<sup>1</sup>

The exaction of the indemnity of 900,000 ducats gave the Genoese difficulty from the first. A demand for 100,000 was to be presented every Christmas Eve.<sup>2</sup> But it was some time before a beginning of payment was made. The treaty was not actually signed until 21 October 1374, when the Admiral was back in Cyprus, where he remained until next year.<sup>3</sup>

It was apparently in connexion with the negotiation of this peace that Theobald Belfarage, a clever young man who had already been employed by the King on confidential service (p. 398), was sent by Peter to Genoa. His mission was strongly supported by Gregory XI in letters to the Doge, in which he expressed his fear of the collapse of the Christian cause in Cyprus, and begged the Doge not to rob the blameless Peter of his rights.<sup>4</sup>

contrary; they also show that direct intercourse with Egypt, however much restored by the causes Lopez adduces (advance of the Turks, loss of the crusading spirit) was not such as to make it unnecessary to call at Cyprus. The causes of the decay were manifold, but that the Genoese monopoly was largely to blame is beyond dispute. It is true that the trade of Genoa itself received an immense stimulus from the monopoly, at least for a time; it was the commerce of the other nations that fell off (Heyd, II, p. 415).

<sup>1</sup> M.L., H. III, p. 784n. makes an attempt to calculate the figure of imports and exports of Famagusta about 1395. The customs were farmed out in that year for 37,700 white besants. Reckoning the tariff for all the commerce of the port at an average of 5 per cent, and taking 37,700 besants, the price of the sale, as representing only the figure of the receipts of the customs, a figure always higher than the price of the lease, the exports and imports of Famagusta in that year represented a capital of at least 754,000 white besants, or 1,131,000 francs absolute value, corresponding to 7,000,000 francs (he is writing about 1855. At that date the same commerce for all Cyprus amounted to only 3,300,000 francs, of which Famagusta accounted for scarcely 40 per cent). Iorga has published extracts from the registers of the *massari* (the financial officials) at Famagusta from 1391 to 1443 (*N.E.* I, pp. 79-91).

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 550; Strambaldi, p. 232. Amadi (p. 479) and Fl. Bustron (p. 339) say that the wages of the Famagusta garrison were to be demanded from the King, in accordance with the terms of the peace. Those terms, as is clear from the treaty itself (see below) included 90,000 ducats for the upkeep of the fleet. The treaty has no mention of an indemnity of 900,000 ducats.

<sup>3</sup> Stella, col. 1106.

<sup>4</sup> Raynaldus, 1374, p. 250, § 7. On the name Belfarage, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 556, n. 2; he thinks it Syrian in derivation (Abulfaraj). Iorga (*F.d.C.* p. 78) supposes him to have been a Greek. From Machaeras, 579, we know that he was by origin of

The more important terms of the treaty, the record of which is preserved in full, were as follows.<sup>1</sup>

It imposed a perpetual tribute of 40,000 gold florins a year; a fine of 2,012,400 gold florins,<sup>2</sup> to be paid in instalments over twelve years to the Mahona; and 90,000 gold florins to be paid by 1 December next for the upkeep of the fleet, including arrears, and for other necessary expenses of the expedition, until the Admiral should have returned to Genoa. The Genoese were to be allowed to live freely in the island, having their consul and all their old privileges. They were to be compensated for all losses suffered in past disturbances and for advances made to the King. When the payment of 90,000 florins had been made, Nicosia and all other parts of the island in Genoese hands were to be returned to the King, excepting Famagusta, city, port and suburbs, which were to be held as security for the other sums mentioned. The King was to have no jurisdiction there, but was to enjoy the revenues from the city and port. When the payment fixed for the period of twelve years should have been completed, and sufficient security given for the annual tribute of 40,000 florins, Famagusta would be handed back. Meanwhile it would be governed according to the Assizes and Customs of Cyprus. In case of contravention of any of the terms, the Kingdom was to be hypothecated and Famagusta to pass entirely into the hands of the Genoese; and such breach was to be a fair *casus belli*. For greater security, the castle of Buffavento was to be held by the Knights Hospitallers, and the King was to give as hostages his uncle

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the Orthodox faith but became a Latin (hence the Pope's commendation, doubtless), for which Machaeras thought no better of him. He had been with Peter in Italy in 1368 (Machaeras, 214) and had been made a citizen of Venice in 1370 (18 June: M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. pp. 34, 77, no. XII; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 92, no. 574).

<sup>1</sup> Sperone, *Real Grandeza*, pp. 100-9. On the part of the Mahona in this settlement, see Cessi, *op. cit.* p. 42. The articles were drawn by Damian Cattaneo, who was an expert lawyer, and received (or exacted) from the King a fee of 8000 besants for his services. He was less fortunate with respect to another sum of 2000 florins, which the Admiral Campo Fregoso had adjudged to him for his services at Famagusta. It was to be exacted from burgesses of that place, but he managed to collect less than 1500 florins. Nevertheless, the Doge Antoniotto Adorno, conceiving a violent hatred of him, forced him without any right or reason to pay over 2000 florins to the commune of the Republic. In 1393 he appealed to the Doge Antony di Montaldo and the council of the Ancients for restitution of this sum (M.L., *H.* III, pp. 778-80, 19 April 1393). The result of his appeal is not known. In 1396 he was one of the envoys who negotiated the treaty which placed Genoa under the lordship of Charles VI of France.

<sup>2</sup> Not 4,012,400, as Vincens states (II, p. 8).

James and his two cousins, the sons of the Prince of Antioch, as well as all the knights taken to Genoa and Chios. As to those at the time held in Famagusta, it was to rest with the Admiral whether they should be released or taken away as hostages. The sum owing by the King might be paid in white besants of Cyprus at the rate of four to the florin.

This treaty was signed at Nicosia in the royal palace on 21 October 1374.

The severity of the terms<sup>1</sup> lent some colour to the belief which came to be entertained in Genoa that her forces had won a triumphant victory; that they had conquered all the island, had driven the King and the leaders of the State into a corner of it and forced them to accept humiliating terms; that they could have kept the whole island, but contented themselves with securing the punishment of the really guilty, excusing the King because of his youth, and keeping only Famagusta.<sup>2</sup> It is more probable that, if the Genoese exercised such restraint, it was because they found themselves, with the forces at their disposal, unable to do more than hold Famagusta; otherwise they would surely not have agreed to the retention by the King of the stronghold of Kerynia.

The disasters which the Genoese invasion brought upon the island are attributed by the Greek chronicler<sup>3</sup> to the vengeance of Heaven for the sins of the people. First of all there was the 'sin of the slaves'. Great numbers of captives were brought from Greece to the islands, including Cyprus, where they were treated so cruelly that they were driven to suicide.<sup>4</sup> The Franks allowed their King, who was an honour to the island, to be slaughtered like a pig; they surrendered John Visconte to him, to be put to death.<sup>5</sup> Famagusta was a sink of unnatural vice, pride and luxury, the rich despising the common people. The Genoese, it is

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<sup>1</sup> Gregory XI, endeavouring to get them moderated, wrote on 21 Oct. 1374 to Peter, Eleanor's father, and the Kings Peter IV of Aragon and Charles V of France. Raynaldus, 1375, p. 266, § 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bizari, *op. cit.*, p. 756.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 482; Strambaldi, p. 198.

<sup>4</sup> Zannetos (I, p. 822) finds it difficult to understand what was the object of such treatment, unless it was inspired by the religious fanaticism of the Latins, in face of the Greeks' defence of their national faith.

<sup>5</sup> Malipiero (*Ann. Ven.* p. 594) also regards the decline in the prosperity of Cyprus after the time of Peter I as due to a divine judgment for the unjust condemnation of John Visconte.

true, took up arms at Famagusta; but that was no excuse for throwing them to their death from the windows of the palace. For this reason the Bulgarian mercenaries, the slaves<sup>1</sup> and the Genoese took arms against the Franks, made them prisoners and robbed them of their women and their goods.

The occupation of Famagusta by the Genoese made the position extremely unpleasant for their enemies the Venetians. This was the reason for certain decisions taken by the Venetian Senate. Thus on 18 May 1374 instructions were sent to their Bailie in Famagusta that he was cautiously and discreetly to order all Venetian merchants there (excluding however the White Venetians) to leave Cyprus. He himself was to remain until further orders. On 18 February 1375 the Bailie himself was ordered to leave; before doing so, his council and the White Venetians were to elect a deputy in his place from the latter body, without a salary. He was also gently and cautiously to inform the White Venetians that if they felt that they could not with security stay in Cyprus, and went to some other Venetian possession, they should be treated as if they were in Cyprus. If anyone were unwilling to accept, that is, preferred to stay, the Bailie was to place his house, loggia, arms and other Venetian property in the hands of two *bâtonniers*, who were to remain there with the usual salary. But in 1378, on 14 July, this order was rescinded, since the cause for it had ceased.<sup>2</sup> For, in the meanwhile, probably in 1376, the two Republics had come to some sort of agreement about the damage done to Venetian interests by the Genoese during their invasion. The envoy Mark Giustinian had presented the Venetian claims, and the reply of the Genoese government seems to have been accommodating.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless we find later that the

<sup>1</sup> This may refer, as Dawkins says, to the revolt under Alexis (see below); but at the beginning of the war the Genoese had enlisted Bulgarians, slaves and malefactors (above, p. 390).

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. II, pp. 363-4.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., H. II, pp. 364-6; *Libri Comm., Reg.* III, p. 132, no. 22. (1) Venice claims 14,096 besants for damages caused to various persons in the house of the bailie or consul in Cyprus; Genoa accepts the declaration of the Doge of Venice, provided that he does not include claims of any stranger. (2) Genoa promises indemnity to Venetians holding contracts of which the execution had been suspended owing to the war. (3) Venetian owners of houses demolished to make room for the fortifications of Famagusta are to be compensated on the basis of an estimate made by Venice. (4) Genoa promises to restore all property belonging to Venetians that had been seized by the officers of the Mahona, excepting those who, against the orders of their doge, had

Venetian Bailie had his office and residence no longer in Famagusta but in Nicosia.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from the struggle with the Genoese, the chronicles are almost a blank on the history of the island during these first few years of Peter II's reign. Besides the visit of St Bridget of Sweden, which will be mentioned later in connexion with the affairs of the Church, the only incident which they record is the abortive proposal of a marriage alliance with Constantinople. The Emperor John V Palaeologus offered the hand of his daughter Irene to Peter.<sup>2</sup> Two envoys from Constantinople brought this proposal on 8 November 1372. The princess, they assured the King, was both beautiful and accomplished; her dowry would be 50,000 ducats in gold and other treasure, and many castles in Greece. The ancient feud between Greeks and Franks prevented the acceptance of this alliance; had it come about, the change in the policy of the realm which resulted from the marriage of Helena Palaeologa to King John might have been anticipated by seventy years. The excuse given for the refusal was specious.<sup>3</sup> The quarrel with the Genoese made it impossible to consider such a matter as the King's marriage; nor would it be fair to subject the Emperor's daughter to the chances of war; she might actually be captured by the Genoese, or the King might be taken prisoner or even killed, and she would be left a widow. Possibly negotiations had already been begun for the marriage to Valentina Visconti, which would have had even more to do with the rejection of the Emperor's proposal. Thus, although it was strongly supported by the Despotissa of the Morea, Margaret de Lusignan, who was in Cyprus at the time (p. 381), the envoys went back to Constantinople disappointed.

Queen Eleanor, with the help of the Genoese, had disposed of the

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sided with the King after the occupation of Famagusta. (5) Genoa is to pay the damages within a year, either out of the first remittance of money from Cyprus to the Mahona, or out of its other property. (7) As to damage suffered by the Venetian Bailie and his house, enquiry has not revealed that he had suffered any personal injury; he had been taken to the Admiral to protect him from possible hurt in the tumult which followed the escape of the Prince of Antioch, whom he was supposed to have sheltered; should it be discovered that anyone had injured him, due punishment will be inflicted.

<sup>1</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 420, art. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 344-9; Strambaldi, pp. 139-42; Amadi, pp. 436-7; Fl. Bustron, pp. 291-2. See Binon in *Mélanges Boisacq*, I (1937), pp. 139-40.

<sup>3</sup> Aimilianides (Κυπρ. Σπ. II, p. 205) suggests that the difference of religion between the parties may have had something to do with the refusal.

men who had been actually concerned in the murder of her husband. Whether she genuinely believed that the Prince of Antioch was equally guilty with them will never be known; certainly she accused him openly of the crime, and his removal was necessary if the masterful woman was to have complete control over her son.<sup>1</sup> Relations were badly strained between them, as is clear from the fact that before she left Kerynia she sent for him from St Hilarion that they might take an oath at mass to be at peace with each other. Since he and his Bulgarians held the defile, she feared that he might seize her on her way to Nicosia. Arrived there, she contrived to rid him of his most formidable weapon, his Bulgarian mercenaries, by assuring him that they were plotting to murder him and seize the castle. He actually believed the accusation and had them thrown from the window of the keep. Only one, it was said, escaped alive to tell the tale.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The murder of the Prince: Machaeras, 551-4; Strambaldi, pp. 232-3; Amadi, pp. 478-9; Fl. Bustron, pp. 338-9. In the latter two nothing is said of invitation to a meal; the King asks the Prince to tell him the reason and the manner of the murder of Peter I. When the Prince says that he prefers to forget such old unhappy things, the Queen rises in anger and shows him the bloody shirt. Sabellico (f. 122) says it was the Genoese who murdered the Prince and looted his property. The account in Lusignan (*Chor.* f. 58 b; *Descr.* f. 150) is much confused and distorted. He dates the murder before the departure of the Constable (whom he calls the Seneschal, while he seems to think there is another brother whom he calls the Constable) and of the Genoese; and he makes the 'Seneschal' and the Constable be at the gate of the palace and take up arms with the intention of killing the King and the Genoese, though this the Seneschal himself prevents. They insist on the Genoese leaving Nicosia and peace is made.—In the assassination of the Prince, Queen Eleanor is said to have acted with the counsel of a Lombard knight, James de Saint Michel, a counsellor of the King, and Paul Marshal, the Queen's Steward (Amadi, p. 479; Fl. Bustron, p. 339: 'Polo Marage'). On the latter man, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 555. Amadi and Bustron describe him as a very cunning man, who made coins of copper instead of silver, with crosses punched on them. They were presumably money of necessity, as the reading of the Paris MS. of Bustron suggests ('con la croce per fide' instead of 'con croce pontide'). Schlumberger (p. 179, n. 2), reading 'partite', sees a reference to the cross of Jerusalem with four separate crosslets; but this was the commonest type of Cypriote coins, and would not distinguish them from any other. As in the Queen's confidence, Marshal had an enemy in Theobald Belfarage, whom the Queen accused of torturing him so cruelly that he committed suicide (Machaeras, 572; Strambaldi, p. 242; Amadi, p. 484; Fl. Bustron, p. 344).

<sup>2</sup> The story, in view of the probable number of these mercenaries, sounds incredible in its details, and it is possible that he dealt thus only with their officers. 'Only one escaped' is something like common form in such narratives, cp. the story of the massacre of the Genoese (above, p. 383).

The Prince, somewhat surprisingly persuaded that Eleanor's intentions were friendly, now left St Hilarion and came to the capital. The King, whom his mother had convinced of his uncle's guilt, was consenting to her scheme for taking vengeance. The Prince was summoned to the palace. Although his friends suspected treachery and repeatedly begged him to disobey the command, and although—a bad omen—his horse fell and nearly killed him, he went to the court. At the back of the room where he was received—the very room where Peter I had been murdered—were concealed some Italians in the King's service, as well as some Cypriote knights. The Prince was invited to eat, although his heart was heavy with presentiment; and when the meal was over the Queen uncovered a dish and, showing him the blood-stained shirt of her husband, asked him if he knew whose it was.<sup>1</sup> This was the signal to the men in hiding, who came out and despatched the victim. He was buried in St Dominic's.

Prince John seems to have had little of the ability which was characteristic of his brother Peter I and to a less degree of James I. The Greek chronicler speaks of him as the good Prince, but that may be little more than an epitaphic compliment. To the Italians he is stupid and miserly; and his treatment of his Bulgarians, even if the tale is exaggerated, leaves a black mark in his record.

In spite, or perhaps because, of the treaty of October 1374, both parties were highly suspicious of each other, and it very soon became a dead letter. The removal of the Constable, the Prince of Antioch and his Bulgarians had robbed the Cypriotes of their chief means of defence. Since there was no money to pay the huge indemnity, it was to be expected that the Genoese would take the opportunity to recover control of the whole island. At this point, in 1375, Theobald Bel-farage<sup>2</sup> got the ear of the King with a proposal to enlist the help of Venice.<sup>3</sup> Armed with considerable funds of his own (for he was a rich man) and with a letter of credit from the King, he went thither and enlisted 800 picked men-at-arms of various nationalities, and sailed

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<sup>1</sup> The practice of keeping the blood-stained shirt of a murdered husband to preserve his memory until his sons should be of age to avenge him, is ascribed to 'certain cruel women in Sicily' by Hieron. Giustiniani, *Hist. of Chios*, ed. Argenti, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 556-79; Strambaldi, pp. 235-45; Amadi, pp. 479-86; Fl. Bustron, pp. 339-46.

<sup>3</sup> Where he evidently had influence, having been given Venetian citizenship in 1370 (above, p. 414 n.).



with them for Cyprus. The Genoese, hearing of this, sent two galleys to intercept him. He himself had been warned to beware of the Genoese, and made preparations for their welcome, in the shape of caltrops, planks studded with barbed spikes, and quicklime. His fighting men were hidden below decks; on the approach of the galleys he turned to meet them bow on, the caltrops and planks being spread on the deck forward of the mast. The boarding-parties from the galleys were easily caught on the spikes; the quicklime disposed of the remainder. Belfarage returned in triumph to Paphos with his two prizes. A swift messenger was despatched to the King, and arrived just as he was racking his brain to answer the demand, which Sir Antony Canteli had brought from Famagusta, for the payment of the instalment of 100,000 ducats.<sup>1</sup> When Canteli heard the news, he did not wait for an answer, but returned hastily to Famagusta, which from that day prepared for a siege. Belfarage's exploit gained him great favour with the King, who knighted him, gave him the office of Turcopolier, and granted him the fiefs of Petra and Trimythia<sup>2</sup> and other assignments. Belfarage's second in command was a Cretan, Alexopoulos. They went with a force of horse and foot and laid siege to Famagusta. It is said that they completely blockaded it and reduced it to extremities, but since it continued to hold out this is certainly an exaggeration.

Belfarage's appetite for fiefs was whetted by what the King had given him, and he asked for more, to wit the estate of Elia,<sup>3</sup> and, more important, the castle of Gorhigos, as a possible place of refuge should he suffer a reverse of fortune. So sure, it is said, was he of getting Gorhigos, that he actually coined money for it.<sup>4</sup> He refused to take Elia

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<sup>1</sup> Strambaldi has 400,000, which would mean that four instalments were in arrear, but it was not yet four years since the agreement.

<sup>2</sup> Petra is in the Solia valley. As to Trimythia, see M.L., *H.* III, p. 217; Dawkins on Machaeras, 620, n. 3 and 566, n. 2. If, as Mas Latrie says, it is unlikely to be the well-known Tremithus, the best two claimants seem to be Trimithi, between Karavas and Kerynia, and Kokkinotrimithia in the Orini. In any case, this Trimythia is probably identical with the Trimithi which was granted by James I to John of Antioch (Machaeras, 620; Strambaldi, p. 259).

<sup>3</sup> So Machaeras and Strambaldi. Elia is in the Morphou district. Amadi and Fl. Bustron have Achiegliia (Akhelia near Kouklia), but they are wrong, for Belfarage's reason for asking for Elia was that it was near Petra.

<sup>4</sup> Tacorini or taccolins, worth one-tenth of the Greek besant. Dawkins on Machaeras, 565, n. 3. They have not been identified, and it is to be suspected that they were not distinguishable from Armenian regular coinage (Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient lat.* pp. 212-13).

unless he could have Gorhigos as well. Peter consulted his tutor, a priest named Philip, who strongly advised against putting so important a place in the hands of a man who was in command of the army, and might be plotting treason. When it was reported to Belfarage that the priest had been lately much in counsel with the King, and had been heard to let drop words which indicated that he was advising against the grant of Gorhigos, he complained to Alexopoulos. The Cretan undertook to 'set the rascally Frankish priest on his way to God's holy mysteries'. On the morning of 7 April 1376, Belfarage and Alexopoulos with two others, Franks, rode out and met the priest at the Bridge of St Dominic. With him was the Viscount of Nicosia, Bartholomew Machaut. Both priest and official were murdered on the spot. The King, who was greatly attached to his tutor, and valued the services of the Viscount, was torn in two, for he had a great affection for Belfarage. Queen Eleanor, on the other hand, was Belfarage's bitter enemy.<sup>1</sup> The four criminals had taken refuge in Belfarage's house, where they were joined by a large number of knights and others. They were, however, deserted by all when the King offered to anyone who arrested them a reward of 500 ducats and the right to sack their houses. They were taken and brought to the palace, where the Queen covered Belfarage with abuse, and was with difficulty prevented from striking him in the face with a dagger. Under torture for a whole night, they made full confession of what they had done and intended to do. The King was inclined to pardon Belfarage, but not Alexopoulos; Eleanor favoured Alexopoulos, as not the prime mover in the affair, and likely to be of great service against Famagusta. But she preferred to sacrifice him, rather than let her enemy go free, and therefore urged the extreme penalty for both. They were tried by the Haute Cour, found guilty and committed to the King's mercy. He handed them over to the Viscount, Sir John de Neuville, whom he had appointed to succeed the murdered Machaut, that he with his court<sup>2</sup> should decide the manner of their

<sup>1</sup> He had, she said, killed more than a hundred of the servants of the court who would not confess under torture that she had ordered them to kill the King; he had tortured her steward, Paul Marshal (above, p. 418, n. 1), so that he committed suicide, and thus had placed a sword between her and her son. Machaeras, 572; Strambaldi, 242 (forty, instead of a hundred); Amadi, p. 484; Fl. Bustron, p. 344. Nothing more is known of these accusations than the assertions of the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> The court over which the Viscount presided was the Cour des Bourgeois. But it was competent only in the case of non-nobles. How then could it deal with the case of Belfarage, who was a knight? However, it was the function of the Viscount to execute the decisions of either court when they had been taken.

execution. They were tied up and carried in procession in carts while their flesh was torn with hot pincers. As they passed the palace, Belfarage cried out, appealing to the King, but the Queen called to the Viscount to take the murderers and traitors away. Belfarage retorted with a torrent of the foulest abuse, accusing her of attempting to seduce him, and of being the cause of her husband's death that she might indulge her amour with John de Morphou.<sup>1</sup> The four were carried on outside the town and hanged on the gallows which Belfarage had himself put up for the Genoese. This was on 10 April 1376.<sup>2</sup>

In place of Alexopoulos, the King appointed another commander, an unnamed count who had arrived at Kerynia with a ship of his own, to carry on the siege of Famagusta. As Turcopolier he appointed John de Brie.

The negotiations which had been begun some time before this, and which resulted in 1376 in the betrothal of King Peter to the daughter of Barnabò Visconti, brought a new though not very effective ally to the side of Cyprus. Milan and Venice united in an alliance for four years against their common enemy Genoa, and in the treaty which was concluded at Venice on 14 November 1377 certain provisions were embodied touching Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> Venice was to conduct the Duke's daughter Valentina to Cyprus free of charge, and to bring back Peter's sister Margaret, who had been betrothed to Charles Visconti.<sup>4</sup> The Duke was to do his utmost to induce the King of Cyprus to join the alliance and not to make a truce or peace with Genoa without the consent of the other two members; and the King of Cyprus should be bound to do as

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras here has an outburst on the wicked wiles of woman, whom he compares to the wanton she-bear. See Dawkins on 576, n. 1. There is some moralizing to the same effect in Amadi and Fl. Bustron, but it appears as if it were the words of Belfarage, which is unlikely in the circumstances. Fl. Bustron for his part compares the fate of Belfarage to that of Phalaris.

<sup>2</sup> Belfarage's house was sacked, but from among the valuables found in it a saddle embroidered with pearls was saved for the King, since it was supposed to be intended as a wedding-present for him. It was only on 2 April that the marriage by proxy of the King to Valentina Visconti took place.

<sup>3</sup> The terms in M.L., *H.* II, pp. 370-1 from *Libri Comm.* VIII (Reg. III, p. 136, no. 42).

<sup>4</sup> This engagement was broken off, for reasons unknown. On 18 May 1383 Peter IV of Aragon begged Urban VI not to grant any dispensation for which he might be asked for Margaret's marriage, unless it had the approval of her mother Queen Eleanor (M.L., *H.* III, pp. 770-1). About 1385 she was married to her cousin James de Lusignan, Count of Tripoli and son of John Prince of Antioch (Machaeras, 581; Strambaldi, p. 246; Amadi, p. 487; Fl. Bustron, p. 352; M.L., *Gén.* p. 27).

much hurt as was in his power to the Genoese, and to pay the expenses which the Venetian fleet might incur in attacking the Genoese, as they would undertake to do, and recovering any places in Cyprus occupied by them. He would have to supply the Venetian fleet with provisions at a fair price. When once the King should have joined the league, Visconti was not to be further responsible for him towards the Venetians. On 6 and again on 8 March at Nicosia Peter signified his adherence to the alliance.<sup>1</sup>

The King's marriage with Valentina (or Valenza), daughter<sup>2</sup> of Barnabò Visconti, Duke of Milan, took place some time in 1378. She sailed from Venice on 6 July, and landed at Kerynia, where the King met her.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M.L., H. II, pp. 371-2; *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 138, nos. 51, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras (580) calls her his niece, which Dawkins (on Machaeras, 350, n. 1) considers correct. All other authorities, including Machaeras himself elsewhere, so far as I know, call her his daughter.

<sup>3</sup> The date 6 July given by Andr. de Redusiis for her arrival (*Chron. Tarvisinum* in Muratori, *R.I.S.* XIX, col. 761 B) may be due to confusion with that of her departure. Amadi (p. 437) and Fl. Bustron (p. 292) under the year 1372 say that Valentina came to Famagusta in 1372, soon after the departure of the Emperor's ambassadors, and was then married to the King; but that secret negotiations had been going on for some time before that (possibly they had been begun as early as Peter I's visit to Italy in 1368, see above, p. 357, n. 3). This date 1372 is due to attraction to that of the Emperor's proposal; afterwards Amadi (p. 487) has June 1377, and Fl. Bustron (p. 347) 1380. Machaeras (580; Strambaldi, p. 245) dates her arrival in 1377 and her marriage in June of that year. Even that is a year too early. (On the antedating of the marriage see above, p. 382 n.) The *Chron. Estense* (Muratori, *R.I.S.* XV, col. 502) describes how the Marquess Nicolas sent his brother Albert to meet her at Modena in 1378, entertained her magnificently in Ferrara, and had her escorted to the Venetian boundary. The marriage had been first celebrated by proxy (Frederick Cornaro representing the King) at Milan on 2 April 1376, at the same time as the betrothal of Margaret, sister of Peter II, to Valentina's brother, Charles Duke of Parma (see above, p. 422, n. 4). [It was perhaps the part of proxy played by Frederick Cornaro that led Paul Giovio (*Vite dei dodici Visconti*, ed. 1645, p. 100) to say that the King whom she married was called Frederick.] Barnabò informed Louis Gonzaga of the betrothal on 4 April (L. Osio, *Doc. diplom. tratti dagli archivj Milan.* I, p. 180). One of the articles in Barnabò's treaty with Venice of 14 Nov. 1377 provided, as stated above, that Venice was to convey Valentina and her suite to Cyprus without charge, and the same galleys on their return were to bring back Margaret. At Venice Valentina stayed in the Cornaro palace. On 15 June 1378 she was still preparing for her journey; on that day Luchino Visconti, who was to accompany her, asked Louis Gonzaga to let him have a romance of Tristan or Lancelot to while away the tedium of the voyage (Osio, *op. cit.* I, p. 197). It was not until 2 July 1378 that the Venetian Senate gave orders for a merchant ship

The Venetian armed galleys, when they arrived at Kerynia, were employed, in accordance with the treaty of November 1377, together with the Catalans, for an attack on Famagusta.<sup>1</sup> Their services were engaged for thirty days. The King equipped three ships of his own for the undertaking. He himself, with as large a force as he could com-

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to carry her and her suite (M.L., *H.* II, p. 373). She embarked two days later (*Annal. Mediol.* in Muratori, *R.I.S.* XVI, col. 771) and sailed on the 6th (Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 681). The escort consisted of six armed Venetian galleys under Peter Gradenigo, and another five or six Catalans (so Sanudo, *loc. cit.*, who calls their captain Hugh da Santapace; Andr. de Redusiis, and *Annal. Mediol. loc. cit.*; Machaeras, 583, who says their captain was Guy de Gounal; Strambaldi, p. 247; Amadi, p. 488, under William (Glimin) da Gunal; Fl. Bustron, p. 347; Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 58b; *Descr.* f. 151). Sabellico, tr. Dolce, 1544, f. 122, speaks of five Cypriote ships which had been sent by Peter; but these are probably the Catalans which he had hired. The Bodleian MS. Add. D 1, a general history written about 1500, contains on ff. 201-2 an ill-informed section on Cyprus, in the course of which it says that the King received the daughter of Barnabò Visconti (who had sent her with an escort of six Catalan and six Venetian ships) with much honour, and in commemoration of this a state banquet was celebrated every year; it was at such a banquet that the quarrel between Venetians and Genoese took place!

<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to ascertain the exact composition of the fleet in this attack. Machaeras, 583 f. (cp. Strambaldi, p. 247 and Amadi, p. 487) makes sixteen Venetian ships under the famous Venetian admiral Charles Zeno, who had gone out in search of the great Genoese Bechignona (see Dawkins on 584, n. 2), arrive on 3 Sept. 1378; also a Catalan ship which had come to fetch away Queen Eleanor, and the six other Catalans under Sir Guy de Gounal; and these, together with three of the King's own ships, were all employed in the attack. But since it was some time after the marriage with Valentina that, owing to friction with Eleanor, Peter asked the King of Aragon to send out a ship, and since Eleanor did not actually sail until 1380, the date 3 Sept. 1378 is much too early for the arrival of that ship. No other source known to me mentions Charles Zeno and his sixteen ships in this connexion, and Fl. Bustron (p. 347) is the only other source who includes the ship sent for Eleanor and the three galleys belonging to the King, except that Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 95) says the King equipped two vessels and three galleys of his own. These two writers agree with other outside sources in making the main force consist of the six Venetian and five or six Catalan galleys (or galleys of the King's own): e.g. Sanudo, Andr. de Redusiis and *Annal. Mediol. loc. cit.*; P. Giustinian, *Rer. Ven. hist.* p. 105; Sabellico, f. 122; Bizari, p. 760. In favour of the version associating Zeno with the affair is the fact that it comes in three chronicles based on local information. On the other hand, his fame may have attracted this incident (although it does not add to his victories) to his story. If the Venetian writers had included it, it would have had a better claim to acceptance. Giustinian, it is true (p. 113), says that Zeno was general of Peter II in the war against the Genoese, but seems to be referring to some time before the war of Chioggia. As regards the three ships equipped by the King, however, the local information is likely to be correct.

mand,<sup>1</sup> was to attack by land at the same time. The fleet forced its way into the harbour, although the Genoese had anchored three large ships in the entrance to block it. The attackers then attempted to scale the sea-wall, but were thrown back and had to retire from the undertaking. Venetian sources attribute the repulse to the failure of the King's land army to give the support which was expected of it; on the other hand, the Venetians are said to have omitted to inform the land army of the time at which they were to make their assault.<sup>2</sup> After this failure the Venetian contingent sailed for Syria and then returned to the West.

Queen Eleanor, who had for so long swayed the King to her will, was not likely to welcome the appearance on the scene of another woman who was sure to become her rival. Very soon after Valentina's marriage, it would seem, the two Queens fell out with each other.<sup>3</sup> Valentina had brought with her much wealth—since the Latins took Cyprus no one had brought so much riches into the island as she—and a numerous suite, including ladies for whom she arranged marriages. Her influence would of course grow rapidly. When the friction became intolerable, the King took his wife's advice to send his mother back to Aragon. An envoy was despatched to Peter IV, and Eleanor was sent

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<sup>1</sup> Bizari puts it at some 10,000 men.

<sup>2</sup> So Fl. Bustron, p. 348. According to Machaeras, the fleet forced its way into the harbour at the first attempt, in spite of a ship which had been placed to block the entrance. The Genoese were in fear of losing the place, and even contemplated handing it over to the King, but one of them, with more spirit than the rest, stopped the envoy whom they were sending with the offer. They then left but one guard on the land side, and transferred their main force to the sea-wall, where they constructed forty wooden towers, from which they so harassed the Venetians that they were forced to leave the harbour and retire from the undertaking. The ship that had come for Eleanor and the King's three galleys then returned to Kerynia. Sabellico says that the first attack failed, and it was only on a second attempt that they forced their way in and took the ships in the harbour. From Sanudo one gathers that the Venetians did not quit the King's service until the thirty days for which they had been engaged were over.

<sup>3</sup> For this episode, see Machaeras, 580-3, 587; Strambaldi, pp. 245-8; Amadi, pp. 487-8; Fl. Bustron, p. 347. Machaeras and Strambaldi date Eleanor's departure in October 1380, Amadi gives the same month and probably means the same year. Loredano (Giblet, II, pp. 97-9) makes the young Queen reveal to her husband the disorderly life of his mother, and her liaison with Sir John de Morphou, who dies suddenly at the King's table next day. Mentioning Sir Thomas Khartophylaka, whom Eleanor appointed steward of her estates, he characteristically reports that their relation was supposed to be scandalous.

to Kerynia to await the ship which was to take her away.<sup>1</sup> She sailed in October 1380 for Rhodes in the ship from Catalonia escorted by two royal galleys, and thence to her own country. She died long afterwards at Barcelona on 26 December 1417.<sup>2</sup>

Thus passed from the scene a woman who had played the leading part in the history of the island ever since the murder of Peter I. Scandal was very busy with her name, but the charges brought against her private morals may well have been to a great extent prompted by her unpopularity. Violently jealous and passionate, devoted to her husband and his memory, in spite of his infidelities, she seemed, after his murder, to have only one object in life, and that was to avenge him. But her motives were probably not quite so simple, and it can hardly be doubted

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras is here somewhat confused. In 581-2 (Strambaldi, p. 246) he says the King fitted out a ship of his own; in 583-4 (Strambaldi, pp. 246-7) he says a galley had come from Catalonia to take her away; in 589 (not in Strambaldi) that one Sir Francis Casasantse, hearing a proclamation in Rhodes that any merchant who cared to come to Kerynia would be excused customs dues, came thither, and the King handed Eleanor over to him. Amadi (p. 487) says that the King of Aragon, in answer to Peter's request, sent a ship; so does Fl. Bustron (p. 347). Machaeras has a story that she spent the time waiting for her ship in setting the people against her son and his wife, and in writing letters which were found by Peter and showed how she had intrigued with the Genoese, so that he began to hate her and but for her people would have killed her.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H. iii*, p. 761, n. 1. Peter had granted her four fiefs in Cyprus in compensation of her dowry of 42,000 besants (*vidimus* of 12 Sept. 1392, by John I of Aragon, of a deed of Peter II. See M.L., *H. iii*, p. 778). On 22 Dec. 1381 the King of Aragon assigned her a life-pension of 2000 florins, on condition that it should cease if she returned to Cyprus, or went to live outside the Kingdom of Aragon, or if the revenues due to her from Cyprus, which were being held back, should be paid to her: M.L., *H. iii*, pp. 761-3. He continued to press her case with Peter, who seems to have made excuses for the unfair treatment which she had suffered in regard to her estates; in accepting these excuses, and urging that justice should be done, he informed Peter that he had sent a special envoy to the Pope, the King of Hungary, the Commune of Genoa, the Count of Savoy and others in Italy, to press for the restitution of Famagusta: M.L., *H. iii*, pp. 763-4 (8 June 1382). On the same date he wrote on this matter to Sir John Gorap, Auditor of Cyprus, to Thomas Khartophylaka, Eleanor's steward, to King Peter's confessor, and to the Archbishop of Nicosia (*ibid.* pp. 764-6). On 22 Dec. 1382 he gave her the town of Valls near Tarragona: *ibid.* pp. 767-9; cp. pp. 772-4. On 5 May 1383, her revenues from Cyprus being still withheld, he asked Urban VI to grant her a pension of 5000 florins: *ibid.* p. 769; *Nouv. preuves*, *B.E.C.* 34, p. 86, no. xvi. Later correspondence and instruments (including a fresh pension of 2000 florins granted by King Martin I in 1397) are printed by M.L., *H. iii*, pp. 791, 794, 797, 799.

that to her the removal of the Prince of Antioch was desirable also for the reason that it left no possible rival to herself—except an occasional favourite of Peter's—in the control of that young man. To satisfy her lust for vengeance and power she called the enemies of Cyprus to her aid; it is clear, from the way in which she used the Genoese as her tools, that she had no intention of betraying the Kingdom into their hands, as in effect she did.<sup>1</sup> The usual fate of those who play a double game overtook her. Truly remarkable, nevertheless, was the way in which she contrived to hold the balance between Genoese and Cypriotes, apparently helping the former to keep the latter in subjection, while preventing Kerynia from falling into enemy hands, and at the same time postponing the satisfaction of her desire for vengeance upon the Prince of Antioch until he could be of no more use to her. It was but natural that so masterful a woman should dominate her son, a youth apparently of little force of character. He remained indeed completely under her control, except when he fell for a time under the influence of such a favourite as Belfarage, and until she was forced to give way before a younger woman and retire into obscurity.

Meanwhile, the position in Cyprus as regards the Genoese occupation did not improve. The King of France, on the advice of Philip de Mézières, seems to have made an attempt in 1381 to bring about peace, or at least a truce, between Peter and the Republic.<sup>2</sup> The cardinals who represented him made lavish offers to the Genoese in his name, amounting to as much as 500,000 florins; Pope Clement VII invited the Republic to send envoys; but the Genoese were immovable and Venice not interested. Nevertheless, in this same year, 1381, Cyprus being more or less pushed aside, peace was concluded at Turin on 8 August between Venice on the one part and Genoa, Hungary, Padua and Aquileia on the other.<sup>3</sup> Cyprus was not adequately represented at the

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<sup>1</sup> But it was believed by many that she had betrayed Famagusta to the Genoese in order to exact vengeance on the murderers of her husband; which, as Sabellico says (f. 122) was made probable by the fact that the murderers were killed and their property pillaged; for the Genoese did not molest her or her son (see above, p. 395, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Iorga, *P.M.* p. 425: letter of Philip to Frederick Cornaro. He reminds Frederick that the King of France had already twice employed him on missions *ad tractandam ipsam pacem*, once to the late Pope Gregory XI at Avignon, and once to Barnabò Visconti at Milan.

<sup>3</sup> Letter (13 Aug. 1381) from the Doge, Andrew Contarini, to Amedeus VI, Count of Savoy, to whose good offices the settlement was due: Reinhard, I, Beyl. no. 64,



conference.<sup>1</sup> Frederick Cornaro, however, who so often represented the interests of the Kingdom,<sup>2</sup> in writing to the Count of Savoy on 20 April, speaks of the efforts of the Venetian ambassadors to include Cyprus in the agreement. Barnabò Visconti, on 27 May, instructed his ambassadors at Turin to take steps in concert with the Venetians to obtain the inclusion of the King of Cyprus, and declined otherwise himself to be a party to the settlement. He subsequently withdrew altogether from the negotiations.<sup>3</sup>

The text of the treaty which was concluded on 8 August is preserved in full.<sup>4</sup> The passage relating to Cyprus explains that the King of Cyprus

pp. 96-7, from Guichenon, *Hist. de Savoye*, iv, pp. 215-16. Chiesa (*Cron. di Saluzzo*, in *Mon. Hist. Patr. Scr.* iii, col. 1027), making the curious mistake of Florence for Aquileia, says that according to one source the peace was not published until 7 Sept. Documents relating to negotiations between Cyprus and Genoa in connexion with this peace, M.L., H. II, pp. 378-81.

<sup>1</sup> The French chronicle in *Mon. Hist. Patr. Scr.* ii, col. 351 mentions the King of Cyprus among those who sent representatives. The text of the treaty however (see below) says that he neither came himself nor sent anyone as his proctor with a sufficient mandate.

<sup>2</sup> The Cornaro interest succeeded in getting included in this treaty a clause granting to Francis and Andrew Cornaro freedom from any tax on produce exported from their estates in Cyprus. Fietta, *Archivio Veneto*, xxi, p. 54. See below.

<sup>3</sup> In the light of this fact we may interpret the statement of Bizari (p. 781) that the Duke of Milan was formally excluded from the peace as being under suspicion from both sides, one of the chief provisions being: 'Ut Barnabas Vicecomes, utrique parti multis nominibus suspectus, ab hac pacificatione et concordia omnino excluderetur.' That any such provision was actually included in the treaty does not appear from the text as we have it. But that he was definitely excluded, perhaps by preliminary agreement between the parties, appears from a furious letter which he addressed to the Count of Savoy on 23 Aug. 1381, complaining of the gross discourtesy shown to him by the Count in excluding him and the King of Cyprus; it would have been more to the Count's honour not to make peace at all than to make it without the King of Cyprus (Cibrario, *Storia della monarchia di Savoia*, iii, pp. 363-4). Daniel Chinazzo, *Cronaca della Guerra di Chiozza*, in Muratori, *R.I.S.* xv, cols. 801-2, says that Barnabò became hostile to the Venetians because they had made peace without him. The Venetians, on the other hand, suspected that he had entered the league to serve his private interests, since his relations with the King of Cyprus made him hostile to Genoa. (One may ask what reason the Venetians can have had to expect disinterested motives in alliance-making.) But whether Cyprus had a good reason for leaving him out, the chronicler will not venture to say.

<sup>4</sup> Giambatt. Verci, *Historia della Marca Trivigiana e Veronese*, xv (1790), Documenti, pp. 71-112. The passage relating to Cyprus is at pp. 85-6; also, from the copy in the Venice Archives, in M.L., H. II, pp. 379-80.

had not come himself or sent a properly qualified representative.<sup>1</sup> Venice is bound to take no part, directly or indirectly, publicly or secretly, in the present war between the King and Genoa, and not to lend him help in any way. Exception is made for Frederick and Francis Cornaro and other Venetians and their successors owning estates or other property in Cyprus before the present war, not acquired by fiction or fraud, up to the present day (estates which had belonged to citizens or the Commune of Genoa being excluded). These are to be allowed to export the produce and revenues of such estates on a licence issued by the officials in Famagusta, and on taking an oath that the objects exported are really the produce of those estates. The officials at Famagusta are to be entitled to send an inspector to examine the cargoes. The Venetians are to be free to go to Famagusta, trade and do other business there, and return thence, and in regard to customs and dues are to be treated like Genoese citizens.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately after the conclusion of this peace, the Doge Contarini wrote<sup>3</sup> recommending the interests of Cyprus to the Count of Savoy, with the result that Amedeus, who had now entered into alliance with Genoa, sent three envoys on 16 September<sup>4</sup> to treat in his name for peace between the King and the Republic. On 2 October Cornaro announced to the Count that he had arrived at Genoa, with Bartholomew de Chigny, one of the Count's envoys, to do what he could for the King of Cyprus, about whose situation he was seriously perturbed. In February 1382 the Count sent another envoy to Cyprus.<sup>5</sup>

These efforts were without immediate result, although they may have prepared the way for the settlement of February 1383.

In the last years of his reign King Peter occupied himself with the construction of the castle of Nicosia, the foundations of which were laid, with the blessing of Archbishop Bérenger, in 1376.<sup>6</sup> The Turco-

<sup>1</sup> The Genoese refused mediation by anyone else, and demanded special envoys from the King: letter of Frederick Cornaro to Philip de Mézières, cited by Iorga, *P.M.* p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the clause in the lease of the customs of Famagusta to Conrad Cigala in 1395. *M.L.*, *H.* III, p. 788, art. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 427, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 19th, according to F. Gabotto, *L'età del Conte Verde* (1895), pp. 261-2.

<sup>5</sup> Petremando Ravais. Cibrario, *Origine e progressi della monarchia di Savoia* (1869 ed.), Pt. II. *Specchio cronol.* p. 146.

<sup>6</sup> Machaeras, 594-7; Strambaldi, pp. 250-1; Amadi, p. 490; Fl. Bustron, p. 349.

polier John de Brie and Sir Renier de Sclar were put in charge of the work. The burden of providing the cost and materials and labour was laid, as a 'voluntary tax', on the burgesses and the people. Genoese prisoners, who had broken out of the State prison and been recaptured, were also employed, working in shackles, while other Genoese in Nicosia were forced to contribute to the cost. So vigorously was the work pursued that it was finished within the year, except the royal palace within the castle, which was completed by James I and Janus. Buildings covering a considerable area in the neighbourhood of the present Paphos Gate were demolished in the process; among these were the gate of Ayia Paraskevi and the Margarita tower which had been built by Peter I.<sup>1</sup> Other constructions due to Peter II were the palace of La Cava (Leondari Vouno)<sup>2</sup> which James I afterwards improved, and the château of Potamia.<sup>3</sup>

Peter II died without issue on 3 October 1382, and was buried in St Dominic's.<sup>4</sup> He was in his twenty-ninth year, and had grown immensely corpulent, so that he became known as Peter the Fat. This physical disability, which is so often accompanied by mildness of character, may well have made him less able to stand up to the unfortunate conditions in which he began and spent the greater part of his reign, or to resist the domination of his mother or the bullying of the Genoese.

<sup>1</sup> Lusignan (*Descr.* f. 153 b) says that James I converted the Margarita tower into the Chapel of the Misericordia. See below, p. 446.

<sup>2</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 597, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Enlart, p. 556; Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* pp. 203-4. This place also was fortified by James I (Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 18 b; *Descr.* f. 153 b). It was burned by the Mamelukes after the battle of Khirokitia; but though the fortifications may have then been damaged, the place continued to be a royal residence, and was finally dismantled by the Venetians (Lusignan, *Descr.* ff. 36 and 210).

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 598; Strambaldi, p. 252; Amadi, p. 490 (13 Oct.); Fl. Bustron, p. 349; Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 59; *Descr.* f. 151 b. In the latter passage it is said that Valentina had died shortly before and been buried in the same church. But according to Osio, *Doc. Milan.* II, p. 115 n., she survived until 1393. Claims by her nephew Philip Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, for the repayment of her dowry, were presented to King James many years later (Osio, II, pp. 30-8 and 115-17). The statement in the *Cronaca Carrarese* of Galeazzo and Bartolommeo Gatari (Muratori, *R.I.S.* new ed. XVII (1), p. 16) that she was a daughter of Mastino della Scala is corrected by the same authors, p. 235, where, however, Andrea Gataro says that after Peter she married Galeazzo, Conte di Virtù.

## JAMES I (1382-1398)

Since Peter II died without issue, the lawful heir to the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem was his surviving uncle, the Constable James.<sup>1</sup> But he was a prisoner in Genoa. In open breach of their solemn undertaking, the Genoese had taken him there and kept him closely imprisoned. His wife, Héloïse of Brunswick, was not shut up, but lived in great poverty, contriving with her needle to earn a living for her husband as well as herself. James, hoping soon to be set free, did not draw on the letter of credit which Peter had given him on Venice, and indeed would have been unsuccessful had he tried to do so; for Peter, on learning of his uncle's imprisonment, cancelled the letter, suspecting with reason that an attempt to draw the money would have resulted in its falling into Genoese hands. When it appeared that there was no prospect of the prisoner being set free, some Genoese friends secured his release from strict confinement, with a view to arranging his escape. His wife Héloïse was sent out of the way into Lombardy. But the authorities began to suspect that such plans were being made, and he was again confined, and much more rigorously, in the barbarous manner of the time; he was hung up in the tower of the prison in an iron cage, with his feet in stocks, and fed on bread and water, except in so far as a kindly Genoese, whom the authorities allowed to give him his food, managed secretly to convey to him meat and wine. It is possible that this treatment was a reprisal for the attack by Peter II on Famagusta and his alliance with the Venetians. Its harshness was relaxed when Héloïse returned from Lombardy; he was taken out of the stocks and the cage, but still imprisoned in the tower, where Héloïse joined him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The imprisonment of James and the knights in Genoa: Machaeras, 545-8; Strambaldi, pp. 231-2; Amadi, pp. 476-8; Fl. Bustron, pp. 336-8; Lusignan, *Chor. f.* 59; *Descr. ff.* 150b-151. Return of James and his accession: Machaeras, 599-612; Strambaldi, pp. 252-6; Amadi, pp. 490-2; Fl. Bustron, pp. 349-51; Lusignan, *Chor. f.* 59; *Descr. f.* 151b.

<sup>2</sup> In connexion with James's imprisonment, Reinhard (I, p. 277) repeats from Jauna (p. 892) the statements that both Gregory XI and Urban VI interceded in vain with Genoa to obtain milder treatment, and that Prince Hugh, being of weaker constitution than his brother, died under these hardships. For 'brother', read 'uncle', for Hugh, who was carried away hostage to Genoa (if Lusignan, *Descr. f.* 203, is right) and died there, was the son of James's brother, the Prince of Antioch. This Hugh is not among the list of hostages in Machaeras, 542 and *Nouv. preuves, B.E.C.* 34, pp. 80-4.

A number of the knights, some sixteen or seventeen, who had been taken as hostages to Genoa, had planned to escape at the same time with the Constable, and actually hired galleys to carry them back to Cyprus. They were, however, betrayed by one of their fellow-prisoners, Sir Hamerin Lemoine, and were still more closely confined.

It was during the imprisonment of James and his wife in the tower, about 1374, that Héloïse gave birth to her eldest son. In allusion to the place of their tribulation, he was given the name of Janus, the mythical founder of Genoa.<sup>1</sup>

The Haute Cour chose the absent James<sup>2</sup> to succeed his nephew. Until he should return from Genoa, they appointed as Regent Sir John de Brie, the Turcopolier, with a Council of Regency of twelve knights.<sup>3</sup> The White Genoese who had been imprisoned were set free, and the desire of the Regency for peace was communicated to Famagusta, and thence to Genoa. There James and his wife were now released, though not, we may be sure, without such conditions as are afterwards recorded in the treaty,<sup>4</sup> and, together with the hostages, sent to Cyprus. Reaching Alikı they announced their arrival to the Regent. But now there was a hitch. Perot and Wilmot de Montolif, two of the members of the Council,<sup>5</sup> were against the election of James. In the hope of securing

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 97; Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures*, tr. Letts, p. 28; with Dawkins's note on Machaeras. Janus (according to M.L., *Gén.* p. 39) was twenty-four at his accession in 1398, and was therefore born about 1374. Mas Latrie gives Aeneas Sylvius, *Asia*, cap. 97 as authority for this; but the reference does not bear him out.

<sup>2</sup> Amadi (p. 490) and Fl. Bustron (pp. 349-50) says that it made him Seneschal; but that he had already long been (above, p. 370, n. 2). This is probably due to a mis-translation of the Greek original; in Machaeras (599) we read ὠρδινιάσσα νὰ βάλουν ρήγα τὸν σινεσκάρδον.

<sup>3</sup> John Gorap, the Auditor; John de Neuville, Viscount of Nicosia; Renier de Sclar, Bailie of the Secrète; the brothers Hugh and Guy de la Baume; the brothers Perot and Wilmot de Montolif; Hamerin de Plessie; Arnold de Montolif; Thomas Barech; Thomas de Morphou and Peter of Antioch. For identifications, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 599.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 395, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> In 605 Machaeras says that Wilmot and Perot had been prisoners in Genoa. They are not in the lists. The statement in the same paragraph 'they had reached Cyprus before the Constable arrived' may refer either to these two or to all the hostages. Since the two brothers were put on the Council of Regency it is unlikely that they had been prisoners in Genoa, for that Council was appointed immediately after the death of Peter, before application had been made for the return of James and the hostages. The whole paragraph looks like an interpolation. Gossip, say the chroniclers, made Perot the paramour of Queen Valentina.

the crown for himself, Perot is said to have suggested to Queen Valentina that she should seize the power. If he did so, it was merely with the object of dividing loyalties; for when the question of the succession was discussed in the Haute Cour, where it was realized that if James became king it would only be at the price of heavy concessions to Genoa, Perot murmured the suggestion that the crown should be offered to Mary,<sup>1</sup> the daughter of Peter I, who could then be married to some Cypriote baron. Evidently he had hopes of being the fortunate man. The Court was so much impressed with his arguments that he was sent to Aliki to explain to James and his wife that they were not wanted, and in spite of their entreaties they were sent back to Genoa.

Opinion, however, swung round in time. Sir Arnold de Mimars came from Genoa and, in the name of James, promised estates to all and every one of the Haute Cour. This offer seems to have included the restoration of fiefs which had been confiscated from knights implicated in the murder of Peter I.<sup>2</sup> Further discussions and the advice of Stavrinus Machaeras, the father of the chronicler, resulted in the final adoption and proclamation of James as king.<sup>3</sup> On 13 March 1383 the Council finally decided to send an envoy to fetch the Constable from Genoa. The brothers Montolif, obstinately adhering to their opposition, were arrested in October and sent to Buffavento. After James had reached Kerynia in April 1385, Perot escaped from the castle, but was recaptured, and returned to prison. Both the brothers were beheaded after the coronation in 1385, as were also some accomplices.

The terms exacted by the Genoese for the liberation of James in the treaty which was concluded on 19 February 1383 were, as might be expected, burdensome, not to say harsh.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Called Cive (Échive) by Lusignan (*Descr. f.* 203). M.L., *Gén.* p. 26, no. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 620; Strambaldi, p. 259; Amadi, p. 494.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Nicol Bussat immediately took ship to Genoa and brought the good news to James, who rewarded him with a pension of 1200 besants (300 ducats) a year.

<sup>4</sup> The text in full in Sperone, *Real Grandeza*, pp. 116-37. See also Machaeras, 613; Strambaldi, pp. 256-7; Amadi, p. 492; Fl. Bustron, p. 351. Cp. Cessi, *op. cit.* p. 44. Heyd (II, p. 412, n. 4) notes that there is nothing in the actual text about an eventual redemption of Famagusta by the King, which Machaeras and Strambaldi include in the terms. It is presumably to this treaty that Genoa referred when in 1386(?) it made a proposal to Venice for an alliance, to which the Hospital and the Emperor of Constantinople might be admitted; it entered, at the same time, a reservation in regard to its treaties with that Emperor, Hungary, Sicily and Cyprus. *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 183, no. 244 (no date).

The city and port of Famagusta, with a zone of two leagues round it (corresponding to the Viscounty), with all its fortresses, all jurisdiction (*haute* and *moyenne justice*), all customs and gabelles, the King's private rights only being exempt, are to be handed over to Genoa. Kerynia is also to be taken over in pledge. All ships trading to Cyprus are to be compelled to call at Famagusta, except those coming from Turkey,<sup>1</sup> which may go to Kerynia. Local products, such as carobs, may however be exported from Salines (Aliki) and Lemesos without restriction. The King is to restore to all Genoese any fiefs which they had enjoyed, or to redeem them for the amount for which they had been acquired, with an addition of 5 per cent per annum for such time as the Genoese had not drawn their revenues.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the Cypriote knights are to keep their private estates.<sup>3</sup> Fortresses are not to be built or repaired by the Genoese outside the Famagusta zone or by the King within it.

The sum for which the King is held to be indebted is 852,000 florins, which is to be paid in instalments, all of which are precisely set forth, down to 1394.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras (613) says ships from 'all the ports from Ayasi and westwards'. But Dawkins, *ad loc.*, points out that the Genoese had a trade route from Sivas through Ayasi to Famagusta, so probably ships from Ayasi (Lajazzo) should be excluded from Kerynia. Lajazzo was a port through which trade from the Far East passed to Cyprus, and the Genoese would wish to control this traffic-line. The decline of this Far Eastern trade, partly owing to the devastation wrought by Tamerlane in Persia and Central Asia, was to help on the decay of Famagusta. R. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo*, p. 426. The closing of the other ports than Famagusta was impossible to maintain, and the prohibition was frequently ignored, especially by the Venetians, Heyd, II, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> A case of breach of this clause came up on 23 June 1395, when Clement Prementorio, who had purchased a fief of 1000 besants revenue from Simon de Montolif, could not get it or its equivalent returned to him by the King. Genoa granted Clement letters of marque against the King (3 March 1396), with what effect is not known. M.L., H. III, pp. 781-3.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quae sunt singularum seu privatarum et personarum realiter vel directe, et non spectantes ad dictum Dominum Regem, seu ad dictam Regiam Majestatem Cypri.'

<sup>4</sup> The florin was to be reckoned at four good old besants, such as had been current under Hugh IV and Peter I. Machaeras gives the sum for which Famagusta is to be held in pledge as 900,000 gold ducats. Strambaldi (p. 257) has 800,000. Amadi (p. 492) and Fl. Bustron (p. 351) say 100,000. Mas Latrie (H. II, p. 421) says the text of the treaty declared the King debtor to the Mahona to the amount of 952,000 fl. and, in addition, of 100,000 fl. due to the shareholders in the fleet of Maruffo (the

A first payment of 100,000 ducats was exacted, and the King was not allowed to take with him his boy Janus, who was retained as a pledge.

James and his wife, after their release, were now treated to magnificent hospitality at the palace,<sup>1</sup> in ironical contrast to the miseries which they had endured, and in mockery of the harsh conditions under which they were set free. Six Genoese galleys<sup>2</sup> brought them, with the two sons of the Prince of Antioch and the other hostage knights, to Kerynia, arriving on 23 April 1385.<sup>3</sup> James was crowned King of Cyprus at Santa Sophia in Nicosia in May, but not until four years later did he receive the crown of Jerusalem. Owing to the occupation of Famagusta by the Genoese, this second coronation also took place at Nicosia.<sup>4</sup>

James suitably rewarded the knights who had procured his acceptance as King. To the knights whom Peter II had deprived for their complicity in the murder of Peter I, he fulfilled his promise to restore their estates. His nephew James, son of the Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, was married to Margaret, his niece, daughter of Peter I, but some of James's estates were transferred to his illegitimate brother John or Janot, who was made Lord of Beirut and married to the daughter of John de

galleys which brought James to Cyprus). Probably he intended to say that the 100,000 fl. were included in, not added to, the 952,000 fl. D.L.R., *F.O.* 1, p. 410, makes worse confusion with 925,000 fl. instead of 952,000. I can find no support for all this in the text of the treaty as given by Sperone. A total of 952,000 fl. is the sum in the revised agreement of 1386 (see below, p. 436).

<sup>1</sup> Stella (col. 1125). I have failed to find confirmation of the statement of Canale (iv, p. 108) that he was actually crowned.

<sup>2</sup> According to Stella (*loc. cit.*) the galleys were ten, under Nicolas Maruffo. They left Porto Venere on 23 June 1383, and touched at Gaeta, where James saw his sister-in-law, the Empress Mary of Bourbon. M.L., *H.* II, p. 406, n. 4. The shipowners who equipped the galleys were given 1000 new shares in the Mahona. Marengo, etc., *Il Banco di S. Giorgio*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Amadi, p. 492. Among those who greeted him on his return to the capital was his mother, Alice d'Idelin, widow of her second husband Philip of Brunswick; she presented to him the estates which had been her dowry.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 614-15; Strambaldi, pp. 257-8; Amadi, p. 493 (with editor's note); Fl. Bustron, p. 351. From the *Chron. du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, ed. L. Bellaguet, I, p. 636, it appears that there was a story that James was crowned (for a fee of 30,000 gold ducats) by an impostor called Paul Tagari, a Greek who successfully passed himself off as Patriarch of Constantinople and had a surprising career in the West. As Herquet observes (*Charlotta*, p. 101) the story is difficult to believe, and probably originated with the impostor himself.



Morphou. Sir John de Brie, the Turcopolier, became Prince of Galilee, and John Gorap, Lord of Caesarea.<sup>1</sup>

Janus, a lad of about ten or eleven years, was provided by his father with a tutor, Sir John Babin, who was sent to Genoa soon after the King's return. Under this tutor's care he remained until the Admiral Sir Peter de Cafran succeeded in concluding a new treaty, which released Janus and made new and rather more favourable terms for the sums owing by the King to the Mahona. Not long after James's return it was arranged, on 17 September 1386,<sup>2</sup> between the King's envoys in Genoa and the Mahona that the agents of the Republic and the Mahona proceeding to Cyprus should with the King's officers go thoroughly into the finances of the Kingdom, and report to the Doge Antoniotto Adorno how much they considered the King could conveniently pay annually. On this report, arbitrating on 4 July 1387<sup>3</sup> between the Mahona and the Admiral, Peter de Cafran, representing the King, the Doge fixed the amount to be paid by the King on the debt to the Mahona of 952,000 florins, including a sum of 100,000 florins due to the shareholders in the galleys which brought the King back to Cyprus, as follows: every year 50,000 florins in four quarterly instalments, until the whole sum of 952,000 florins should be paid off.<sup>4</sup> If the King should fail to make these payments, the members of the Mahona should be in the same position as they were before this decision; and if, after some payments had been made, the King made no more, he should be subject to the penalties fixed in the first treaty of peace and in any subsequent instruments.

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 620 (with Dawkins's notes); Strambaldi, p. 259; Amadi, p. 494; Fl. Bustron, p. 352. Appointments to high offices were as follows. Admiral: Sir Peter de Cafran. Camerarius: Antony of Bergamo (M.L., B.E.C. sér. II, t. II, p. 522), succeeded after his death in 1393 by John Silvani or Soloan (Machaeras, 625, with Dawkins's note). Chancellor: Odo son of Benedict, in 1389 (M.L., H. II, p. 418). Constable of Cyprus and also of Jerusalem: Hugh de la Baume (M.L., H. II, p. 428). Marshal of Cyprus: Renaud or Arnold de Mimars (*ibid.*). Marshal of Jerusalem: Guy de la Baume (*ibid.*). Machaeras (620) perhaps errs in saying that he was also Marshal of Cyprus. Seneschal of Cyprus: Eudes or Odet de Lusignan (Lusignan, *Hist.* f. 70 [69]). Viscounts of Nicosia: John de Laron in 1391 (*Reg. C.N.* no. 130) and Peter de Flory in 1397 (M.L., H. II, p. 436, n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. II, pp. 405-7. Confirmed at Nicosia 29 March 1387.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., H. II, pp. 412-15.

<sup>4</sup> Less any payment made out of the produce of the King's tithes, from which produce should be deducted the costs of collection, and also a sum of 5000 (white) besants for each month that a galley equipped for the King should be in service.

This did not however settle the question, and new negotiations were begun by the Admiral in 1390.<sup>1</sup> He was at Venice in February 1390, when he made a request to the Senate on the King's behalf for an advance of what is described as the modest sum of 300,000 florins, to help towards the payment of the debt to the Mahona of 900,000 florins. The Senate replied that there was no kingdom for which it had more affection than Cyprus, no prince in whose freedom and prosperity it was more interested than the King, but the immense expenses of the recent wars made it impossible to grant the request. On 30 May 1391 the terms previously agreed with the Mahona were cancelled, the Prince Janus was to be allowed to return to Famagusta and thence to Nicosia, or any other place not in Genoese occupation, on condition that the Admiral, on behalf of the King, should pay to the Mahona 125,000 gold florins, within forty days of his arrival with the Prince at Famagusta, on pain of a fine of 10,000 florins, for which he should give security before leaving Genoa. The Admiral was also to place himself as a prisoner in the hands of the officers of the Mahona, with his wife and two sons, until the whole 125,000 florins should be paid.<sup>2</sup> Janus was to travel at his own risk; if he died on the way, the Mahona was not to lose its right to the agreed payments. If the Mahona, once the 125,000 florins had been received by its agents, failed to hand over

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<sup>1</sup> Appointment of Peter de Cafran, 12 Nov. 1390: M.L., *H.* II, p. 420. Refusal of help by the Venetian Senate, 16 Feb. 1391: M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* pp. 363-4. Agreement with the Mahona, 30 May: M.L., *H.* II, pp. 421-3. Confirmation by the King in the Haute Cour, 9 Oct.: *ibid.* p. 423. The chroniclers say that the King had provided Cafran with 800,000 white besants (200,000 fl.). (Strambaldi's 80,000 aspers is a slip.)

<sup>2</sup> The 800,000 white besants which he had taken to Genoa must have removed any difficulty in this respect. Any sums received by the Mahona from 15 Nov. last up to the completion of the whole payment should be deducted from it; receipts earlier than 15 Nov. should go towards the payment of the old debt of 952,000 fl. The 125,000 fl. once paid should be deducted from the old debt, to the extinction of which an annual payment of 30,000 fl. was to be made. The revenues of the octroi of Nicosia were to provide these annual payments, subject to a deduction of 24,000 besants already assigned by the King to various persons, such as the Venetians, by the agreement of 2 Oct. 1389 (p. 439). Officers of the Mahona at the gates of Nicosia were to check the receipts monthly, taking 2000 fl. a month on account of the annual payment of 30,000. Any deficit at the end of the year was to be made up by the King from his other revenues within two months. In the Famagusta accounts there is an entry (19 Sept. 1391) of the expense of sending the agent of the *massari* to Nicosia to collect the money taken at the gate there (Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 81).

the Prince, it was to return that sum within forty days, and the King was to be quit of the remainder of the debt of 952,000 florins.<sup>1</sup>

Janus at last arrived in Cyprus in October 1392.<sup>2</sup>

The restriction of trade to Famagusta (with certain exceptions in favour of Kerynia) meant that ships from the West putting in at other ports were liable to arrest. Thus in 1383 the galliasse of the Venetian, Mark Malipiero, who had entered the port of Kerynia, was captured. The Doge of Genoa, Leonard di Montaldo, however, ordered it to be handed over to the person accredited by the Doge of Venice, with all such goods as it had taken on board outside Cyprus; goods laden in Cyprus, on the other hand, were to be sent to Genoa.<sup>3</sup> Again, in the same year, some Venetian merchants were arrested at Kerynia, and on 6 February 1384 the Council of the Pregadi ordered the rectors of Candia, Coron, Modon and Negroponte to forbid Venetian captains to carry goods to Cyprus, on pain of losing their ships and cargoes, or the value thereof, and also of imprisonment for six months.<sup>4</sup> Six years later the Genoese agreed to release certain goods confiscated in this way; but the Doge of Genoa warned the officials of Famagusta to see to it that the rule about not trading to other ports was observed.<sup>5</sup>

The relations of Cyprus with Venice, by natural contrast with Genoa, were comparatively amicable. In 1386 Mark Falier was sent by the Doge, Antony Venier, as ambassador to congratulate the King on his accession and coronation; the instructions given him on 23 August say that he is to endeavour to secure the preservation intact of all the customary

<sup>1</sup> The florin was to be reckoned at four good besants of the quality current in the reigns of Hugh IV and Peter I, except the 125,000 fl., which were to be reckoned at four of the same besants plus three karats each.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 619; Strambaldi, p. 259 (with the date 1590 in the MS., which the editor corrects to 1390, perhaps because that was the date of Cafran's mission); Amadi, pp. 493-4; Fl. Bustron, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> *Libri Comm.*, Reg. III, p. 164, nos. 161, 162 (9 June 1383).

<sup>4</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 400.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., H. II, pp. 402-3. As Mas Latrie points out, the second letter is probably of 1389, since it gives orders for the release of merchandise which is assumed to have been already released in the decision of the Pregadi on 15 Jan. 1390. As an instance of the control which Genoa exercised over traffic, we may note that in order to load sugar from their own estates on Venetian vessels the Cornaro of Episkopi had to obtain permission from the Captain of Famagusta. Iorga, *N.E.* III, pp. 39-40, 55 (1439-40). This permission was sometimes, if not always, conditional on the goods being carried to Famagusta. Cp. Iorga, *ibid.* p. 215 (1446).

Venetian franchises; if he cannot secure them all, he is to try for the greater part, and for the rest he is to obtain the reservation of the privileges so that they may be recovered in due time.<sup>1</sup> Falier, however, could not secure more than a portion of the privileges in question, and in 1388 a new ambassador, James Suriano, was appointed to negotiate for the remainder and greater part.<sup>2</sup> He again was superseded in January 1389 by John Canale, who eventually concluded an agreement on 2 October of that year.<sup>3</sup> In view of his straitened finances, the King found it impossible to repay the dues which had been newly imposed from the beginning of the war with Genoa and had been paid since then by the Venetians, or to excuse them from future payments, but he promised to respect all the franchises, immunities and liberties granted to them in the reign of King Hugh. Canale accordingly agreed to waive the claim for repayment, but declared that for the future the Signory would determine what dues the Venetians should pay. Nevertheless the King promised for himself and his successors to pay to the Venetians annually 4000 white besants from the octroi of Nicosia. The payment of this indemnity was very irregular, and the subject of more than one complaint.<sup>4</sup> In 1396 it was increased to 14,000 besants, to be met partly by the Nicosia octroi, partly by the treasury.<sup>5</sup>

An effort in 1388, in which James was concerned, to meet the ever-increasing Turkish menace, illustrates at once the nervousness of the Powers concerned and the inadequacy of the measures which they were able to concert. A league for ten years against 'that Turk, the son of iniquity and wickedness and enemy of the Holy Cross, Murad Bey', was concluded between the King of Cyprus, Francis Gattilusio, Lord of Mytilene, the Knights of Rhodes, the Mahona of Chios and the

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 404-5.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 416, n. 1 (2 June 1388).

<sup>3</sup> *Libri Comm.* VIII, f. 146, from which extracts in M.L., *H.* II, pp. 416-18; *Regesti*, III, p. 203, no. 328. Canale's instructions, 1 March 1389, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 417, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 436; *Libri Comm.*, *Reg.* III, p. 240, no. 36. Agreements of 11 Oct. 1396 between the ambassador Francis Querini and the King, concerning chiefly the claims of John Cornaro in connexion with his estate of Episkopi and his assignments on Morphou. (Episkopi was declared exempt from royal tithe and imposts.) This agreement was confirmed on 18 Oct. 1397; M.L., *ibid.* p. 436, n. 3; *Reg.* III, p. 248, no. 71. But Cornaro still had claims unsatisfied in 1405: M.L., *H.* II, p. 457.

Commune of Pera.<sup>1</sup> The King's galley (he contributed one galley out of the total fleet of four) was to lead in the first place; but if the territory of any of the parties was attacked that party was to have the command for the time being. The King was to send his galley, fully armed, from Kerynia<sup>2</sup> to Rhodes by May 1389. The fleet was to visit Chios, Mytilene, Pera and the city of Constantinople; if it found no sign of hostile preparation by Murad or any other Turkish ruler, it was to return to Rhodes and sail thence to Gorchigos<sup>3</sup> and Cyprus, always patrolling the coastal waters of Turkey. The galleys of Rhodes, Chios and Mytilene might stay at Kerynia as long as they pleased. If the Turkish fleet numbered as many as 25, the parties to the league were to double their contributions. The device of the league's flag was the Virgin, seated, wearing a blue mantle adorned with stars, and holding her Child. We hear nothing of the performances of this squadron.

James's financial measures for restoring the economy of Cyprus, and supporting the crushing burden of the payments to Genoa, were drastic, and earned him as well as his financial advisers much unpopularity.<sup>4</sup> The King's tithe was imposed in March 1385 for ten years, but, since at the end of that time the Mahona was not satisfied, it was continued for another five, and afterwards indefinitely.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the King's

<sup>1</sup> The text is published by L. T. Belgrano in *Atti Soc. Ligure di Stor. Patr.* xiii (1877-84), pp. 953-65. The King appointed his procurator, Monteolinus de Vernino (Montolif de Verni?) on 2 Nov.; the league was finally concluded at Rhodes on 1 Dec. Pera does not seem to have contributed to the forces directly, nor does the text include a record of its adherence.

<sup>2</sup> 'Portus Clarmes' and 'portus et locus Clarinarum' of the text I take to mean Cerines (Kerynia).

<sup>3</sup> 'Ad Turchum' of the text should presumably be 'ad Curchum'.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 618, 621-3; Strambaldi, pp. 258, 260; Amadi, p. 495; Fl. Bustron, pp. 352-3.

<sup>5</sup> The tithe and other imposts were levied on every person, knights, serfs and freedmen. A grievous oppression was the tax imposed in connexion with the salt monopoly of the state, operating much as it did later in France before the Revolution. The poorest were made to pay as much as a besant, and every man and woman in the island was obliged to take a measure of salt from Aliki. This *mète du sel* (on which see M.L., H. iii, p. 228 n., where 1380 should be 1385) was at first used to ransom Janus; afterwards, i.e. presumably from his return in 1392, it was assigned to the King's daughter Échive, earning her the curses of the taxpayers. It amounted to 80,000 besants a year, and was abolished on her death about 1396. But it was re-established some time afterwards, probably when, after the defeat of Janus, the island had to pay an annual tribute to Egypt. It was certainly levied in the time of James II, and the

tithe there were other grievous impositions, some of which were lifted when in 1392-3 the plague again visited Cyprus, and the King hoped, by this concession to the people, to turn aside the wrath of God.

Neither this, however, nor the solemn barefoot procession, carrying all the icons of Nicosia in a circuit of two miles round the city and to St Therapon, had the desired effect. The King and Queen and all their servants escaped to Machaera, but after a few days, since the plague was not stayed, thinking that if all the people died they might as well die with them, they returned to the capital. The Archbishop came out in procession as far as Strovilo to meet them. After this the plague gradually worked itself out.

It will be remembered (p. 381 n.) that in 1374 Leo de Lusignan had mounted the throne of Armenia as Leo VI. He did not enjoy his power long; taken prisoner by the Turks in 1375, he was not released until 1382. For a moment he thought of claiming the fief to which he had a right in Cyprus,<sup>1</sup> but was unable to obtain a passage thither, and eventually retired to the West, where he was honourably received and supported at Avignon, in Spain and at Paris. Twice he visited England, once in 1389 as the ambassador of Charles VI to Richard II, and again in 1392. He died in Paris on 29 November 1393.<sup>2</sup> As the successor of Peter I, to whom the crown had once been offered, James now claimed it, and added this third to the two others which he already wore.<sup>3</sup> The

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Venetians maintained it. To collect the tax four commissioners (a knight, a captain, a secretary and a Genoese) were appointed for each of the twelve provinces into which Cyprus was then divided (see Ch. I, p. 12). After four or six years the bailie of the Secrète, finding that the commissioners had been negligent, tightened up the system, making everyone pay whether he had revenues or not. In addition to the King's tithe, the knights paid 2 per cent on their revenues, and the *francomati* paid a tax called *chiefagliatico* (a poll-tax, see Fl. Bustron, p. 364) of a besant a head. This 2 per cent and the *chiefagliatico* were abolished in the crisis of the plague of 1392.

<sup>1</sup> Dardel, p. 103, ch. 137.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge Med. Hist.* iv (1927), p. 181. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, pp. 226-7, and Iorga, *Brève Hist. de la Petite Arménie* (1930), pp. 148-53, give sketches of his career from his accession on 26 July 1374. Machaeras (616) says he died in 1395. Strambaldi (p. 258) is completely confused, saying that he was elected King in 1392. Amadi (p. 495) says he died and James I was crowned King of Armenia in 1396; cp. Fl. Bustron, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> These three crowns perhaps explain the insertion here of the curious paragraph in which Machaeras (617) says that all the Genoese wore scarlet, and on the left sleeve they bore three crowns in pale worked in pearls, diminishing in size from the top to the bottom. But why the Genoese, of all people?

arms of Armenia were now added to the royal coat,<sup>1</sup> and James called himself 'Seventeenth King of Jerusalem, and King of Cyprus and Armenia'.<sup>2</sup>

The friendly relations between Cyprus and England at this time are illustrated by a letter written by James to Richard II on 15 July 1393.<sup>3</sup> Ten years earlier Thomas, Lord de Roos, had died on the point of setting out on a pilgrimage to the East. In 1393 his son John arrived with a letter of introduction from Richard to James, but died at Paphos, too often the grave of pilgrims.<sup>4</sup> In acknowledging the letter, James assures Richard that all friends of his are welcome, and thanks him also for a message which had been brought by Sir Henry Percy (Hotspur), who like, and perhaps in company with, Henry Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV, had visited Cyprus on his grand tour in 1392.<sup>5</sup>

Towards the end of 1394 James made another approach to the problem of Famagusta.<sup>6</sup> The Venetian Senate was informed that he was about to send an ambassador to Genoa; that it would profit the Venetians more than any other nation if Famagusta could be freed from its Genoese masters; and that a subvention of a small sum of money would be necessary. The Senate, on 8 December 1394, replied sympathetically that it would consider the matter when the ambassador should bring it forward. The ambassador was John (Janot) de Lusignan, the King's nephew and Lord of Beirut.<sup>7</sup> It was not until a year later that he approached the Senate, which replied, on 28 December 1395, that if the negotiations with Genoa were successful, he might notify the fact to the Senate, which he would find favourably disposed to any reasonable and honourable action. No result seems, however, to have come from this embassy to Genoa. But later, on 23 April 1396,<sup>8</sup> the Venetian Senate gave leave to the Lord of Beirut to have two galleys

<sup>1</sup> Above, Ch. I, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 428 (16 Aug. 1395).

<sup>3</sup> J. Raine, *Hist. Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers* (Rolls Series, 61), pp. 425-6; Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, pp. 227-8.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Vol. I, p. 304.

<sup>5</sup> Capgrave, *Book of the Noble Henries*, ed. Hingston (Rolls Series, 7, 1858), p. 100.

<sup>6</sup> M.L., *Doc. Nouv.* pp. 364-5.

<sup>7</sup> He had apparently already started on his journey when the Haute Cour on 16 Aug. 1395 appointed him, *eundem licet absentem tanquam presentem*, plenipotentiary to treat in the King's name for alliance with all princes, communes and corporations (M.L., H. II, pp. 428-9).

<sup>8</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 404.

built at Venice at his own expense, and to take them when completed to Cyprus or anywhere else he might wish.

Diplomatic moves for the recovery of Famagusta having failed, it seemed for a moment in 1396 that it might pass into the King's hands by less regular methods. A person, of whom nothing more is known than his name Xenos,<sup>1</sup> undertook to deliver the place to James. He and his fellow-conspirators were however caught by the Genoese, hanged, drawn and quartered. James repudiated any knowledge of the plot.

It was in the same year, 1396, that Genoa, which had never recovered from the strain of the War of Chioggia, and had since been more than usually torn by faction, ended by submitting itself to France. The French occupied it on 27 November. Among the clauses of the treaty was one providing that the Genoese should support the King of France in all his wars, except with the Emperor of Constantinople or the King of Cyprus, in which they would take no part.<sup>2</sup>

The disaster of Nicopolis, which on 28 September 1396 put an end to the Crusades for ever, may not have affected Cyprus directly, but must have caused no less consternation there than everywhere else in Christendom. The Venetians and Genoese, and also the King of Cyprus, who had none of them had any part in the unfortunate expedition, were approached for their mediation and financial aid in ransoming the captives. James contributed handsomely towards the loan which was raised to defray the ransom of 200,000 florins,<sup>3</sup> lending John, Count of Nevers 15,000 ducats (24 June 1397),<sup>4</sup> and attempting to soften the heart of Bayazid with the present of a model ship<sup>5</sup> 'of fyne gold, right noble and riche, of the value well to the somme of tenne thousand ducates... the whiche gyfte the soudan toke in gree, and sent agayne to the kynge

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 626; Strambaldi, p. 262. Dawkins suggests that even Xenos may not be his name, but merely mean 'the stranger'.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber iurium*, II, col. 1244 (4 Nov. 1396); Bizari, lib. VIII, p. 179; E. Vincens, *Hist. de la Rép. de Gènes*, II, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> This sum, though often described as huge, should be compared with the same sum which was paid for the ransom of Janus, and the million gold besants (the besant and ducat being more or less equivalent) which were the price of Saint Louis.

<sup>4</sup> D.L.R., F.O. p. 323, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *Rel. pol. et comm.* II, p. 131, notes that the goldsmiths of Nicosia had been flourishing since the thirteenth century; in 1286 their organization was recognized by Henry II (*Assises*, II, pp. 357-8).



of Cypre the double in value thereof'.<sup>1</sup> The sum of 28,000 ducats was also lent by the Lord of Beirut in combination with two merchants of Pera.

The Lord of Beirut, though he may have failed in Genoa, fared better in France, where, though he does not seem to have achieved a settlement of the claims of Louis de Bourbon, he had at any rate a diplomatic success in another direction. It may have been due to James's assistance in the ransoming of the prisoners. Since Genoa had submitted herself to French domination, an agreement between the Kings of Cyprus and France could not but be welcome to James. John de Lusignan was well received at Paris. On 4 January 1398, Charles VI appointed his uncle Amanieu d'Albert and William, Viscount of Melun, plenipotentiaries to treat with him for an alliance with Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> A treaty was concluded on 7 January. It is of the most general character, merely binding the parties to serve the honour and interests of each other, and protect each other from any injury, of which they might have previous information. An exceptional clause strictly limited the scope of this alliance, reducing it to little more than an expression of friendship.<sup>3</sup> Which perhaps explains why it seems to have been almost ignored by historians of the time.<sup>4</sup>

This is the last event recorded from the reign of James I. He died on 9 September 1398, and was buried in St Dominic's.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Froissart, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, xvi, pp. 31-2, tr. Bouchier, vol. II, caps. 221, 223; M.L., *Rel. pol. et comm.* II, pp. 130f.; D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 311 (doubts whether James had the influence with Bayazid that Froissart attributes to him); Atiya, p. 459, with other references.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 438-40. The *Catalogue des archives de M. le baron de Joursanvault*, by de Gaulle, which mentions presents of jewels to John de Lusignan on this occasion, is not accessible to me.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ab ipsis autem ligis et confederacionibus...excipimus et exceptos esse volumus omnes alios quoscumque, cum quibus uterque ipsorum erat antea nexu sanguinis sive litteratorie sive aliter colligatus, eciam et omnes vassallos et subditos utriusque.' Thus Genoa is not to be involved in it, just as conversely, in her treaty with Charles, she is excluded from any possibility of war with him against Cyprus.

<sup>4</sup> It is noted by M.L., *H.* II, p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of King Janus (12 Sept. 1398) to the Count of Nevers, announcing his father's death, in Kervyn de Lettenhove's Froissart, xvi, p. 252. Machaeras, 627; Strambaldi, p. 262. The wrong date, 20 Sept., is in Amadi, p. 496 and Fl. Bustron, p. 353. Queen Héloïse survived her husband, dying in 1422 a few days after her daughter-in-law Charlotte de Bourbon. Was she the 'Queen of Cyprus' who had occupied the estate of Selvanesco, which Philip Maria Visconti on 30 June 1412 ordered to be restored to the monks of the Certosa of Pavia (Osio, *Doc. Diplom. Milan.* II, p. 5); or is the reference to Charlotte? Nothing else seems to be known connecting either of the ladies with possessions in that region.

The impression of James I left by the record of his life, though not very distinct, is on the whole not unfavourable. He may be accused of weakness in not having taken a stronger line against the murderers of his brother. His restoration of the fiefs to the guilty knights may be regarded by some as bribery to secure his return; on the other hand, it is excusable as a measure of amnesty for the healing of the wounds of the distracted Kingdom. He showed an excellent spirit in his defence of the Kingdom against the Genoese, who but for him would certainly have taken Kerynia at an early stage. The heavy taxation which made him unpopular was unavoidable if the Genoese indemnity was to be paid. Doubtless its incidence was in many ways unfair, and some of its revenue may have been diverted to objects, such as the endowment of a daughter, which would not be approved by modern opinion. In these respects he only belonged to his time. The Seigneur d'Anglure, who with other pilgrims visited Cyprus in 1395-6, and was entertained by the King, gives a very pleasing account of his genial hospitality; he describes him as a rather handsome man, speaking fairly good French, and very fond of hunting.<sup>1</sup> In the romance of 'Le Chevalier Errant' by Thomas of Saluzzo, written in 1395, there is a passage which describes him and his court with a few neat touches.<sup>2</sup>

Cil roy vy-je en cel grant place avec ses Cipriains, qui moult sont dongereux (*sic*), et moult entendent à aisier leur corps et leurs delicez. Le roy tenoit un faucon en song poing, et estoit ou milieu de ses faucouniers et vouloit aler voler, car en ce met-il son estude, et autre delit ne prent, se petit non.

James is perhaps the only member of his dynasty of whom it is recorded that he was specially interested in the arts.<sup>3</sup> He is said to have made grants to the master-craftsmen of Kerynia, of whom one, Perot, seems to have been an architect, since he built a palace and laid out a garden at Potamia (which had been begun by Peter II) and built a round church, in all of which the King took great delight. It has already been noted that there is reason to suppose that James built the chapel of the

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 430-3; Cobham, *Exc. Cypr.* p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Iorga, *Thomas III de Saluces* (1893), p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 620, with Dawkins's note; Strambaldi, p. 259; Amadi, p. 494. Cp. Malipiero, *Ann. Ven.* p. 595. His employment of the Nicosia goldsmiths to make a present to Bayazid (above, p. 443) may also be mentioned in this connexion. Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 59b, says that the palace at Potamia was still standing in his time (1573).

Misericordia on the site of the ill-omened Margarita tower (p. 430). This chapel took its name from a wall-painting of a figure of Mercy, or more probably the Virgin as *Mater Misericordiae*. As this type of the Virgin is often connected with her function of protecting the people from the plague,<sup>1</sup> it may be suggested that the painting dated from the visitation of 1392-3. The chapel and its contents are described in an inventory of 1468.<sup>2</sup> It was surrounded by a fine garden. Improvement of the residence with its gardens and vineyard at La Cava, which Peter II had begun, and many other new buildings or reconstructions, were also due to James; among them a number of houses and a great doorway in the tower of Saint Lazarus, wherever that may have been.<sup>3</sup> His chief military construction was the Château Franc at Sigouri or Sivouri, about ten miles west of Famagusta, which he built to control the Genoese forays from that place.<sup>4</sup> He also strengthened the citadel and forts of Paphos, and the fortress of Kantara.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See P. Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde* (Paris, 1908), especially ch. ix; E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge en France*, pp. 208 f.; Hill in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxxvi (1916), p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* iii, pp. 267 f.; Enlart, pp. 521 f.; Hackett, pp. 501-4; Papaïoannou, iii, pp. 42-3; Reinhard (I, p. 287, note γ), following Jauna (p. 901), says that in his time it still existed as a mosque, little used, however, because in the night hideous howlings were heard there. No later writer, as far as I know, pretends to have identified it.

<sup>3</sup> Hardly at the Abbey of St Lazarus, which was perhaps another name of the Lady of Tyre. Amadi, p. 349, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* ii, p. 532, n. 11; Enlart, pp. 658-61; Dawkins on Machaeras, 454, n. 5. See Ch. i, p. 23. The date 1391 in the margin of Amadi, where he mentions all James's buildings, must not be taken, as Enlart has taken it, as dating Sigouri.

<sup>5</sup> Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 35 b. In his *Chorographia*, f. 15, he attributes the citadel of Nicosia to James. But see above, pp. 429 f.

## CHAPTER VIII

### JANUS (1398-1432)

Janus was crowned in Santa Sophia on 11 November 1399, receiving all three crowns, of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia, in one ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

He is described by the chroniclers as tall and fat, physically strong, good-looking, with a slight blond beard; he had learning and good taste, but an Arab writer notes that he knew no Arabic.<sup>2</sup>

While his father was still alive, negotiations had been begun to marry him to Mary of Navarre, daughter of Charles the Bad, but they came to nothing.<sup>3</sup> Before 1401, however, he was married to Héloïse, a sister of the Duchess of Milan, Catherine Visconti, and one of the ten daughters of Barnabò Visconti.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 628; Strambaldi, p. 262 (19 Nov.); Amadi, p. 496; Fl. Bustron, p. 353 (a year after the death of his father); Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 154. Machaeras, Strambaldi and Amadi all say that he was crowned by Matthew, Archbishop of Tarsus, but while the two former call this prelate a Dominican, the third makes him a Franciscan. Now we know from a document of 3 June 1399 (M.L., *H.* II, p. 453) that on that date one John was Archbishop of Tarsus and postulate of Nicosia. From the fact that he had a Franciscan attached to him as companion (M.L., *H.* II, p. 451), it has been inferred (M.L., *Arch.* p. 278) that this Archbishop belonged to that Order. Mas Latrie suggests that the reason why Matthew of Tarsus, and not John, crowned Janus was either deference to the Armenians or because John was only postulate and not confirmed Archbishop. It seems more probable that the chroniclers are wrong in the name Matthew, and that Janus was really crowned by John. Decision is made more difficult by the possibility that the prelate who crowned Janus may have been not a Latin but an Armenian, for Tarsus was a see of both Churches; this seems to be assumed in *Hai-Kibros*, p. 22, where it is said that Matthew crowned Janus according to the Armenian rite. On the whole confused question see Hackett (p. 550; Papaïoannou, III, p. 95), who however is wrong in saying that the coronation of Janus, according to Fl. Bustron, took place three years later.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Mahasin in Cheikh, p. 364. Nevertheless it was in Arabic that he cried out 'I am the King' at Khirokitia: Fl. Bustron, p. 365. He was too heavy for the second horse he rode at Khirokitia. He and his Queen, Charlotte of Bourbon, are conventionally represented in the wall-painting in the little Latin chapel at Pyrga, built in 1421: Enlart, II, p. 435. Cp. Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 341. Sketch of his reign in Herquet, *Charlotta*, pp. 73-87 and *Cypr. Königsgest.* pp. 32-51.

<sup>3</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Cœuvres de Froissart*, XVI (1872), pp. 253-5.

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *Gén.* pp. 39-40. She was therefore also a sister of Valentina, the wife of Peter II, the cousin of Janus. The historians do not mention her, but she appears in three documents of 1401, 1404 and 1406. It is not known when she died.

From the beginning of this reign, the Kingdom continued to be vexed by the perennial difficulties with the Italian trading republics. Venice as usual was the less openly unpleasant of the two. She had her own differences with Genoa. On 16 June 1401, in order to avoid the quarrels which were continually arising, the Senate issued an order that no Venetian was to purchase any goods either at Famagusta or anywhere else in the island, which practically meant prohibiting all trade with it.<sup>1</sup> The grievances of Venice against the Cyprus government were set forth by the ambassador John Canale, who was commissioned by the Senate on 19 August 1401.<sup>2</sup> The agreements previously made by the Kings were not being observed; the sums due from the King to the Republic or to individual Venetians were not paid; the King's officers, especially the Viscount of Nicosia, did not respect the privileges granted to the Venetians. Canale was also to interest himself in the claims of certain private Venetians, notably in the dispute between John Cornaro of Episkopi and the Hospitallers of Kolossi over the water-rights of the neighbourhood. But Canale's mission failed to bring about any improvement. In 1405 the Senate once more decided to send an envoy to insist that the privileges of the Venetians should be protected. Having done this, he was to remain as Bailie for two years. Again and again the Bailie, or special envoys, made protests to the King's government about the failure to respect Venetian privileges and to pay debts due to the Republic. These protests coincide with orders to Venetians residing in the island to leave it, orders which, however, as soon as there seems to be promise of amendment, are withdrawn.<sup>3</sup>

It is easy to understand why the government was unable to meet its obligations. Genoa had a stranglehold on the island's commerce. Janus was determined to make an effort to shake it off.<sup>4</sup> The Genoese historians reproach him with ingratitude for the great benefits which he had enjoyed from being brought up at Genoa. He himself did not deny

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 455. As Mas Latrie remarks, these prohibitions were usually short-lived; this must have been repealed very soon in 1404 (see below, p. 449, n. 4).

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 455-6.

<sup>3</sup> Documents in M.L., *H.* II, pp. 456-8 (1405-18); *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, pp. 110-20 (instructions to Andrew Zane, 26 Aug. 1406). Cp. Noiret, pp. 167-74 (31 Aug. 1406); Heyd, II, pp. 418-19.

<sup>4</sup> On this attempt, see D.L.R., *F.O.* I, pp. 410-11. The accounts in the chroniclers are confused: Machaeras, 630-1; Strambaldi, pp. 262-3; Amadi, pp. 496-7; Fl. Bustron, p. 354.

the value of the lesson he had learned, which was to work for the greatness of his country, as the Genoese did for theirs; he would have gained little from their teaching if he did not aim at reconquering a city which neighboured his own state, had been founded by his ancestors, and was the key to his Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

He resolved therefore to attack Famagusta. He had an army of some 6000 men, and thirteen Catalan galleys in his pay. He talked bravely of laying siege to the place, and not raising it until he took it or his hair grew white.<sup>2</sup>

The Genoese commandant in Famagusta, Antony Guarco, was suspected of treachery. He was friendly to Janus, whom he had held at the font.<sup>3</sup> As early as 30 January 1402 the famous Marshal Boucicaut (John II le Meingre), Governor of Genoa, despatched Meliaduse Pallavicini to supersede him. Pallavicini was told, on passing through Venice, to warn the Venetians that Guarco was apparently trying to seize Cyprus for himself, and to ask them to cease all commercial relations with him and the island. The Senate replied (in March 1402, after Pallavicini had left) that, if the Genoese could not come to an understanding with Guarco, Venice would forbid her nationals to go to Famagusta, but the Cyprus trade was so essential to her that she would have to find another port in the island.<sup>4</sup>

Pallavicini had probably not yet reached Famagusta when, on Easter Sunday, 26 March 1402, an attempt was made to enter it by treachery,

<sup>1</sup> Stella, in Muratori, *R.I.S.* xvii, col. 1191 c; Ag. Giustiniani, II, p. 223; U. Foglieta, *Hist. Genuensium*, 1585, f. 184; Bosio, II, p. 115; D.L.R., *F.O.* I, pp. 410-11.

<sup>2</sup> Stella, *loc. cit.*; Ag. Giustiniani, *loc. cit.*; Foglieta, *op. cit.* f. 183 b; Bosio, *loc. cit.* The Venetian consul in Rhodes reported that some 400 soldiers, Catalans from various places, had reached Rhodes in Catalan, Sicilian and even Genoese ships on their way to Cyprus to serve the King: Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras and Strambaldi do not accuse Guarco, but say that his confessor, a Frankish monk named Gregory, plotted to kill him, being promised by the King the see of Famagusta. The others make Guarco send the keys of Famagusta by Gregory to the King. The Venetian Senate stoutly maintained that Guarco was holding Famagusta against the will of the Genoese government, and that it was not, in effect, the Genoese but Guarco whom Janus attacked. Guarco's treachery is borne out by Boucicaut's own statement and action. Zannetos (I, p. 834) argues that, if Guarco was guilty of wishing to betray Famagusta to Janus, in his position as commandant he had no need of the secret plan which was adopted. But he may have wished to cover his tracks.

<sup>4</sup> D.L.R., *F.O.* I, p. 411. It looks as if the prohibition of 16 June 1401 (above, p. 448, n. 1) had already been repealed.

and failed. The gates were to be opened by partisans within; the King was waiting outside, with scaling ladders and other engines. But one of the King's party, Simon de Montolif,<sup>1</sup> had been talking carelessly about the plan, which leaked out. Thomas of Campo Fregoso,<sup>2</sup> hearing of it at Kerynia,<sup>3</sup> immediately took horse and (explaining to those whom the King sent to stop him that he was going out to visit his brother-in-law at Strongylo) rode to Famagusta, where he warned the authorities. The conspirators, including Brother Gregory, were arrested and executed.<sup>4</sup>

The sympathies of Venice were naturally with Cyprus when there was any question of opposition to the Genoese, and Boucicaut in the summer of 1402 actually complained that arms, troops and ships were being supplied to the King. The Senate replied<sup>5</sup> that it was entirely innocent of any such action. Commercial relations with Cyprus had, it was true, not been broken off; Janus's ambassadors had been allowed to sail in Venetian ships, with ten horses and some jousting armour, gifts to the King, and one horse belonging to a Venetian noble in Cyprus. Some munitions had been sent, but on demand of the Grand Master of Rhodes for his fleet.

In August 1402 three galleys left Genoa under the Hospitaller, Antony Grimaldi. By this time Pallavicini must have arrived and taken the

<sup>1</sup> So Machaeras and Strambaldi; in Amadi and Fl. Bustron it is Simon of Morphou. He is said to have been jealous of another partisan, George Bili. Bizari (1579, p. 196) says that the plot was betrayed to Guarco by a Genoese soldier; Foglieta (*op. cit.* f. 183 b) that one of the King's party, taking a false alarm, tried to save himself by giving the others away to Guarco.

<sup>2</sup> Son of the Admiral Peter. His sister Andriola was married to Janot de Nores, and, according to Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 128), she heard of the plot from the wife of Simon, and told her brother.

<sup>3</sup> So Machaeras and Strambaldi; Nicosia in the others.

<sup>4</sup> The chroniclers who make Guarco involved in the plot naturally say that this was done against his will. Loredano adds that Guarco was shortly afterwards found dead in his bed, and everybody supposed he was murdered by the orders of Campo Fregoso. It seems, however, that he survived until Pallavicini came and superseded him. The French traveller, Bertrandon de la Brocquière (ed. Schefer, pp. 109, 117), met at Laranda in 1432 two brothers Passerot, who had been banished from Famagusta for attempting to deliver the place into the hands of the King.

<sup>5</sup> 5 July 1402. D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 412; II, pp. 96-8. It is possibly to this time that we may date the action of an ambassador of Janus who, coming from France, heard in Venice that the Genoese were preparing to conquer Cyprus; whereupon with some friends of the King he hired a ship and equipped it with munitions and crossbowmen and spearmen, and warned the King to be prepared. Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 786 B, c.

place of Guarco. As soon as Grimaldi reached Famagusta, the Catalans scuttled the thirteen ships in which they were serving Janus, and the King and his army vanished.<sup>1</sup> The siege was over, and Grimaldi with his forces dispelled any further threat to the Genoese occupation.

His activities, however, were not calculated to soothe the irritation of the Venetians. His galleys set to work to clear the Cyprus waters of Venetian shipping, which he regarded as having no business there, since the Venetians had promised to cease trading with the island. On 3 September<sup>2</sup> he captured some *gripes* or brigantines and a *panfle*, and took them into Famagusta; on 7 September a ship belonging to Taddeo Benedetto, at Salines;<sup>3</sup> on 25 November, another (a *coque*).<sup>4</sup> The cargoes were sold. The Venetian Senate despatched Zacharias Trevisan<sup>5</sup> to Genoa, on 19 December, to complain of these hostile acts, and demand an indemnity of 10,000 ducats, at which the damage was estimated. He was to insist on the right of Venice to aid the King in the future if she wished, and to send ships to Cyprus in the course of trade.

Boucicaud, meanwhile, before Trevisan had arrived on his mission to Genoa, had sent an envoy to Venice,<sup>6</sup> with a somewhat conciliatory message. He explained that Genoa had only declared war on Janus to punish him for his ingratitude for the favours that the Republic had heaped on him and his father. He was pleased to hear that Venice was not supporting and would not support Janus, and hoped that she would persevere in this course.<sup>7</sup> To this the Senate replied on 29 December.<sup>8</sup> It explained that Janus's object in taking up arms was to attack not the Genoese, but Guarco, who had seized the power, refused to hand over

<sup>1</sup> Stella, col. 1195 B; Ag. Giustiniani, II, p. 225; Foglieta, f. 184. According to Amadi and Fl. Bustron, the King had removed his army and engines after the failure of Easter Sunday.

<sup>2</sup> D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 418 and n. 1; II, p. 101: 'aliquas griparias et unum pamphilum'.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* I, p. 417, n. 7. It was eventually agreed (27 April 1403, 5 May 1403 and 22 March 1404) that this ship should be valued by the Captain of Famagusta and the Venetian bailie (*Libr. Comm., Reg. III*, p. 292, no. 262; p. 295, no. 276); but this was still not settled at the time of the peace of 28 June 1406 (M.L., H. II, p. 482; D.L.R., F.O. I, pp. 492, 496; *Libr. Comm., Reg. III*, p. 316, no. 21).

<sup>4</sup> D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 418.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 415-16. His instructions, *ibid.* II, pp. 99-110. Grimaldi remained in office at Famagusta until he died there (before 26 March 1403; D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 411, n. 5).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 416.

<sup>7</sup> This is an allusion to the explanation given by the Senate on 5 July (above, p. 450).

<sup>8</sup> D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 416.



the place to the captain sent from Genoa (Pallavicini), and was equipping privateers. While repeating its explanations of 5 July, the Senate maintained its right for its ships to touch at Cyprus ports. Grimaldi had seized them and sold their cargoes, although the two Republics were not at war, and an envoy (Trevisan) was already on his way to Genoa to demand compensation.

During this game of cross-purposes, Janus had himself sent an envoy, Perrin, to Venice. He was there on 12 December 1402,<sup>1</sup> on his way to Catherine Visconti, the Duchess of Milan (the King's sister-in-law); from thence he was to go on to Genoa. He took the opportunity of asking the advice of the Senate. That body expressed great sympathy with the King in his difficulties, and acknowledged the justice of his cause in taking up arms against Antony Guarco, who was holding Famagusta against the will of Genoa, and inflicting damage on the island. The Senate considered that the Genoese, being intelligent people, would see the risk of prosecuting further war against Cyprus, and would be ready to come to terms. Perrin was therefore advised to go to Milan and obtain the services of the Duchess as mediator, and then proceed to Genoa. The Senate was convinced that the Genoese would not reject offers of peace, especially because there was great dissension among them, and many of their chief citizens hoped to reap great advantage from friendly relations with the King.

Perrin,<sup>2</sup> after visiting Milan, returned to Venice on 22 December, and went on to Genoa. The Governor and Council did not at first show themselves as amenable as the Venetians had hoped, and on 2 January 1403 Perrin was once more begging Venice for active assistance, offering to pledge all the possessions and estates of the King, who, he said, would rather make a present of Cyprus to Venice than let Genoa take it. The Senate was in no mood for such an adventure. Disappointed of help from this quarter, Perrin seems to have persevered in his efforts and reached some sort of agreement.<sup>3</sup> For on 24 March l'Ermite de la Faye, one of Boucicaut's most trusted counsellors,<sup>4</sup> sailed for Cyprus. According to a statement in the Venetian records,<sup>5</sup> he carried with him a demand to the King to hand Kerynia over to Marshal Boucicaut, as

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 459-60 (under the wrong year 1401); D.L.R., *F.O.* I, p. 414.

<sup>2</sup> D.L.R., *F.O.* I, pp. 414-15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 422.

<sup>4</sup> He was well known in Cyprus, having represented the Duke of Bourbon there in the negotiations about the dowry of the Empress Mary. M.L., *H.* II, pp. 426-7.

<sup>5</sup> 4 April 1403. D.L.R., *F.O.* I, p. 422.

security for the execution of the treaty which Perrin had concluded. On 16 March the Venetian Senate had already advised another envoy of the King, Sir Sclave d'Asperch, to return to Cyprus as speedily as possible, to help in promoting the peace which it was hoped to conclude, at the same time refusing him the loan for which he asked in order to recruit for the King's army, since there would not be time to collect a sufficient force.<sup>1</sup>

Negotiations with Venice also proceeded favourably, if slowly, and agreement was reached on the question of indemnities on 5 May 1403.<sup>2</sup> Before this, Boucicaut had sailed for Cyprus, leaving Peter de Vieuville as Governor of Genoa in his place. His expedition,<sup>3</sup> which sailed on 4 April 1403, was financed by a new Mahona. Venice, on the departure of this possibly hostile force, stood on the alert,<sup>4</sup> and sent a strong fleet to sea, though its admirals were instructed to be careful to avoid clashes; with the same object, trading vessels were forbidden to touch at Cyprus;<sup>5</sup> commandants of Venetian castles were forbidden to provision themselves thence, and merchandise destined for the island was to be contraband. The fleet dogged Boucicaut's progress throughout, and there is no doubt that it betrayed to the Moslems the plans which he was innocent enough to confide to Venice.<sup>6</sup>

He put in at Rhodes in June, and l'Ermite de la Faye came to report on his mission. It had been quite unsuccessful. Janus would not lay down his arms or yield an inch. Boucicaut was fain to attack Cyprus

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 456. D'Asperch was back in Cyprus when peace was made in July, being present as a member of the Haute Cour.

<sup>2</sup> D.L.R., *F.O.* I, p. 420.

<sup>3</sup> Expedition to Scandelore and peace with Cyprus: D.L.R., *F.O.* I, pp. 421-35; Machaeras, 633; Strambaldi, pp. 263-4 (both with the wrong date 1401); Amadi, p. 497; Fl. Bustron, p. 355 (under 1402); *Livre des faits*, pt. II, chs. XVI-XVIII, pp. 271-3; Piloti in Reiffenberg, IV, p. 397; *Cronachetta Ven.*, ed. Joppi, in *Arch. Ven.* XVII (ii), p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> It was rumoured (in 1401?) that Boucicaut was going in person to make himself King of Cyprus. Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 786A.

<sup>5</sup> 29 April 1403 (D.L.R., *F.O.* I, p. 424, n. 1; Noiret, pp. 144-5).

<sup>6</sup> D.L.R., *F.O.* I, p. 437. According to the *Cronachetta Ven.*, *loc. cit.*, Charles Zeno followed Boucicaut as far as Rhodes but, being assured that he would do no harm to Venetian possessions, returned with his fleet to Candia. Jacopo Zeno (cols. 320 f.) credits Boucicaut with a subtle design against Charles: he pretended to invite him to join an expedition against the Turks, but Charles refused, and he, bent on doing some injury to the Venetians, sailed for Beirut, which he attacked, sacking the Venetian houses. This story must be taken with reserve.

out of hand, but Philibert de Naillac, Grand Master of the Hospital, counselled further negotiation, and in the same month of June himself went to Cyprus with la Faye.<sup>1</sup> This left Boucicaut free to undertake an adventure after his own heart on the Cilician coast. His attack on Scandalore is described as a success by the Genoese, as a failure by the Venetian sources. Whatever the truth may be, he made peace with the Emir of Scandalore (since he realized how useful that port would be as a base if it came to a war with Cyprus), and was about to leave the place when he heard that the Grand Master had succeeded in bringing Janus to terms. Sailing at once to Cyprus, he was met at Pendayia by the Grand Master and members of the Haute Cour, and conducted to Nicosia.

There, in the palace, the new treaty of peace and commerce was signed on Saturday, 7 July 1403.<sup>2</sup> Included as parties to the treaty were both the Old and the New Mahona of Cyprus. For the costs of the expedition the King bound himself to an indemnity of 150,000 ducats;<sup>3</sup> as security for this, he placed in pledge with the Hospital his crown jewels and plate to the value of 70,000 ducats.<sup>4</sup> For the remaining 80,000 the King pledged the property of himself and his heirs.<sup>5</sup> The pledged jewels and plate were to be held by the Hospital until the Marshal should have fulfilled the terms to which the remainder of the treaty bound him, and must then be surrendered to him or his agent

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<sup>1</sup> Bosio, II, p. 115. He is of course grossly inaccurate in saying that Boucicaut besieged Janus in Nicosia, and that was why the Grand Master intervened.

<sup>2</sup> Text in M.L., *H.* II, pp. 466-71. Summary in D.L.R., *F.O.* I, p. 432. Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 786E, appears to know nothing of this treaty, but says that Boucicaut found Cyprus so well prepared to resist him that he went away to Syria.

<sup>3</sup> Difficulties about the payment of this sum to the New Mahona were not settled for a long time, if ever. On 3 Jan. 1425, John de Bombelles, on behalf of Janus, taking cognizance of the treaties of 1403 and 1410, and of a prorogation allowed by Bartholomew Campo Fregoso in 1416, acknowledged the debt and promised payment by instalments of 2500 ducats, payable 1 Feb. annually (M.L., *H.* II, pp. 514-15; cp. the letter of the Protectors to the King, 15 Jan. 1425, Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 383). In 1428 payments were still terribly in arrear (below, p. 492).

<sup>4</sup> Bosio, II, p. 116 (the jewels and plate were valued at 45,000; for the rest, certain estates were pledged). The Grand Master's receipt for these, 15 Oct. 1403, in Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* II, pp. 107-8, no. 85.

<sup>5</sup> According to M.L., *H.* II, p. 471 n., this balance of 80,000 ducats was to be paid to the Old Mahona. This seems to require verification, for the total of 150,000 ducats was due to the New Mahona. The payment to the Old Mahona is mentioned later in the treaty (art. 7).

on his requisition. The King was to reduce the amount of the indemnity by annual payments of 15,000 ducats. At each payment an equivalent in the pledged jewels or plate was to be released by the Marshal, on pain, in case of his failure to do so, of a fine of double the amount, which would be deducted from the total indemnity. On the other hand, if the King defaulted in his annual payment, the Marshal would be entitled to keep or sell the pledged objects to the required amount. The question of war-guilt was left to be decided by the Marshal; according to his decision restitution should be made to the King or the King should be mulcted of a proportion or the whole of the sum. The obligations undertaken by James I being declared by Janus to be intolerable, the Marshal was to review them within a year, and his decision was to be accepted by both parties. All captives on both sides were to be released and their property restored. The King, finally, bound himself to pay to the Old Mahona 121,000 'old besants of Nicosia' a year, until the whole debt should be extinguished, but the amounts might, at the Marshal's discretion, be made smaller and spread over a longer period.

The powers of definition and arbitration left to the Marshal in this treaty are a remarkable testimony to the belief in his impartiality entertained by both parties; or, if it be said that the King was forced to accept any terms imposed on him, at least by the Genoese.

As a matter of fact, Janus does not seem to have regarded Boucicaut as a hard dictator. He is said to have offered the Marshal a present of 25,000 ducats. Boucicaut refused the money, but accepted an offer of two galleys to accompany his expedition to Syria.<sup>1</sup> On this, after staying only four days, he now departed. There is again a divergence of opinion among the sources on the question whether his attack on Tripoli and Beirut was a success or a failure; in any case this expedition was quite in the old style and had little or no effect on the military situation.<sup>2</sup> Boucicaut was back at Famagusta at the end of

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<sup>1</sup> *Livre des faits*, pt. II, ch. XVIII, p. 273 (chs. XVIII-XXII describe the whole expedition). Of the two galleys only one appeared; the other vanished, for 'they were corsairs'. The one which did join Boucicaut was apparently that of Bernard de Saint-Saturnin. At Beirut it seized a Venetian ship, for which Venice afterwards claimed 5000 ducats, but accepted 3000 (April-June, 1404; D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 476). See below, p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> On the burning of Beirut, which was attributed by Moslem sources to a fleet of forty Cypriote ships (Muir, *Mameluke Dynasty*, p. 128) see D.L.R., F.O. I, pp. 442-3. It was at Beirut that Boucicaut caught a Venetian light vessel, the captain of which

August, to deal with questions outstanding from the treaty of 7 July. Agreement was reached at Genoa on 30 October.<sup>1</sup>

confessed that he had orders to call at the Syrian ports and give warning that the Genoese were coming. He let the captain and crew go free, considering that they were not so much to blame as the one who had sent them. *Livre des faits*, pt. II, ch. XXI, pp. 276-7. It is for generous actions of this kind, rather than for his military achievements, that the Marshal deserves our admiration.—Sanudo, *Vite*, cols. 786-7, asserts that Boucicaut told the Venetian merchants in Beirut that they had nothing to fear; that the Genoese landed and sacked their houses, and when the merchants protested he smiled, saying he was sorry, but he could not do anything now. Jacopo Zeno (col. 321) says that Boucicaut deliberately gave the Venetian property up to his men to plunder, and that Charles vainly endeavoured to persuade him to restore the loot, but refrained from making it a *casus belli*. Sanudo, like Jacopo Zeno, is naturally hostile, and, in the *Vite*, not too accurate. Cp. *Cronachetta Ven.*, ed. Joppi, in *Arch. Ven.* xvii (ii), p. 304.

<sup>1</sup> Dawkins on Machaeras, 633, n. 2. As his representative in the discussions, the King nominated George Bili (Billy), a nephew of the chronicler Machaeras; he appears to have been Grand Bailie of the Chancery. Janus's credentials for Bili: M.L., H. II, pp. 471-2 (26 Aug. 1403). Bili's statement of claims and the Marshal's replies: Genoa, 30 Oct., *ibid.* pp. 472-5. Requisitions by the Marshal and replies of Bili, same date: *ibid.* pp. 475-7. Summary of the agreement: D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 434.—Runaway slaves and prisoners of war and captured property were to be returned. Loans to serfs or slaves were prohibited. Inhabitants of the zone of two leagues round Famagusta were allowed to return to their properties. The King's subjects were not to be liable for any gabelles or customs duties except those which they paid under Hugh IV and Peter I; excluded from this, however, were the gabelles on which the Genoese received 14,000 ducats annually. The Commandant of Famagusta was forbidden to force the King's subjects to appear before him without the King's authorization. Regulations were made for jurisdiction in mixed cases. The prohibition of trading to any port except Famagusta was maintained, until Boucicaut should have decided on the matter. No Cypriote was to leave the island without the King's passport; the Genoese were to be free to come and go. Ships were to be inspected before sailing to secure the observance of this regulation. Genoese residing in Famagusta might enter it, and the King's subjects go out of it, at their will. Immigrants from Syria were to be allowed to pass through Famagusta (staying there not more than two months) to settle in Nicosia, on declaring their intention to the authorities. Genoese were forbidden to purchase the horses of soldiers in the King's pay; if they did so, the horses were to be returned on repayment of the price. Genoese of all kinds, i.e. true Genoese or White or Black, were to contribute to the annual payment of 14,000 besants, and the Old Mahona was to be repaid what was owing to it from the Cypriotes; these payments to be made in old money. The flags of Genoa and the King were to be flown side by side on the walls of Famagusta. It is interesting to find that by Boucicaut's decree the first two payments to the New Mahona were to be devoted to satisfying the claims of the heirs of the poorest shareholders who were dead (M.L., H. II, p. 482, 4 May 1404).

Everything seemed to be amicably settled. A modern historian goes so far as to say that 'this additional agreement put an end to the hostilities between Cyprus and Genoa; it re-established between the two powers the friendly relations which Janus by taking up arms had for a moment disturbed'.<sup>1</sup> Such words might have been written by some simple-minded contemporary, unable to appreciate the meaning of the constantly recurring breaches between the parties, the one light-heartedly undertaking obligations which he was clearly unable to fulfil, the other imposing ever new conditions in the hope of extracting the last farthing from its helpless victim. But they read strangely in view of what happened within a year; it would be more correct to say that the treaty caused but a momentary check to the permanent hostilities between Cyprus and Genoa.

There survive a few rare coins of base alloy, which bear the name of Famagusta combined with Genoese types and the words 'Doge of Genoa'—humble relics of the local trade of the Genoese settlers. They appear to date from the time of Janus or, more probably, of John II.<sup>2</sup>

It must not be supposed that Boucicaut's policy met with universal approval at home. There were many who favoured peaceful relations with Cyprus (p. 452). In 1409, when the French yoke had been thrown off, the feelings of the party which had come into power found expression in a memorial of the citizens to the French King, justifying the revolution. It is of course a partisan statement, but interesting as laying

<sup>1</sup> D.L.R., F.O. 1, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> Billon deniers: on obverse, Gateway and CIVI FAMAG; on reverse, Cross and DVX IANVEN. Schlumberger, p. 211, Pl. VIII. 15. Schlumberger's puzzling statement that, although there are no records of any Genoese mint at Famagusta, Amadi says that from the time of Hugh IV the mark of the mint at Famagusta was the arms of Genoa is due to a misunderstanding of the words 'perchè li re de Hierusalem si coronavano a Famagosta, però el sigillo del commercio et del arzentio (the seal of the douane and the hall-mark for silver—nothing to do with any mint), in Famagosta, sonno le arme de Hierusalem' (the passage does not mention Genoa at all). M.L., H. II, p. 353 n., makes Amadi say that this was the case from the time of Hugh IV; but (though it is true that Hugh IV was the first to be crowned for Jerusalem in Famagusta) the chronicler does not date the practice as Mas Latrie asserts. Amadi's explanation is in any case unsound; for the cross of Jerusalem appears by itself, and not as a quartering in the complete Lusignan arms, as the usual reverse type of the coins from the time of the usurper Amaury onwards. It is not specially associated with Famagusta.

especial stress on the Marshal's expedition to Cyprus, which was 'made with the object of usurping the crown, and involved Genoa in enormous expenses and losses, and his attempted sale of Famagusta'.<sup>1</sup>

For the time, however, the prospect seemed rosy, especially when on 22 March 1404 Venice and Genoa made peace with each other.<sup>2</sup> The Venetian Vice-Bailie in Cyprus also had some successful dealings with Janus.<sup>3</sup> On 4 April 1404 he was instructed to claim 5000 ducats for the Venetian ship which had been captured at Beirut, and he succeeded in getting 3000, or a promise to pay so much. Other claims also seem to have been settled by him, or to be in the way of being settled, by June.

But in this same year 1404 the war with Genoa broke out again.<sup>4</sup> Nothing is known as to what immediately provoked it. In the treaty which was made at the end, Janus is stated to have attacked Famagusta while peace prevailed, and he had in consequence to pay a handsome indemnity. It is difficult to acquit him of the charge.

However this may be, he seems to have carried on operations in a half-hearted way. He sat down before Famagusta with siege-engines. Both sides obtained cannon from Venice—this was the first time that such artillery was seen in the island.<sup>5</sup> The King's bombards knocked down a stretch of the walls, but the breach was not entered. In 1406 Janus burnt his engines and deserted the siege. His general, John Castegna, had had his thigh carried away by a cannon-ball, and died.

Active operations against Famagusta were resumed in 1407, but few details are known. The chief incident recorded is an attempt by the Genoese, after the raising of the siege, to attack the Castle of Lemesos with a great cannon which they brought from Famagusta. The castle was on the point of capitulating, when the Seneschal of Cyprus and the Venetian Admiral, Charles Zeno, arrived, cut the besieging force to

<sup>1</sup> *Libri Comm., Reg.* III, p. 345, no. 109.

<sup>2</sup> The Senate sent an envoy to Romania, Cyprus and Armenia with this news (*M.L., H.* II, p. 456).

<sup>3</sup> *D.L.R., F.O.* I, p. 476. Above, p. 455, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 634-5 (Strambaldi, p. 264) makes it begin in 1403 and last until 1406; it was renewed in 1408 and peace made in 1409. Amadi, pp. 497-8: began in 1404, was broken off ('peace made') in 1406; renewed in 1408, after which peace, but the year not stated. Fl. Bustron, p. 355 (no dates). The peace was actually made on 9 Dec. 1410 (*M.L., H.* II, pp. 496-8).

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras says that the Genoese brought great cannon secretly from Venice; Amadi and Fl. Bustron that the King did so. The spectacle of commercial interests serving both sides in a war is not confined to modern times.

pieces, and captured the cannon.<sup>1</sup> On 4 February 1408 the Genoese government authorized the raising of a loan to provide for the defence of Famagusta.<sup>2</sup> On 29 November of the same year, one of Janus's galleys was captured off Scandelore by Galeazzo Doria. Its commander was killed; other officers were taken prisoners to Genoa.<sup>3</sup> On 9 December 1410 peace was made, the King being represented by Thomas Prevost and Thomas de Zenières, Genoa by Bartholomew Porco, Captain-Podestà of Famagusta,<sup>4</sup> and his officers Francis de Claritea and Bartholomew Giustiniani.<sup>5</sup> The possessions and privileges which had been

<sup>1</sup> Jacopo Zeno, *Vita Caroli Zeni* (Muratori, *R.I.S.* xix, cols. 350-2) has a panegyric account of Zeno's part in this campaign; summoned from Syria by Janus, who was reduced to extremity by the Genoese, he took command of the King's forces, relieved Lemesos after a forced march of eighty miles, captured the enemy's camp, and compelled them to a truce. Of the Cypriote chroniclers, only Machaeras mentions Zeno's assistance. It was only on 22 Jan. 1406 that Zeno had been condemned to loss of all his offices and imprisonment for a year (Romanin, iv, p. 43). After his release he is said to have gone to visit the Holy Places; he may therefore have been present in Cyprus in 1407 or 1408. According to Jacopo Zeno, he left Cyprus on hearing of the election of his friend Alexander V to the papal throne in June 1409. Charles Zeno's connexion with the Kings of Cyprus was of long standing. When at Venice, Peter I had taken a great liking to him (*Vita*, col. 212); and there is evidence that he lent his services to Peter II against the Genoese (above, p. 424, n. 1). An entry in the Famagusta accounts for a payment on 5 Oct. 1407 of the expenses of a workman employed *ad turrim de Limisso*, shows that the incident belongs to 1407; this *turris* would be a tower erected by the besiegers. Other entries relating to the war in this year: 21 Feb. 1407, the King reported to have sent scaling ladders *ad Sanctam Mariam* (in the environs of Famagusta?); 7 Sept., payment to a man wounded in a skirmish *cum illis dni regis Cipri*; purchase of arms, etc.; 28 May 1407, payment to Roland, a Frenchman, who had to fight a duel with one of the King's men. Iorga, *N.E.* i, p. 83. The state of war probably explains why the Venetian Senate in July 1408 prohibited its ships from calling at Cyprus. *M.L.*, *H.* ii, p. 483; Iorga, *N.E.* i, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> *M.L.*, *H.* ii, p. 483; iii, p. 798.

<sup>3</sup> Stella, *Ann. Gen.* col. 1217. He calls the officer who was killed 'praeses per mare, Raynaldinus de Monluxiardo'. I find no other mention of him, and he was not apparently Admiral of Cyprus, that office in 1404 and 1410, and presumably between those years, being filled by John Babin (*M.L.*, *H.* ii, pp. 478, 495).

<sup>4</sup> Appointment of the King's representatives, 9 Oct. 1410, *M.L.*, *H.* ii, p. 495. Analysis of the treaty, *ibid.* pp. 496-8.

<sup>5</sup> It appears that as early as 1408 other representatives of Genoa had been nominated, who were now superseded. It must be remembered that in the interval Genoa had thrown off the French yoke, and the nominees of the French government would naturally fall out.



assured by King James I in 1383 to the Commune of Genoa and to the Old Mahona (all whose rights had in 1408 been vested in the Office of St George and the Commune)<sup>1</sup> are now confirmed. New arrangements are made for the payment of the various indemnities.<sup>2</sup> But the King reserves his right, in view of the heavy burdens on his exchequer, to send envoys to Genoa to obtain a revision and reduction of these charges.

This treaty, and that of 1383, were ratified by Janus on 8 December 1414. But both before and after this date there was a succession of complaints about his failure to make the payments due. An envoy sent out specially by the Protectors of the Bank of St George brought back an answer at which they expressed their astonishment. They had generously extended the term for the payment of the 150,000 ducats from ten years to thirty and then to sixty, thus reducing the debt to one-sixth of its value. The King ought therefore at least to pay annually the amount agreed in the treaty of Bartholomew Campo Fregoso.<sup>3</sup> The Protectors go on to say that certain 'egoists' are trying to prevent the King from paying his debt, using persuasion which is described as 'dishonest, unjust, useless, dangerous and harmful' and inspired by the desire to extinguish the devotion of the Genoese to the King's interests.

In 1419, the Genoese government actually made a surprising proposal to sell the place, with its castle and all its territory, back to the King. The price asked is not known, but the Venetian Senate, which was at

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 483-94 (15 Oct. 1408). On the Bank of St George generally see the works cited, p. 385, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Of these the most important is that the King is to pay to Porco the balance of all the sums due to Genoa since the death of James I, in annual instalments of 22,500 gold florins (or 90,000 white besants). An indemnity of 20,000 ducats is fixed for the attack on Famagusta which Janus made in time of peace, and 5000 for losses caused to various Genoese in the town and country during this war. The King holds himself not to be responsible for the debt due to the New Mahona, since Boucicaut had not come to any decision on this point; but in token of his desire for a sincere peace he promises, unless other terms are agreed before 1 March 1411, to pay a sum of 150,000 ducats by half-yearly instalments, beginning 1 March 1413. In 1413, 1416 and 1417 there were complaints from the Protectors of the Bank of St George of the failure of the King to make the payments due to the Mahona. Iorga, *N.E.* I, pp. 216, 260. The ratification of this treaty, and of the old treaty of 1383, by Janus on 8 Dec. 1414, is in the Genoa archives. *Ibid.* pp. 224-5.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 454, n. 3, where the figure is 2500 ducats, making 150,000 in sixty years. This is evidently more correct than the 2000 ducats of the letter of the Protectors (19 Aug. 1418, Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 283).

once consulted by Janus, stated, in its reply of 27 January 1420,<sup>1</sup> that it seemed excessive, although it approved the idea of such a bargain. Nevertheless negotiations proceeded and at least a preliminary agreement was drawn up, the first payment being fixed at 160,000 gold ducats. Of these 40,000 were to be paid in Cyprus, and Janus asked the Senate for the loan of the balance of 120,000, to be repaid in three years. He also asked that the Senate should go security for him for the whole payment. It is not surprising that the Senate, 'on certain honourable and reasonable grounds', declined to agree to his request, fearing to be involved in some dispute with Genoa.<sup>2</sup> This refusal is sufficient to account for the fact that the proposal came to nothing.

Next year, on 20 February 1421, there was a violent disturbance in Nicosia in which the Genoese were concerned, but of which the details are not known.<sup>3</sup> The Genoese of Famagusta next appear in our history in connexion with the Mameluke invasion, when they sided with the invaders.

The chroniclers refer to the methods employed by the King to finance his war against Famagusta. They took the form of debasement of the coinage and new taxation. The small change which he struck, 'sizins'<sup>4</sup> of six bits, were of very base alloy; the Italian chroniclers call them copper. A tax of two bits in the besant (i.e. of more than 4 per cent, for the besant contained forty-eight bits) was imposed on all sales, and was collected by an office called the *Phoro*. The remark of the Italian chronicler that this office was of much value means that the collection of the tax was farmed out.

The financial operations in which the King engaged with the Knights of St John are somewhat obscure, not to say dubious.<sup>5</sup> In 1411 we find him excusing the Hospital from paying the King's tithe on its Commanderies in Cyprus.<sup>6</sup> After the death of Raymond de Lescure in 1411,

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, pp. 130-1.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., *ibid.* pp. 132-3 (19 Feb. 1420).

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 644 and Strambaldi, p. 266 describe it as occurring between the King and the Genoese; Amadi (p. 499) says that it was 'tra li Genovesi, per li figlioli di Phouna'.

<sup>4</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 634, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Bosio, II, pp. 130-1, 138-9; K. Herquet, *Charlotta* (1870), pp. 80-1; Juan Ferrandez de Heredia (1878), p. 99 and *Cyprische Königsgestalten*, p. 41; Hackett, pp. 641-2; Papaioannou, III, pp. 194 f.

<sup>6</sup> Raymond de Lescure, Grand Commander of Cyprus, having been killed in an attack on Makri in 1411, Janus, on 25 Sept. of that year, exempted the Order from payment of the King's tithe on its estates in Cyprus (see the document of 1 Oct. 1411,

the Order had appointed Hesso Schlegelholtz (till then Commander of Lango), to the Grand Commandery of Cyprus, he being the senior Preceptor of the Order. He died, however, on 20 May 1412, and Janus immediately put forward a candidate.<sup>1</sup> But there were many senior Brethren who wanted this valuable prize, and there was bitter competition for it. Whereupon the Council of the Order decided that the Grand Commandery should be split up into seven, each of the Langues having its share.<sup>2</sup> Envoys were sent out to Cyprus to put right certain irregularities in the administration of the Commandery which had been committed by the agent of the Order, to explain to Janus why his candidate could not be appointed, and to persuade him that seven commanderies were more desirable than one.

This proposal to split up the Grand Commandery was however abortive; probably because Janus presented the Order with a disagreeable but accomplished fact. He had at some time, during Lescure's lifetime, entered into a compact with Pope John XXIII, highly discreditable to both parties. The Pope had taken into his hands the arbi-

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M.L., *H.* II, p. 498). On 1 Oct. (see the document of 3 Oct., *ibid.* p. 500), John de Vienne or de Vigne, Commander of Belleville, being dead, Janus similarly exempted the Commanderies of Phinika and Tembros (Templos). The joint Commandery of Phinika-Anoyira had been held by Dominic of Germany, who in 1409 had been made lieutenant of the Grand Master when Naillac went to the Council of Pisa (Bosio, II, p. 122). Dominic dying, Hesso Schlegelholtz, Commander of Lango, succeeded him as lieutenant of the Grand Master. What happened to the Commandery of Phinika-Anoyira? Since, as we have seen, the exemption from tithe of Phinika and Tembros on 1 Oct. 1411 followed on the death of John de Vigne, it must have fallen to him. Now on 15 Dec. 1411 (M.L., *H.* II, pp. 501-2) Hesso Schlegelholtz, in thanking the King and Queen for the exemptions above-mentioned, alludes to a request which had been made by Janus for the Phinika-Anoyira Commandery to be conferred on the (new) Commander of Belleville. His name is not given, and Janus's letter seems not to have survived. To the King's request, Schlegelholtz replies that he has referred it to the Grand Master. It is probable that Janus laid hands on the Commandery, although the Order may have appointed some one else to it. It was held, nominally at least, for some time by Luce de Valines, who died in 1418 (Herquet, *Charlotta*, p. 81).

<sup>1</sup> Bosio calls him Frat' Estolone della Sona; Reinhard, *Estolon de la Saone* (II, p. 15).

<sup>2</sup> It had already been decided once before, in 1380, that the Grand Commandery, being too large, should be divided into seven; there should be one rank of Grand Cross, with the title of Grand Commander of Cyprus; the other six should be allotted one to each Langue, and should be subordinate to the Grand Commander, who should have powers of jurisdiction, visitation and correction over them: Bosio, II, pp. 89-90. The relevant extract from the Statutes, M.L., *H.* II, pp. 376-8.

trary disposal of the property and offices of the Order, and letters of protest addressed to him on 6 November 1410 or 1411 and 6 November 1412<sup>1</sup> had been without the slightest effect. Now Janus had a natural son Louis or Aloysius,<sup>2</sup> at the time a child of five years. The Pope sold to him, or rather to his father,<sup>3</sup> the expectative of the Grand Commandery of Cyprus, giving him the necessary dispensation for taking the vows, and making him other unheard-of concessions contrary to the constitution of the Order, for which the King paid a large price. Fortified by this papal authority, Janus had seized the Grand Commandery, and refused to budge, even when the Pope was induced by the Order to revoke his grant. John XXIII had very much the best of the bargain, for not only did he keep what he had received from Janus, but he demanded 6000 ducats from the Order, who were also compelled to refund to the King the amount which he had expended in bribing the Pope. These payments were made by the Order on 8 August 1414.<sup>4</sup> On revoking the grant to Louis, John approved the appointment to the Grand Commandery of Antony Fluvian, and the grant of the Commandery of Phinika-Anoyira to Louis, who was also to have a pension of 2000 florins a year secured on the property of the Order.<sup>5</sup> But Janus was unmoved.

Eventually, Janus and the Order, by the intermediation of the Order's envoy, Admiral James d'Ale magna, came to terms. Janus gave up the

<sup>1</sup> Pauli, II, p. 115, no. 94 (the first letter, the year not given); Bosio, II, pp. 129, 131.

<sup>2</sup> Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 205 b; M.L., *Gén.* p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Gobelin Persona, *Cosmodromium*, in Meibom, *Scr. Germ.* I, pp. 340-1. The affair came up before the Council of Constance (1414), at which Janus was represented by two ambassadors (*Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, ed. Finke *et al.*, II, p. 24; IV, p. 154). They were Nicolas Angemini and Master William Brillheti (H. von der Hardt, *Magn. Oecum. Const. Conc.* IV, pt. viii, col. 592). John XXIII, besides conferring the Preceptory on the five-year-old bastard, sold to him the fruits of the vacancy, and the *spolia* of the last deceased Preceptor, against the statutes of the Order, seeing that such *bona spoli et vacancie* were *bona fiscalia Christi*, to be expended on war against the infidel (Finke, III, p. 168). One witness said that the Hospital redeemed the Preceptory for 8000 ducats, and that the price received by the Pope from Janus was 14,000 ducats (*ibid.* IV, p. 817).

<sup>4</sup> Finke, III, p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> 'Reservavit papa tunc ante omnia pro dicto bastardo in V. anno constituto super bonis religionis pensacionem duorum millium florenorum de camera. Item... cameram magistralem, que vocatur Netera...': *Acta Conc. Const.* III, p. 169. Netera (v.l. Neghera) is Anoyira. Another witness (IV, pp. 825 f.) while believing the charge of the sale to be true said he knew nothing about the pension of 2000 florins.

Grand Commandery and had to be content with something less for his son Louis. Early in 1421 we find the Grand Master confirming to Louis de Lusignan the collation of the Commanderies of Phinika and Anoyira. At the same time the Order remits to Janus and Louis, 'Preceptor of Phinika and Anoyira', all the rents, revenues and other rights which they owed to the Grand Preceptory of Cyprus since the death of Raymond de Lescure.<sup>1</sup> Antony Fluvian's election to the Grand Mastership in 1421 left the Grand Commandery open again, and on 2 October 1421 it was conferred on the Turcopolier Thomas de Skipwith.<sup>2</sup>

Among the misfortunes of the reign of Janus were two which are already familiar in the history of Cyprus. A plague which began in 1409 lasted for more than a year.<sup>3</sup> After the plague came locusts, and devastated the crops for three or four years, abating in 1412. In 1413 by the King's orders practical measures (apparently for the first time) were taken against this pest, with the result that it did little damage. The eggs and the young hoppers were collected and buried in pits. No more effectual method was invented until the 'screen and pit' system

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<sup>1</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 505 (24 and 29 Jan. 1421). Since the death of Lescure in Sept. 1411 these rights and revenues had reverted to the common treasury of the Order. At the same time the Order remitted to Janus and his successors a debt of 12,000 Venetian ducats, which had fallen into the treasury of the Order on the death of Lescure, to whom the King owed the said sum.

<sup>2</sup> Skipwith is first heard of in Rhodes in 1408 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 10 Henry IV, vol. III, p. 411, 5 Oct. 1408). Whitworth Porter, *Hist. of the Knights of Malta*<sup>2</sup> (1883), p. 726, states that he was Preceptor of Beverley and Shingay, was named Turcopolier 10 Sept. 1417, resigned that office on being appointed Commander of Cyprus in 1421, and died in 1422. Bosio (II, p. 139) records his appointment to the Grand Commandery under the name *Tommaso di Sequipunt* (*Segniput* in the French translation). The *Victoria History of the County of York* (III, p. 262) cites a record that in 1422 the Grand Master granted for ten years to Thomas Weston the Preceptory of Ribston, vacant by the death of John Brimston, with its member Copmanthorpe, vacant by the death of Thomas 'Scquipuit the last Preceptor'.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 636-7 (began on 10 June). Strambaldi (p. 265) says that plague and locusts began on 10 June 1402 and lasted four years, but the latter detail probably refers to the locusts only. According to Amadi (p. 498) the plague began on 10 Jan. 1409 and lasted until May 1411. Fl. Bustron, p. 355: the plague began after the war in which the Genoese were defeated at Lemesos and lasted thirteen (Paris MS. 'seven-teen') months. An incident is mentioned in connexion with the locusts as having occurred at a village called Akhera (Achiera, a casale of the Grand Commandery); they settled in such numbers on a priest who was cursing them that he died of suffocation.

was adopted in 1884.<sup>1</sup> A second visitation of the plague came in 1419 and 1420, the Constable of Cyprus, Hugh de la Baume, being one of the victims.<sup>2</sup> Again there was plague in 1422.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, one of the most powerful rulers in Italy was Ladislás of Naples, who in 1399 had finally defeated Louis II, his rival for the throne since 1386. An alliance with him could not therefore but be welcomed by the King of Cyprus. Janus had a sister, Mary or Marietta, of about twenty, *gentile e savia signora*.<sup>4</sup> Boniface IX favoured the marriage of this princess to Ladislás, who had recently obtained the papal dispensation to divorce his wife Constance.<sup>5</sup> The marriage was negotiated by the Lord of Beirut and John Babin for the King of Cyprus, and William di Tocco for Ladislás.<sup>6</sup> In December 1401<sup>7</sup> Ladislás sent William di Tocco to bring her to Naples, where she arrived on 12 February 1402, accompanied by an uncle,<sup>8</sup> a bevy of Cypriote damsels, and a baptized Jew doctor. She was welcomed with great festivities, which lasted a whole month. But the union was destined to be brief, for she died on 4 September 1404. There were no children of the marriage.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hdbk.* p. 181. Of the chroniclers only Amadi mentions the method adopted. For measures adopted against the locusts under the Venetian rule, see Ch. XIII, p. 818.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 643 (the Oxford MS. and Strambaldi say it was his wife who died). Amadi (p. 499) dates the death of Hugh de la Baume in 1417. Negotiations with the King about the debt to the Mahona were interrupted by the plague and by the King's illness in 1420: Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 648; Strambaldi, p. 267. The death of Queen Charlotte on 15 Jan. is mentioned in this connexion, so she may have been a victim.

<sup>4</sup> *Giorn. Napol.* in Muratori, *R.I.S.* XXI, col. 1068. *Gratiosa donna e sapia: Diarii di Monteleone*, in M.L., *H.* II, p. 465. Tr. Caracciolo, *Opusc. hist.* in Muratori, *R.I.S.* XXII, col. 112 (n.ed., p. 127). M.L., *Gén.* p. 37. On this marriage, see A. Cutolo, *Re Ladislao d'Angio-Durazzo* (Milan, 1936-7), I, pp. 239, 248-9, 272.

<sup>5</sup> Giannone, *Ist. Civ. del Regno di Napoli*, III (1766), p. 222. <sup>6</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 478.

<sup>7</sup> So the *Diarii di Monteleone*, *loc. cit.* Machaeras, who says (632; Strambaldi, p. 263) that she sailed from Kerynia on 23 Oct. 1401, landed at Lapithos, and proceeded on 3 Nov., seems to be wrong.

<sup>8</sup> Called by one Neapolitan Chronicle 'signore di Lotrech', by another 'signore de la Mecha', by Giannone 'signore de Lamech'. The last adds that the Archbishop of Brindisi accompanied William di Tocco. This brother of James I, or of his wife, is unidentified. M.L., *H.* II, p. 465, n. 3; *Gén.* p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> She is said to have died from the effect of drugs taken to cure her barrenness.—Her dowry was 130,000 ducats. Of this, up to 1 May 1404, 84,000 ducats had not been paid, and Ladislás sent Sir Peter Macedoni, Marshal of Sicily, to Cyprus to claim the balance (M.L., *H.* II, pp. 477-81; Iorga, *N.E.* II, p. 102).

Janus, who had lost his wife Héloïse Visconti in 1406 or later (p. 447, n. 4), married again in 1409. His trusted adviser, Raymond de Lescure, was sent to the West in 1407, partly to find him a wife, partly to arrange for the redemption of the jewels and plate which had been pawned to the Hospital at the time of the peace of 1403 (p. 454). He was at Genoa in August 1407. Next year he negotiated at the French court the marriage of Janus to Charlotte of Bourbon, sister of James II, Count of La Marche, and the marriage was celebrated by proxy at Melun on 2 August 1409.<sup>1</sup> Lescure and Stephen Pignoli,<sup>2</sup> her steward, brought her to Cyprus, where she was married to Janus on 25 August 1411.<sup>3</sup> She was supposed to bring good luck to the island; the locusts, for instance, began to abate on her arrival; and in her time, say the chroniclers, there was peace and abundance.<sup>4</sup>

Charlotte, before she died on 15 January 1422, bore to Janus six children. The eldest son, who succeeded his father, was John, born in 1414.<sup>5</sup> A daughter Anna, born in 1415 or more probably 1418,<sup>6</sup> became the Duchess of Savoy.

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<sup>1</sup> Religieux de St Denis, iv, p. 397 (very inaccurate); Juvenal des Ursins, in Michaud et Poujoulat, *Nouv. Coll. Sér.* 1, t. 2, p. 455 (under 1411); Monstrelet, II, pp. 33-4; M.L., *H.* II, p. 494, n. 1; *Gén.* p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of Pignoli's epitaph is preserved in the MS. of Bartholomaeus Fontius belonging to Prof. Bernard Ashmole, described by Saxl in *Journal Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV (1940-1), pp. 19-46. The inscription was in the church of San Gallo outside the Porta San Gallo at Florence.

<sup>3</sup> The Venetian Senate on 6 June 1411 provided two galleys for her voyage (M.L., *H.* II, p. 495, n. 1; Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 861). I am unable to explain Sanudo's further statement (col. 892), that on 17 Feb. 1415 'Queen Isabella, wife of the King of Cyprus', visited Venice and was received with much honour.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 638; Strambaldi, p. 265; Amadi, p. 498; Fl. Bustron, p. 356. They have forgotten, for the moment, the plague of 1419-20.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras, 641 (Monday, 16 May); Strambaldi, p. 266 (16 March 1414); Amadi, p. 498 (16 May 1416). None of these dates was on a Monday. M.L., *Gén.* p. 44. He was created Prince of Antioch at his birth, the title of Count of Tripoli, generally reserved for the eldest son, being occupied: M.L., *Gén.* p. 20 n. For the date of the death of Charlotte, see Machaeras, 648 (Strambaldi, p. 267); Amadi, p. 499. (15 Jan. 1422 was a Thursday, as Machaeras says.) Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 171), followed by too many modern writers, makes her survive until 13 Dec. 1434.

<sup>6</sup> Machaeras, 641 (Saturday, 24 Sept. 1415); Strambaldi, p. 266 (the same); Amadi, p. 499 (24 Sept. 1418). Since 24 Sept. 1418 was a Saturday, the weekday given by both Machaeras and Strambaldi, Amadi's year is probably correct. She married Louis, Count of Geneva, in 1433; their son Louis married Queen Charlotte, becoming King of Cyprus (M.L., *Gén.* p. 41).

We now come to the Mameluke invasion of Cyprus. The capture of the King, and the imposition of a tribute to the Sultan of Egypt and acknowledgement of his suzerainty, mark one more stage in the decay of the Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

For the prelude to this invasion we must go back to the beginning of the century. The danger to Cyprus from the Moslems in Asia Minor was not pressing. There was always, of course, the growing power of the Turk, but its threat was directed rather towards the Aegean than southwards.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the Mameluke counter-crusade, see especially M. M. Ziada, 'Mamluk Conquest of Cyprus in the Fifteenth Century', in *Bull. Fac. of Arts, Egyptian University*, I, pp. 90-113; II, pp. 37-42. A brief account in Atiya, pp. 471-3; cp. also Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, v, pp. 170-7. The following Arabic sources have been used by Ziada (I have consulted those accessible in English or German translation). (a) Al-'Aini (1360-1451), *'Ikd al-Juman* (on whom Ziada chiefly bases his account). This is now accessible in English by Ziada, with comments by La Monte, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves*, VII (1944), which reached me too late to be fully used in the above narrative. (b) Makrizi (1364-1442), *Kitab al-Suluk*, Gotha MS., not in print. (c) Ibn Hajar (1372-1449), *Inba* (Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7321, not in print). (d) Khalil Zahiri, vezir of Barsbai, in M.L., *H.* II, pp. 506-14 (Englished in Mogabgab, *Supp. Exc.* II, pp. 69-75) and in L. Cheikho, 'Un dernier écho des Croisades', in *Mélanges Fac. Orient.*, Univ. de St Joseph, Beirut, I (1906), pp. 370-5 (this was written in 1427-8). (e) Salih ibn Yahya, Appendix to his History of Beirut, in Cheikho, as above, pp. 348-59. (f) Abu'l-Mahasin ibn Taghri Bardi (1411-66), in Cheikho, pp. 360-4 (who however gives only the part relating to the campaign of 1426; the accounts of the two preceding raids have not been translated; text in Popper's ed., VI, pp. 528, 591). Not contemporary are (g) Jalal ad-Din as-Suyuti (1445-1505), *Hist. of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Kaitbai* (extract transl. by A. Wahrmond in *Jahresber. d. k. k. öffentl. Lehranstalt f. oriental. Sprachen* for 1883 (Vienna, 1884), Beigabe; summary in Dawkins, note on Machaeras, 672); the attribution to Suyuti is conjectural. (h) Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid Hasan ar-Rumi, kadi of Aleppo (died 1590-1; extract from his *Hist. of the Moslem Dynasties*, in Cheikho, as above, pp. 365-9). The Christian authorities: (a) Machaeras, 651-701. (b) Strambaldi, pp. 268-87. (c) G. Paradin, *Chron. de Savoye* (1561), pp. 286-7 (based on reports of two French knights, Varambon and Champain, who were at Khirokitia). (d) Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, ed. Douet-d'Arcq, IV, pp. 243-4, 259-69. (e) Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 989. (f) Amadi, pp. 499-514. (g) Fl. Bustron, pp. 356-70. (h) *Relazione delle cose di Cipro* in Reinhard, II, Beyl. 3, pp. 28 ff. (i) Lusignan, *Chor.* ff. 59b, 60; *Descr.* ff. 154b, 155. (j) Loredano (Giblet, II, pp. 145-65). For other sources, see Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 431, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jauna, p. 923 (followed by Reinhard, II, pp. 12-13), makes Janus join an alliance between the Emperor Manuel II, Theodore II, Duke of Sparta and Despot of Morea, the Grand Master of Rhodes and others, against the Turk. Bosio (II, p. 119, 1404) does not include Cyprus.



But the position with regard to Egypt was different. It is true that for something like a generation since the signing of the peace of 1370 (p. 376), hostilities between Cyprus and the Moslems of Egypt and Syria had been quiescent. This was probably due, however, less to a desire to observe the peace for its own sake than to the exhaustion of both sides. Though open war was not undertaken, privateering was not discouraged; and when Boucicaut made his expedition to Syria, King Janus allowed him the assistance of two galleys, although only one actually sailed with him. In 1403 the Hospital made a treaty<sup>1</sup> of peace with the Sultan Faraj, which was negotiated by Raymond de Lescure, then Grand Prior of Toulouse. Cyprus was not included in this treaty, and Janus, who valued highly the diplomatic talent of Lescure, entrusted him with the task of obtaining a similar agreement between the Kingdom and Egypt (1404). Unfortunately the Sultan Faraj, irritated by the piracy which the Cypriote authorities encouraged, would have nothing to do with the proposals, threw Lescure into prison, and only released him on payment of a ransom of 25,000 ducats.<sup>2</sup>

It was apparently during the lull in the operations against Famagusta, between 1406 and 1408, that Boucicaut, meeting in Genoa Janus's envoy Lescure (on his way to France to arrange for the marriage of Janus with Charlotte), sounded him on the possibility of a new Crusade. Lescure was hopeful of interesting Janus, and John de Vienne, Commander of Belleville, was sent to Cyprus with the Marshal's proposal. But Janus, although at first he would not commit himself either way, was persuaded by his advisers, since his relations with the Sultan had improved, to have nothing to do with the scheme.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pauli, *Cod. Diplom.* II, p. 108, no. 86. Herquet, *Charlotta*, p. 78: After the treaty had been sworn to by the Egyptian envoy at Rhodes on 27 Oct. 1403, Lescure went with him on 4 Nov. to Alexandria. Jauna (II, pp. 919-21) gives this treaty (with Cyprus as a participator) under the year 1405, and says that, as well as Lescure, Thomas Provosto and John Podocataro were sent to Cairo with the King's ratification. But they were Janus's ambassadors in 1414. Reinhard (II, pp. 10-11) follows Jauna, who is responsible for a further confusion, in that he makes the Sultan send the son of 'Schit' to Janus to propose peace—an episode which belongs to 1425 (see below, p. 474).

<sup>2</sup> Boucicaut, *Livre des faits*, pt. III, ch. xvii, p. 308; Herquet, *Charlotta*, p. 97, n. 10. The Grand Master of the Hospital tried to raise a loan of 6000 ducats from the Frankish merchants in Alexandria towards this ransom (9 Aug. 1404; D.L.R., F.O. I, p. 506).

<sup>3</sup> *Livre des faits*, pt. III, chs. xv-xviii, pp. 304-9; D.L.R., F.O. pp. 505-9; Herquet, *Charlotta*, p. 79.

Raiding, however, whether by privateers or openly by the King's galleys, continued to flourish. They sailed the waters of the Levant without opposition, entered the harbour of Alexandria, and actually ran fifteen miles up the Nile. One galley alone took as many as 1500 prisoners in its various expeditions.<sup>1</sup> From 1404 until 1414, say the chroniclers,<sup>2</sup> the Sultan, who was on bad terms with the Emirs of Damascus, Tripoli and Aleppo, had to endure constant raiding of his coasts by the King's fleet, which included a number of Catalans. The Cypriotes grew rich on the booty and the slaves which these raiders brought home.<sup>3</sup> There was, it is true, a certain amount of retaliation. Though the Sultan was unable to make open war, his raiders did much damage, pillaging, burning and carrying off men and women.<sup>4</sup>

In 1414 the Sultan, Sheikh al-Muayyad, sought to put an end to these futile hostilities. He communicated with the King. Sir Thomas Provosto, whom, with Sir John Podocataro, Janus sent as his envoy, returned with a high officer of the Sultan.<sup>5</sup> All the Moslem captives who had not been baptized were released or ransomed.<sup>6</sup> The King undertook to encourage piracy no more; and peace was proclaimed on 24 November 1414.<sup>7</sup> Its effect seems to have lasted for less than ten years.

It was in the nature of the pirates not to be bound by any treaty

<sup>1</sup> Piloti, in Reiffenberg, iv, p. 385; *Livre des faits*, pt. iii, ch. xvii, p. 308; D.L.R., F.O. 1, p. 507. Muir, *Mam. Dyn.* p. 128, mentions from Saracen sources some Frankish raids on Alexandria in 1403 and on Tripoli in 1404 (cp. Weil, v, p. 124, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 636; Strambaldi, p. 264; Amadi, p. 498; Fl. Bustron, p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> In 1413 an expedition organized in Cyprus landed between Beirut and Sidon at the mouth of the Nahr Damour, but was repulsed. Schefer, *Bertr. de la Brocquière*, p. xxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 645 (cp. Strambaldi, p. 267). Machaeras, à propos of this, has an aetiological etymology for the mountain of Akamas, which was held to deserve its name because it was the only district left unburnt. See Dawkins, *ad loc.*

<sup>5</sup> The Diodar or Devitdar (Dawārdar, 'keeper of the ink-pot'). See M.L., H. iii, p. 342, n. 3. One of this official's duties was to sign the Sultan's letters. But in the Mameluke invasions of Cyprus he is a military commander of the highest rank.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Amadi, p. 499 (under 1416). The King accepted 10,000 dinars for 400 of them, and himself paid the ransom (3375 dinars) of 135. Ziada, i, p. 91. Again, in Jan. 1420, the Venetian Senate ordered its consuls in Damascus and Cyprus to redeem all the Saracen slaves (except those who had been baptized) in the island and send them back to Egypt. M.L., H. iii, p. 438; Iorga, *N.E.* i, p. 302.

<sup>7</sup> Machaeras, 646-7 (Sunday, 24 Nov. 1414); Strambaldi, p. 267 (24 Sept.). But 24 Nov. 1414 was a Saturday, and 24 Sept. a Monday. The evidence for Podocataro's acting as envoy is Amadi, p. 502; Fl. Bustron, p. 359.

in the making of which they had no part. Therefore, from 1422 (in April of which year Barsbai had ascended the throne of Egypt) there were raids or rumours of raids.<sup>1</sup> In 1424 the Sultan received from an escaped Moslem slave a report that Philip Picquigny, Bailie of Lemesos, and John Gasel, commandant of Alikí, were encouraging raids on Syria and buying the spoils. He first made a protest by letter, to which he received an arrogant reply; and then an attack in force, sending in August 1424 a flotilla of four to six galleys to Lemesos.<sup>2</sup> There three corsairs were taken and burnt. The King sent Sir Philip Provosto with 150 men to protect the place, but in a reconnaissance Sir Philip was wounded, Picquigny, who was with him, ran away, leaving him to be killed, and the enemy entered Lemesos, where they recovered some of the loot from Syria. They also plundered Venetian goods stored there, and burned the town, but found the castle too strong to attack. After visiting Kouklia, where they did much damage, they returned to Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Schefer (*op. cit.* p. xxxvi) says that Barsbai's first reconnaissance (which he does not date) under the emir Jerbash al-Kerimi landed on the Cyprus coast, and returned with rich booty. This would seem to refer to the raid of 1425. A raid by two ships, carrying 600 men and 300 horse, and resulting in the capture of much booty and 1600 prisoners, is mentioned in Sept.-Nov. 1423 by Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid (p. 365); but he may be referring to the raid which we know took place in 1424 (next note). See also Ziada, I, p. 90; Atiya, p. 471. In 1422 Janus seized a ship sent by the Sultan with presents to Murad II (cp. Khalil Zahiri, M.L., H. II, p. 506).

<sup>2</sup> It started, according to Ziada, on 7 Aug. 1424, and left Cyprus towards the end of September. Machaeras's date, 26 Sept., seems then to be that of its leaving Cyprus, not of its starting. It first caught, sacked and burnt a merchant ship off C. Gata, before going on to Lemesos (cp. Weil, v, p. 171). Suyuti says the flotilla consisted of two ships from Egypt and two from Beirut and Sidon, with a strength of 600 men and 300 horse. These, it will be noted, are the figures given for a raid in the year before (previous note); probably one and the same raid is meant.

<sup>3</sup> In Shawwal (27 Aug.-24 Sept.) 1424. Weil (*loc. cit.*) makes the expedition leave Cairo on 6 or 16 July and return on 14 Oct. 1424. This raid is described by Ziada (after Abu'l-Mahasin, etc.). See also Khalil Zahiri in M.L., H. II, pp. 506-7; Ibn Yahya, Cheikho, p. 348 (they took 25 prisoners at Lemesos); Suyuti, *loc. cit.* (gives the total number of prisoners as 1700); Machaeras, 651-2; Strambaldi, p. 268; Amadi, pp. 499-500; Fl. Bustron, pp. 356-7; Monstrelet, iv, p. 180. Bustron says that Provosto was killed by a poisoned arrow. Atiya (p. 471) identifies the raid on Syria, in which Picquigny and Gasel were interested, with one recorded by Makrizi on 2 May 1425, in which the raiders destroyed a Moslem trading ship and killed all its crew of fifty. This obviously does not square with the date of Aug.-Sept. 1424 given above for the Sultan's reprisals; and the reference may be to Provosto's raid (see next note).

King Janus countered by sending Sir Thomas Provosto with two galleys and a barque on a raid to Syria. He surprised Tyre in March 1425, and killed fifty of the garrison, but suffered a reverse at the Nahr al-Kalb near Beirut, where he lost the barque with a party that had landed for water. Retiring with his two galleys, he captured a galley coming from Ayasi, and took away among other prisoners a Mameluke of standing.<sup>1</sup>

Next year (1425) the attack was on a larger scale.<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian contingent was reviewed by Barsbai at Damietta before sailing. An attempt was made by Janus to intercept it; but his two<sup>3</sup> ships under the Catalan Palol were put to flight by a squadron from Alexandria. At Tripoli the Syrian contingent joined up, making a fleet of between forty and fifty sail.<sup>4</sup> In chief command was Jerbash (or Shirmash) Kashuk. The fighting force included many volunteers. Before leaving Tripoli on 30 July Jerbash sent a summons to Janus demanding his submission, but the King, or his advisers, stood firm. The expedition accordingly sailed, by the south coast of the Karpas, and reached Famagusta,<sup>5</sup> where cavalry and archers on foot were disembarked. It was intended to invest Famagusta, but the Genoese Governor is said

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras, 653; Strambaldi, p. 269; Amadi, p. 500; Fl. Bustron, p. 357; Zahiri, *loc. cit.*; Ziada, I, p. 95. The Mameluke captured was one Fadil of Ayasi, who had been one of the chief instigators of the Sultan's attack on Cyprus. The passage of Makrizi mentioned in the previous note may refer to this raid, in spite of divergences.

<sup>2</sup> Ziada, I, pp. 94-8; Zahiri, *op. cit.* pp. 508-10; Ibn Yahya, pp. 348-53; Abu'l-Mahasin, p. 360; Suyuti, *loc. cit.*; Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid, pp. 365-6; Machaeras, 654-9; Strambaldi, pp. 269-71; *Diarii Veneti* and *Zancruola Cron.* quoted by Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 403, n. 5; Amadi, pp. 500-2; Fl. Bustron, p. 357-9.

<sup>3</sup> Suyuti says 'Bala' had nine ships, but that was more likely the strength of the squadron from Alexandria that routed him.

<sup>4</sup> Zahiri counts five large ships, nineteen galleys, six horse-transport and thirteen galliots. Ibn Yahya, six transports, ten galleys or brigantines, and twenty-six other vessels. Machaeras, Strambaldi, Amadi and Fl. Bustron have fifty galleys. Zahiri gives the date of sailing in Rajab A.H. 828, which is equivalent to 19 May-17 June 1425. Machaeras and the other Cypric chronicles, on the other hand, say that the news of the fleet's arrival off Khelones (on the south coast of the Karpas, see Dawkins on Machaeras, 654, n. 2) reached the King only on 3 Aug., and the campaign lasted through August. The weather was so hot that on one day eleven of the King's army died. Ibn Yahya and al-'Aini confirm the Cypric sources. Perhaps Zahiri's date is that of the sailing of the Egyptian contingent for Tripoli.

<sup>5</sup> The fleet first anchored about 30 miles from Famagusta on 18 Ramadan 828 (4 Aug. 1425), and troops were landed on Sunday 20 Ramadan.

by Arab sources to have sent an express, professing himself the slave, and the town and all its inhabitants the chattels, of the Sultan. Barsbai's flag was hoisted on the castle.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile Janus had sent his brother Henry, Prince of Galilee,<sup>2</sup> with 500 horse and 2000 foot,<sup>3</sup> to meet the invaders. The Moslems, who had landed some 400 men, burned Trapeza and Kalopsida; but some of them were caught and defeated by the Prince at Styli. At Capo della Greca they captured a small detachment of cavalry, killing its commander.<sup>4</sup> The Prince followed the invaders southwards as far as Aradippou, where he spent the night of 8 August. Next day, at Aliki, whither the Moslem fleet had sailed from Famagusta, there were engagements both on sea and land, of which very conflicting accounts are given.<sup>5</sup> But that fortune went against the Prince is clear, since the enemy

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Mahasin and Zahiri. 'In the month of Ramadan' (17 July-15 Aug. 1425), Suyuti, *loc. cit.* The Christian writers say nothing of the surrender of Famagusta. From the letter addressed, 1 Jan. 1426, to the Sultan by the consul and *veterani* of the Genoese colony of Caffa (Iorga, *N.E.* 1, p. 412) it appears that the Egyptians treated Famagusta as an enemy, burning many villages and taking many prisoners on its territory.

<sup>2</sup> Henry was probably that son of James I whose birth was reported to the Genoese Captain of Famagusta on 8 Aug. 1391 (Iorga, *N.E.* 1, p. 81). In 1413 he and some others had left Cyprus with 8000 ducats and without the King's permission (Machaeras, 640; Strambaldi, p. 266; Amadi, p. 498; Fl. Bustron, p. 356). If it is true that Janus supported him as a candidate for the hand of Joanna II of Naples in 1414 (D'Egley, *Hist. des rois des Deux Siciles* (1741), III, p. 10) the disagreement with his brother must have soon been made up. His presence at Gaeta is mentioned in a minute of the Venetian Senate of 13 Oct. 1414. He reached Venice on 17 July 1415; in 1416 (February) he was at Genoa (Iorga, *N.E.* 1, p. 222); some time in this year at Paris (Monstrelet, III, p. 381); in August at Ragusa (Iorga, *op. cit.* II, p. 153). The date of his return to Cyprus does not seem to be recorded.

<sup>3</sup> 1000 horse and 3000 foot, Zahiri, Suyuti and Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid. 700 horse and 8000 foot according to a prisoner's report in Ibn Yahya. 300 horse according to al-'Aini.

<sup>4</sup> So Suyuti; Zahiri says he was made a prisoner of war.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras (who gives the date 9 Aug.) does not say who had the upper hand; Amadi (same date) says four Christians were killed; Fl. Bustron that the Moslems were put to flight and lost thirty men, the Christians six. Zahiri describes a sea-fight with a Christian squadron of nine galleys and a large ship; the Christians were defeated and lost one galley. When the Prince saw this, he retired in disorder. According to Ibn Yahya, the Moslems saw the Cypriote fleet (4 galleys, 8 brigantines and a large ship) but owing to unfavourable wind failed to engage it. This he dates before the fight on land at Aliki, which he puts on 11 Aug. He describes the Frankish cavalry as attempting to prevent the Moslems from landing, but being driven back. They counter-attacked but were again repulsed by some thousand Moslems on foot (they

were able to burn Kellia and Aradippou with its seigneurial lodging,<sup>1</sup> also that at the tower of Alikí, as well as Agrinou, Vromolaxia and Kiti. Larnaka was sacked. News of this reached Nicosia on the 10th. According to the Christian writers the Prince, much against his will, was prevented from joining battle with the Moslems by Sir John de Grinier and Sir Badin and Sir Philip de Nores, whom the King, in view of his youth, had appointed to advise him. On 12 August<sup>2</sup> he returned to the capital, and Dominic de Palu, Viscount of Nicosia, was put in command. He went in force to Lemesos, where the Moslems had arrived on 15 August, having ravaged the country all the way.<sup>3</sup> The next day they were in possession of the castle, having entered through a hole in the wall shown them by Moslem slaves who had been employed in the works; they killed the bailie, Stephen of Vicenza, and many others, and took many captives.<sup>4</sup> The Viscount and his force were nearly caught in an ambush, but being warned by a peasant retired to Palamida (Polemídia?), and thence to Limnati. The enemy burned Palamida and many other places, but did not attempt to pursue the Viscount, and finally, having destroyed the upper part of the castle at Lemesos and burnt the city, abandoned the enterprise and sailed for Egypt with considerable booty.

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had left their horses in the ships). Meanwhile those who had not landed again attempted to engage the Frankish fleet, which retired. Next day (Saturday, 12 Aug.) the Moslems again landed and took many prisoners, from whom they learned that the Prince's infantry, seeing the cavalry driven back, had dispersed. In these engagements the Moslems took 700 prisoners of both sexes, and seven waggons with artillery and munitions. Suyuti's account of the sea-fight agrees more or less with Zahiri's: the Christians had nine galleys and a transport; they lost one galley and a boat, whose crews fled to land and were captured. Al-'Aini (p. 247) gives the Christians eight men-of-war, one great caravel and two swift boats, which were all routed.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Binon in *Mélanges Boisacq*, I, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Since he gave up on 12 Aug. (as Machaeras, agreeing with the Arabic sources, says), 22 in Machaeras, 659, is doubtless a mistake for 12.

<sup>3</sup> Outside Alikí, where they had sacked the salt-pans, they had captured and killed Sir John Gasel, the commandant of the place, and taken three waggons of munitions under his command. Ziada, I, p. 109, n. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Rekouniatos, who was captured here, was afterwards put to death for refusing to apostatize, together with Andronicus of Gorhigos, who had been captured and escaped the year before (Machaeras, 652), and must have been taken again. They are said to have been canonized, but are not in the Synaxaristis (Dawkins on Machaeras, 660). Rekouniatos is called Ragonnet de Pieul or Pioul by Monstrelet, who says that he was sawn in two (IV, p. 246).

A report that Venice had sent aid to Cyprus may have had something to do with their decision; but it was more probably inspired by the desire to get home safely with their booty from a campaign of which they were tired. A characteristic of the Moslem invaders of Cyprus was a disinclination to linger in the island after they had collected a satisfactory quantity of plunder.<sup>1</sup>

The raid of 1425, which showed the Sultan how inefficient was the defence of Cyprus, whetted his appetite for the revenge which he took next year. The chroniclers<sup>2</sup> have a long story of an attempt made by a saintly sheikh of Damascus, Muhammad ibn Kodaidar, whom they call Sith, to warn King Janus of the danger of defying the Sultan. He had heard at Cairo of the excellent qualities of Janus from his envoy Sir Thomas Provosto and the merchant Sir John Podocataro.<sup>3</sup> He sent his only son to Cyprus with presents and a letter pointing out that the King was in the wrong to encourage piracy, that the Sultan was extremely powerful and had sworn to destroy Cyprus utterly. The sheikh's son was unable to obtain access to the King, owing to the opposition of his Council, who feared enchantment. Janus had him hospitably

<sup>1</sup> According to Weil (v, p. 172) Jerbash sailed from Lemesos, landed at Tineh on 13 Shawwal (28 Aug.) and entered Cairo on 26 Shawwal with 1060 prisoners and booty carried on camels, etc.; slightly different dates in al-'Aini (p. 250) and others. As to prisoners, Muir (*Mam. Dyn.* p. 140), from Arabic sources, says that 1000 were taken and were all sold, although Barsbai humanely did not allow children or near relatives to be separated from those on whom they were dependent (cp. Ziada, I, p. 98: 1060 prisoners, the sales fetched 23,300 dinars; al-'Aini has 'nearly 1000 prisoners' who fetched 18,800 dinars). Other sources (Suyuti, Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid) say that the Franks in the course of all this campaign lost 5000 men, the Moslems only 13.

<sup>2</sup> Monstrelet, iv, pp. 243-4; Machaeras, 661-7; Strambaldi, pp. 271-4; Amadi, pp. 502-4; Fl. Bustron, pp. 359-61; Loredano (Giblet), II, pp. 145-51. For the Arabic version of this episode, see Ziada, I, p. 98. It is to be conjectured that the sheikh was 'ille senex quem Saraceni pro sancto reputant' who had advised the Venetian consul in Damascus some five years earlier to redeem the Saracen slaves in Cyprus and return them to Egypt, in order to avoid reprisals (Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 302).

<sup>3</sup> Since we know that these two Cypriotes were in Cairo in 1414 (p. 469), it seems most probable that the sheikh met them there. The Arabic version of the story, which makes Janus send them to Damascus to approach the Sultan through the sheikh, seems improbable, in view of the refusal of Janus or his counsellors to accept the sheikh's advice. The fact that the sheikh was in communication with the King would easily be distorted by the Arab writers to mean that Janus had taken the initiative and, as it was rumoured in Cairo, that he had actually written to the Governor of Damascus offering peace.

entertained at Lefkoniko, but all the young man's endeavours to get speech with him were fruitless. A letter which he gave to the King's squire Peter Palestri was read by an interpreter, and the Council held that the Sultan had ordered the sheikh to write it in the hope of staving off the attack which he feared. 'Unseemly counsels of vain men who did not know the world' is the chronicler's apt comment. The envoy, bearing presents indeed, but grievously disappointed, returned to his father, who was naturally deeply mortified at the failure of his well-meant effort.<sup>1</sup>

The Sultan is said to have been encouraged in his designs on Cyprus by the Genoese, especially by Benedict Pallavicini,<sup>2</sup> who was in Egypt. Naturally hostile to Janus, they hoped by the Egyptian imbroglio to hamper his attacks on Famagusta. The Sultan was stimulated by the Lord of Alaya, Ibrahim,<sup>3</sup> who was at Alexandria with two galleys. Exaggerated reports had also come to the Sultan that Janus had invited all the Powers of the West to join in a great offensive against Egypt and Syria, and that they had all given him assistance, the King of the Catalans having even sent his own nephew, with ships and knights.<sup>4</sup> By the 'nephew' is meant Carceran Suarez. Janus had indeed asked for a loan from Venice, but the Senate, nervous as ever about difficulties with Egypt, not only refused, but prohibited its ships from carrying help to Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> Even Genoa was approached, but replied that it had never felt so needy as now that it was prevented by stress of circumstances from giving the aid which it would gladly have given.<sup>6</sup> Janus had also sent

<sup>1</sup> Machaeras (668-70; Strambaldi, pp. 275-6) follows the story of the sheikh with a tale of a vision which appeared to a Christian boy in Alexandria. Three horsemen saints, one of whom was St George, appeared to him, saying that they were sent to help Cyprus; in a second vision they told him that they had been commanded to leave the island, because the Cypriotes put their hope not in God but in their vain weapons.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that this man was afterwards to mediate in the matter of the King's ransom does not, of course, rule out the possibility of his having encouraged the Sultan. Business would come first.

<sup>3</sup> Dawkins on Machaeras, 671, n. 2; Ziada, I, pp. 99-100.

<sup>4</sup> Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid, p. 366.

<sup>5</sup> M.L., H. II, pp. 516-17; Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 411. See also M.L., *Nouv. preuves, B.E.C.* 35, pp. 133-6, for various decisions (1425-7) with a view to preventing Venetians trading to Syria from landing on the coasts of either of the belligerents, being captured and so involving Venice.

<sup>6</sup> Letter of the Genoese government, 27 May 1426, to Janus, who had sent James du Puy and Hugh Soudan to appeal for help. Iorga, *N.E.* I, pp. 421-2. Soudan, who remained at Genoa, was so far successful that Pallavicini was commissioned to mediate on behalf of Janus after his capture.



Nicolas, Bishop of Famagusta, to the West, and the envoy was recommended to the Christian rulers by Pope Martin V.<sup>1</sup> But what the Sultan regarded as offensive preparations were probably, from Janus's point of view, purely defensive, although the Christian Powers to whom he appealed may have looked on them in the light of a Crusade. Some of them attempted mediation.<sup>2</sup>

The start of the expedition was delayed. The rendezvous was at Rosetta in the month of Rajab (9 May–7 June 1426). But a storm blew up and wrecked four ships, drowning a hundred horses and nine or ten men.<sup>3</sup> The Sultan, encouraged by Jerbash, refused to regard this as a bad omen, and went on with his preparations. The contingent from Alexandria, which should have joined at Rosetta, returned on hearing of the damage done by the storm. Meanwhile Janus, learning from his informants in Egypt that the Alexandrian contingent had gone or was going to Rosetta, sent a galley and two transports,<sup>4</sup> which on sailing into the harbour on 8 June were attacked and routed.

More ships and troops joined the expedition at Rosetta; it was placed under the command of Inal al-Jakami, while the land forces were led by Taghribardi al-Mahmudi.<sup>5</sup> The fleet amounted to some 180 sail.<sup>6</sup> The Mameluke cavalry on board numbered five or six hundred. There was also a large force of Turcomans.<sup>7</sup>

The invaders landed on 1 July on the coast of the Avdimou district,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reinhard, II, p. 19. The letter of the Emperor Sigismund to the Pope (after 24 May 1426, Iorga, *N.E.* II, p. 232), on the duty of succouring Janus, his son John, and his brother Cardinal Hugh, was doubtless inspired by an appeal from that quarter.

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor of Constantinople sent an envoy to Cairo with presents to the Sultan, which were accepted, but did not soften his heart (Abu'l-Mahasin and Makrizi; Ziada, I, p. 99). The attempt at mediation which the Grand Master Antony Fluvian is reported to have made (Vertot, II, 1726, p. 196) was equally unsuccessful.

<sup>3</sup> Al-'Aini denies that any were drowned.

<sup>4</sup> Four Cypriote men-of-war, according to Ziada (I, pp. 100–1).

<sup>5</sup> According to Suyuti the future Sultan Inal was also in this expedition.

<sup>6</sup> This figure, from Zahiri, is more likely to be correct than the 150 given by Machaeras, Amadi and Fl. Bustron, or Suyuti's '100 or more'.

<sup>7</sup> 2000 according to Machaeras. The total of the army is put at about 5000 by Ziada (I, p. 100, from al-'Aini).

<sup>8</sup> Suyuti wrongly gives 24 Sha'ban (1 July) as the date of the sailing; al-'Aini 4 July as that of the landing. The place where they landed, according to Machaeras's text, was called Linidia, in the manor of Avdimou. Strambaldi has Livadia; any place with meadows might bear that name. *M.L., H.* II, p. 535, n. 4, observes that they

and immediately marched on Lemesos, which they found, to their surprise, had been refortified since its recent destruction. The place fell to them on 3 July.<sup>1</sup> They stayed but for a few days, sacking and burning.<sup>2</sup> During the occupation, a Cypriote galley appeared, but took to flight when attacked by two of the invaders' ships. It anchored some distance away by the shore, and its men, disembarking, were cut to pieces by cavalry which had followed its course.<sup>3</sup>

The country round naturally suffered from the depredations of the invaders. They seem, however, to have found the castles at Episkopi and Kolossi too strong for them.<sup>4</sup>

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cannot have landed at Pissouri, as Fl. Bustron says, the coast there being impracticable. But Pissouri may be the village nearest to the point at which, striking inland, they would find the road, if they landed on the coast south of Avdimou (which is not, as M.L., *H.* II, p. 511, n. 1 says, 9 or 10 leagues east, but rather more than 16 miles west, of Lemesos). Further, there is some slight evidence that the name of Pissouri was given to a spot on the coast. I have to thank Prof. P. Kahle for a translation from the second edition (1526) of Piri Reis (Agia Sofia MS. 2612, published at Istanbul 1935) of the whole of his description of Cyprus, which differs greatly from the first edition (O.C. pp. 428ff.). In this second edition we read: 'C. Bianco is a white promontory. On the east side of this promontory is a bay, which is a good anchorage. There is a sweet water, which flows in summer and winter. Two miles to the east of this water is a lake called *Pisuri*. The roadstead of this lake is in summer time a good anchorage. Further, 20 miles to south-east of this lake is C. Gata.' The sweet water is probably the R. Kouris; the lake can hardly be anything but the Salt Lake of Akrotiri or Limassol. To say that C. Gata is 20 miles from this lake is absurd, but that is about its distance from C. Bianco. It looks as if, in Piri Reis, the name of Pissouri has been transferred from a spot on the coast near C. Bianco (just inland of which lies the village of Pissouri) to the roadstead off the Salt Lake, which, as Oberhummer remarks, then communicated with the sea. In the first edition Piri Reis (as transl. by Beck, O.C. p. 431) calls that roadstead *Sipavri*, which, Oberhummer thinks, conceals the name of C. Zevgari. Iorga (*N.E.* I, p. 404n.), à propos of the expedition of 1425, quotes the *Cron. di tutta la prov. di Ven.* for the statement that it landed at Piscopi. Confusion with the invasion of 1426 is to be suspected.

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Mahasin's dates are, for the capture, 27 Sha'ban (4 July); for the abandonment, 7 July.

<sup>2</sup> According to Lusignan (*Chor. f.* 59b; *Descr. f.* 154b) Lemesos with its castle was destroyed to the foundations. As regards the castle, the remains, though much altered, show this to be an exaggeration (Jeffery, *Hist. Mon.* p. 369).

<sup>3</sup> Ziada, I, p. 101, from al-'Aini.

<sup>4</sup> Lusignan, *Descr. f.* 154b, says that they attempted but failed to take these fortresses by surprise. Suyuti, on the other hand, says that they took 'Ifisiyya', a spot not belonging to Janus (which suits Kolossi), 'like Famagusta, which belongs to the Venetians'!

On 3 July, King Janus, having heard of the invasion, started from the capital with a force of 1600 knights and 4000 foot,<sup>1</sup> and came to Potamia. It was probably here that an envoy arrived from Taghribardi,<sup>2</sup> but, in accordance with what seems to have been a principle with the King's advisers, was not allowed access to him. Sending James de Belonia forward with an advance guard, Janus now moved on to Pyrga, where he bivouacked on the night of the 4th. On the way he met Sforza, a mercenary officer, who reported the fall of Lemesos. An envoy of the invaders, conducted by Philip de Picquigny, the Bailie of Lemesos, had missed the King, having gone by another route. At dawn on Friday the 5th, Janus advanced to Khirokitia where he and the knights lodged in the tower of the Commandery, while the rest pitched tents and made other shelters, covering so much ground that it took a herald more than half a day to make the round. Here again the enemy made another attempt to propose terms. A letter was brought by a villager, protesting that Janus had sent no one to meet the invaders and enquire what were their demands; insisting that he should cease to harbour pirates; and inviting him to come and sit on the Sultan's carpet—which would have been to admit his inferior status<sup>3</sup>—and discuss terms. The message was treated with contempt; what was worse, the envoy who had been brought by Picquigny was tortured to death.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Zahiri's figure of 23,000 cavalry may be ignored. Al-'Aini has 2000 horse and about 8000 foot. Reports, says Suyuti, reached the invaders that Janus had 5000 horse and 7000 foot. Sanudo (*Vite*, col. 989 A) gives him 2000 horse and a 'large number' of infantry. The extent to which the Order of St John aided Janus, thereby earning the enmity of the Sultan (Bosio, II, p. 142), is not clear. There were two Rhodian galleys in the King's fleet, 'ships men and munitions', Ziada, I, p. 99 (from al-'Aini, Machaeras and Vertot); who also says that Ali of Karaman, who had been imprisoned at Cairo, allowed Janus to hire Karaman soldiery. Cp. Weil, v, p. 174, n. 2. According to Monstrelet (IV, p. 260) it was on the advice of the western knights that Janus advanced to meet the invaders, instead of concentrating on the defence of the capital, as the Cypriot knights would have preferred.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras describes him as an old Saracen, a Mameluke, a renegade.

<sup>3</sup> See Dawkins on Machaeras, 676, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Zahiri says that he was burnt alive; but it appears from the Christian sources that his body was burnt after he was dead. The enemy in pursuit of the King found men concerned in this task at the tower of Khirokitia (Amadi, p. 507; Fl. Bustron, p. 365).—Machaeras appears to distinguish four envoys: (1) the old renegade who came to Potamia; (2) the one who was tortured to death; (3) the villager; (4) one who was seized by Sir Thomas Provosto and imprisoned at Nicosia (677). Amadi and Fl. Bustron identify (2) with (3); on the other hand, of the one brought by Picquigny,

On Saturday the 6th scouts reported that the enemy was preparing to attack.<sup>1</sup> Janus gave orders for his forces, which, as already described, had been spread over too wide an area, to be brought in to bivouac round the tower. In the night a meteor appeared in the sky and fell upon the tower—a bad omen which, it was hoped, boded ill to the enemy rather than the King.

The inefficiency of the Cypriote commissariat was disastrous. There was a shortage of wine, so necessary in the heat of the season, and there was no control over the distribution of fodder for the horses. There was also complete lack of discipline, the soldiers refusing to obey the commanders, Sir John de Verni and others, whom Janus had set over them, and insisting that they should all be under the King's direct command.

Thus Sunday, 7 July, dawned. The King did what he could to establish order in his forces, dividing them into companies of 150 each. Some hundred men with large wooden shields were formed up as the King's bodyguard. But when the outposts were driven in, reporting that they had engaged the enemy with losses on both sides,<sup>2</sup> Janus took up his position in the centre of his line, with the Prince on his right, and Sir John de Grinier and Sir Badin de Nores on his left. The enemy now came in sight over a hill, down the slope of which they charged. The Christians met them, led by the King, but after the first shock he withdrew into a narrow valley, where it would have been difficult to get at him, and whence, if the enemy moved to the attack, he was in a good position to fall on them. He was however persuaded by a Turk in his service to take the offensive while the enemy were still few in numbers,

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they say that he was detained. It is unlikely that a Cypriote villager, a mere bearer of a letter, should have been tortured, though that might well have happened to a Moslem envoy, and there would be a good reason for disposing of his body by burning, to hide the marks of torture. But to the Moslems it would seem an additional outrage.—In connexion with the imprisonment of an envoy at Nicosia, Machaeras, in language having a curiously modern ring, notes (677) the folly of the authorities in preventing baptized Moslem slaves from leaving the town, lest they should join the enemy, to whom actually, having been baptized, they would be hostile. Doubtless it was felt that, even though baptized, they may have remained Moslem at heart.

<sup>1</sup> The line of their march is not indicated by any source, except in Suyuti's unintelligible remark that, after they had heard of the death of their envoy, they marched as far as 'the Church', but found it destroyed and the well filled up. Stavrovouni of course cannot be intended.

<sup>2</sup> This is the skirmish described by Monstrelet (iv, p. 261) in which Hospitallers and other westerners were engaged. Al-'Aini (p. 257) says there were 300 horsemen and many foot, who were defeated by 30 Moslem horse and some foot.

before they could be reinforced. But it was impossible to rally the scattered knights, and the infantry, seeing another squadron of the enemy approach, flung down their shields and weapons and fled. The King, with the few who stood by him, performed miracles of valour. The enemy, seeing the Christians in flight, advanced very cautiously, suspecting an ambush.<sup>1</sup> Janus retired slowly; his horse fell under him three times,<sup>2</sup> and finally refused to pass a camel which was lying in the road.<sup>3</sup> So warily did the Moslems follow, that they did not even attack the Christians whom they saw lying in the shade of the trees, exhausted by the heat. On reaching the tower, they found some Christians burning the body of their dead envoy; this roused their fury and, couching their lances, they charged. Many of those who chose to stay with the King<sup>4</sup> were killed, including the Prince. Janus had mounted a small horse which was not equal to his weight. Two of the enemy charged at him; seeing them, he cried out in Arabic, 'I am the King', but one of them wounded him in the face. A Catalan in his service, Carceran Suarez, afterwards Admiral of Cyprus, also cried out that he was the King, and saved him from further injury. After this, the Mamelukes rode among the Christians, who were flying in all directions, and made great slaughter.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The remark in Amadi and Fl. Bustron that they prayed that someone might be found to make peace, can hardly be taken seriously.

<sup>2</sup> According to Paradin's informants he was thrown successively by two horses, and had finally to mount a small courtault (which means merely a *cheval de service*, as distinct from a war-horse).

<sup>3</sup> The horse's fear of camels is well-known from Herodotus's account of the defeat of Croesus by Cyrus. Sir Percy Sykes (*History of Afghanistan*, I, pp. 43-4) records an instance from his own experience. But it is by no means invariable (cp. W. Turner in *Exc. Cypr.* p. 431).

<sup>4</sup> Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 989B, mentions specially the Capellazzi from the Morea, who refused to desert Janus. The King, he says, was wounded in the throat.

<sup>5</sup> Machaeras (685; Strambaldi, pp. 281-2) has a list of twenty important persons killed on the field, as well as a number of common folk. Two distinguished Armenians were among the slain: Constantine Yerez, brother of Bishop Leo of Cyprus, and the knight Sir Thoros Costantz (*Haï-Kibros*, p. 22, para. 8). A number of 'Frenchmen' also let themselves be cut to pieces (Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 431, n. 3). Zahirî (cp. Suyuti) says that over 6000 Christians fell. Lusignan (*Descr.* f. 155) has the curious figure of 1017. According to Abu'l-Mahasin (p. 361) of Moslems of distinction only four were killed. Jeffery (*Hist. Mon.* p. 350) records an interesting local tradition about a tract of land to the west of Khirokitia, bounded on the north by a steep cliff (called the 'Kremolou tous Frankous') where the Christians made their last stand, many knights being forced over the precipice.

The King, with shackled feet, was taken down to the shore, and so to Alikí. On that day, before night fell, the news of the disaster reached Nicosia. The Moslem sea and land forces united at Alikí on the 8th.<sup>1</sup>

Thence Taghribardi, on 10 July, moved on Nicosia. Hardly had he left, when the Cypriote fleet appeared. Against the 180 or 150 ships of the Sultan, Janus disposed of a tiny naval force, under the command of the Lord of Beirut. There were two royal galleys, two Rhodian, two Catalan, and one belonging to Fra Canto; also a galliasse and seven merchant ships. Present also were two ships full of pilgrims.<sup>2</sup> The orders to the fleet were to attack the enemy; but the only ships which obeyed were the two royal galleys and the two pilgrim ships.<sup>3</sup> They received no support, and though the royal galleys were able to rejoin the others, the pilgrim ships were captured.<sup>4</sup> Such is the account given by the Christian writers. From the Moslem side we learn that when the Christians attacked, Inal, finding that his reduced forces (for Taghribardi had taken most of the men with him) could not withstand the assault, despatched an urgent message to Taghribardi, who sent back a large reinforcement, which embarked and joined in the fight, until night separated the combatants. In the morning the Moslems captured a ship containing 300 fighting men, whom they put to the sword. The rest of the Frankish fleet took to flight.

The fate of the captured pilgrims was cruel, if we may believe the Christian narrative;<sup>5</sup> the Arabic sources do not mention the subject. Only the young women were spared, to be carried off for the customary

<sup>1</sup> On the 10th, according to al-'Aini.

<sup>2</sup> Abu'l-Mahasin says that the Frankish fleet consisted of seven galleys and seven square-sailed ships, of which one was captured; this was probably the ship containing 300 soldiers, besides the crew, mentioned by Suyuti and Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid. Al-'Aini has eight 'grabs' and seven caravels. Sanudo (*Vite*, col. 989c) says that the fleet of the King and the Rhodians appeared on 12 Aug. (as usually in this episode he is a month out) and found the Egyptian ships empty, the enemy having landed in search of plunder. He goes on to describe the capture of a pilgrim ship, which he says was Venetian.

<sup>3</sup> Only Fl. Bustron says that the King's galleys engaged the enemy. According to the other writers the two pilgrim ships received no support at all.

<sup>4</sup> Sanudo's account, though obscure, seems to mean that the Christian fleet put a pilgrim ship between themselves and the enemy, so that it received all the arrows and bolts, and was captured after a fight of four hours.

<sup>5</sup> Monstrelet, iv, p. 267; Aeneas Sylvius, *Comm.* p. 322; Sanudo, *loc. cit.* The Moslems are said to have spared the writer John Dandolo, who apostatized, and two Genoese. Iorga, *N.E.* 1, p. 431, n. 3.

purpose. Twenty-five friars, who refused to apostatize, were done to death, stoned or cut to pieces, before the eyes of the King.

The Christian fleet had retired, but the Moslems, despite their overwhelming superiority in numbers, had a wholesome respect for it. The King, who was on board a ship at Aliki, was forced by his captors, under threat of losing his head, to send a message ordering it to withdraw. The two royal galleys retired to Kerynia;<sup>1</sup> the others also gave up the struggle, and the Mameluke fleet was left free to ravage the coasts.

Among the places which suffered at the time was the church of Holy Cross at Stavrovouni, whither the Moslems marched immediately after their victory at Khirokitia; here much booty was taken, including a cross of massive gold.<sup>2</sup>

The news of the capture of the King and the death of Prince Henry threw Nicosia into consternation. There another brother of Janus,

<sup>1</sup> Amadi's date for this, 8 July, is impossible. He says that the two (royal) galleys went to Kerynia, and the others went privateering round the island (*corsegiavano l'isola*), and this was on 8 July; and on the 9th they collected their ships and reviewed their forces (*recognossanza della sua gente*). Amadi's phrase shows that when Fl. Bustron says 'le altre andorno al corso' he does not, as his editor supposes, mean that they went to Gorchigos.

<sup>2</sup> On the cross of Stavrovouni, see Hackett, pp. 441-50 (Papaioannou, II, pp. 301-13); cp. also O.C. p. 55 (Shems ed-Din of Damascus, 1256-1327, explains the trick as being effected by magnets, 'the work of the stupidity of the accursed Christians'). Zahiri describes the cross taken by the Mamelukes as being made with certain concealed springs, so that it seemed to be always in motion, though no one touched it. The travellers who speak of the Cross of Stavrovouni, both before and after the Mameluke visitation, describe a cross of cypress-wood, which hung in the air without any visible support, and while one (the Seigneur d'Anglure) says that it shook violently when touched, another (Felix Fabri) says that it stood as firmly as though it were nailed or bonded to the wall. It is hardly possible to reconcile these accounts; but the 'massive gold' of the original plating may have been superseded by the silver-gilt which Felix Fabri saw. The Mamelukes would probably not have been interested in the wooden relic. The whole question is complicated by the fact that, as related by Marino Sanudo (*Diarii*, I, 751, Sept. 1497), the Genoese Franceschetto Cibò, son of Pope Innocent VIII, came to Venice and offered to the Signory, as a gift for which he wished to be rewarded, though not in cash, a cross which was all made of wood from the True Cross, which was in Cyprus, and so famous; saying that this cross was brought from Cyprus to Rome by Queen Charlotte, and then came into his hands. That Charlotte gave some such relic to Pope Innocent is likely enough; what relation it really bore to the cross at Stavrovouni cannot be said, although in view of the custom of multiplying relics conjecture is easy. Doubtless small portable crosses, professing to be made of wood from the great one, would be supplied to important personages.

Hugh, Archbishop of Nicosia, generally known as the Cardinal of Cyprus,<sup>1</sup> took charge of the situation. As it was impossible to defend the capital, he merely set guards at the gates. He sent the Seneschal Spinola to Kerynia with the treasure. On the 8th he himself followed with Prince John and the Princesses Anna and Agnes; so did the Marshal of Cyprus, James de Cafran. The people scattered in all directions. Many sought asylum in the lodge of the Venetian Bailie, hoping, since Venice was not at war with the Sultan, to be in safety there. The Bailie himself fled to Kerynia.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile Taghribardi, having left Aliki on 10 July, approached Nicosia, burning the royal lodge and gardens at Potamia on his way. On reaching the capital, he took up a position on the hill where the Margarita tower had stood.<sup>3</sup> The cautious commander, seeing from this eminence the great extent of the town, hesitated to enter it. The Mamelukes indeed cannot be said to have distinguished themselves by foolhardiness, either in the battle of Khirokitia or in the sea-fight off Aliki. But his doubts were soon set at rest. It is not true that, as the Arab historian asserts, all the great people of the country, the bishops, the clergy and the religious orders, flocked out to welcome him.<sup>4</sup> But a

<sup>1</sup> M.L., *Arch.* pp. 280ff. He received the hat in Nov. 1426; but he had been created cardinal deacon of St Adrian on 24 May. Raynaldus, 1426, § 26, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 989c; Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 431, n. 3. According to Amadi (p. 509) and Fl. Bustron (p. 366), he left in his place Eustace de Burello. But the text of Machaeras (692) and Strambaldi (p. 283) makes the Cardinal leave this man as Governor of Nicosia. Both may be right. After the Genoese occupation of Famagusta, the residence of the Venetian Bailie had been transferred to Nicosia. The Venetian consulate in Cyprus was not, it would seem, re-established until 1430 (decision of the Senate, 5 Feb. 1430, M.L., *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, p. 138).

<sup>3</sup> Amadi and Fl. Bustron: 'il monte (colle) di Santa Margarita'. Machaeras has 'St Marina, the church of Konnos at the Lower Gate' or 'St Marina by the Lower Gate', while Strambaldi has 'Santa Marina of the Paphos Gate'. See Dawkins on Machaeras, 692, n. 2. The Paphos and Lower Gates are at opposite points of the walls, and it is to be suspected that 'porta da Baffo' is a corruption of 'porta da basso'. The lower gate was on the east or south-east of the city, and from the accounts of the siege of 1570 (see p. 967) we know that St Marina was on the south-east. Abu'l-Mahasin's account: 'they penetrated to Lefkosia, killing all and taking many prisoners', must not be taken to mean that the capital put up any resistance; nor can there have been any siege, such as Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid supposes (p. 368).

<sup>4</sup> Although, it must be admitted, Sanudo (*Vite*, col. 989b) says that when the Saracens, with 3000 horse, reached Nicosia on '10 August', the people opened the gates crying 'Long live the Lord Sultan'.



certain number of persons, who knew Arabic, hoped to find their account in currying favour with the victors. Such were the four brothers Audet, and Sir Badin Goneme, Badin Bili and John Flatro, who came out carrying branches and torches, and invited them to enter. Some of them sought, and for the time obtained, offices, because they could be useful to the conquerors. Thus Flatro, who was well acquainted with the finances of the realm, became financial secretary. For a similar reason one Eustace Guli, a clerk, was fetched from the country and appointed to a position where his information about the revenue was valuable. When such men were no longer needed they were carried off as prisoners, or thrown aside.<sup>1</sup>

On Friday, 12 July,<sup>2</sup> Taghribardi took up his residence in the royal palace. A minute search of every house in Nicosia was made. The house of the Venetian Bailie, in which so many had taken refuge with all their valuables, was put under guard. As though the occupation was to be permanent, the faith of Islam was proclaimed and the Moslem hours of prayer ordained.<sup>3</sup> All the people remaining in the capital begged for assurance of personal safety. They were given 'arrows and writings' to carry, and general proclamation was made that every one might remain in his house and carry on his business as usual. These promises of security were deceptive. The sight of the riches of the royal palace and in the Venetian Bailie's lodge excited the greed of the soldiery. Thus, when after three days they received orders from Aliki to return—for the King's fleet continued to cause anxiety to the timorous leaders—the city was put to the sack. Houses and churches were pillaged, men killed and women raped; many buildings, especially the palace, were

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<sup>1</sup> Flatro, however, seems to have played his cards successfully, since he represented John II at Cairo in 1432 (Ch. ix, p. 499).

<sup>2</sup> 'On the morning of Thursday, 5 Ramadan': al-'Aini who sometimes dates from sundown of the preceding day. Friday, 5 Ramadan (but 5 Ramadan was 11 July) is the date given by Zahiri and Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid for Taghribardi's entry, but Amadi and al-'Aini have 12 July for the beginning of the sack. He only left Aliki on 10 July, according to Amadi, and was two or three days in Nicosia. Abu'l-Mahasin (p. 362) says the Mamelukes spent only two days and one night there; Suyuti that they were received by the Nicosiotes on Friday, 6 Ramadan, and went away on Saturday: obviously too short a time.

<sup>3</sup> In view of the short time that the Mamelukes remained in Cyprus, Lusignan's assertion (*Descr. f. 155b*) that they built a mosque in Nicosia, and a castle at Gastria (cp. *Chor. f. 60*), both of which were destroyed by Janus on his return, cannot be true.

fired. Taghribardi himself escaped with difficulty from the flames.<sup>1</sup> Much worse would have befallen the city but for the order to return to Alikì. The Moslems departed with their booty, carrying with them men, women and children and goods, all who were in the Venetian Bailie's lodge, the Vice-Bailie, the brothers Audet, John Flatro, Eustace Guli and Badin Bili, who now realized the miscarriage of their schemes. A pitiful procession of captives was driven to Alikì. Those who for weakness or age were unable to walk were beheaded; babies who hampered their mothers were torn from their breasts and thrown aside to die. It was estimated that 6000 men and women were carried away captive to Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The Mamelukes stayed at Alikì some seven days, and then sailed for Egypt.

When the palace was burnt, the records, including the laws, perished. Subsequently some portions were found elsewhere, and collected together.<sup>3</sup>

The capital was left abandoned, and the brigand element throughout the island took advantage of its defenceless state. In the Paphos district the Italian mercenary captain, Sforza, who has already been mentioned (p. 478), leading a band of Spaniards who robbed and slew in all directions, aimed at seizing the power for himself. In the country towns the peasants, armed with any weapons they could find, appointed 'kings' and captains over themselves, and plundered the stores and estates of the landowners. One Alexis, calling himself King, had his headquarters at Lefkoniko; other centres of disorder were Lefka, Lemosos, Orini (the district of Tamassia), Peristerona and Morphou. An Armenian knight on his way to Paphos was murdered and his wife

<sup>1</sup> Ziada (I, p. 103) from al-'Aini. It was said that the soldiers had not been told of his promise of security to the citizens.

<sup>2</sup> M.L., H. II, p. 513, n. 2, quoting Piloti, in Reiffenberg, IV, pp. 337 and 386. Suyuti says that on reaching their ships at Alikì, the Moslems reckoned up their prisoners at 3700. Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 989c, says some 2000 were taken away from Nicosia. Raynaldus, 1426, § 24, p. 46, however puts the number as high as 20,000, so too the *Relatione*, p. 28 (cp. Iorga, *N.E.* I, p. 431, n. 3); this is surely an exaggeration.

<sup>3</sup> 'Fo brusà la corte real et i libri et scriture et leze; è stà trovate alcune et redute in volumi.' Report of the Lieutenant Silvester Minio, 1529 (Sanudo, *Diarii*, II, col. 448). He adds that James II appointed a commission to examine the laws, and so did Laurence Giustinian (Lieutenant 1507-9) and the Counsellors, but in neither case was anything done. As an instance of the destruction of records, we may note that in 1449 the Genoese government allowed the registration of the grant of a fief by Janus to a Genoese on 2 Oct. 1404, the original having been lost at the time of the invasion. Iorga, *N.E.* III, p. 238.

violated. The Latin Bishop of Famagusta, Solomon, was robbed and beaten almost to death.

By general agreement of all the knights and burgesses, Archbishop Hugh was made Regent of the Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> He at once sent Sir Badin de Nores, Marshal of Jerusalem, Sir Henry de Giblet and Peter Machaeras to Nicosia, with an armed force; the Hospitaller Angelo Mucetula, Bailie of Paphos, and Antony of Milan went to the Paphos district. Proclamation was made that everyone should keep the peace and go about his lawful occasions, nor provoke disturbance, on pain of death. The ringleaders of the brigands were hunted down; some escaped, some had their noses cut off, some were hanged. Alexis suffered the last penalty on 12 May 1427.

Taghribardi made a triumphal entry into Cairo,<sup>2</sup> and the prisoners and booty were taken in procession through the streets on 13 August. Janus was subjected to degrading treatment.<sup>3</sup> He was made to ride bareback on a lame ass, his feet shackled, barefoot, bareheaded; his banner was reversed and dragged along the ground. He was forced to kiss the ground several times. 'I myself', says an eye-witness,<sup>4</sup> 'saw King Janus, when he entered the courtyard of the palace, so much struck by the sight of all this splendour and magnificence, that he fell in a faint and remained lying his full length on the ground, like a dead man.' But another report has it that he behaved with dignity; when first brought before the Sultan and asked what ransom he could pay, he said he had nothing but his life, and that was in the hands of the Sultan. When again brought into the presence, and threatened with death, he showed no fear.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Monstrelet's statement (iv, p. 268), that Hugh resigned the government of Cyprus to 'Peter de Lusignan, Constable of Jerusalem', seems to be due to confusion with what happened on the accession of John II.

<sup>2</sup> Monday, 8 Shawwal, 829 (13 Aug.), al-'Aini, p. 262 and Abu'l-Mahasin, p. 362; during the first ten days of the month, Ibn Yahya (who was present), p. 357; the procession through the streets on 8 Shawwal, Suyuti, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Pero Tafur, who knew Carceran Suarez, and Loredano are the only writers who conflict with this account. Tafur says (p. 66 of Letts's translation) that Suarez and the King were both treated kindly, and even allowed to ride on horseback. He explains that 'there is a custom among the Moors that none may ride on horseback who is not a renegade Christian' (that is to say, a Mameluke; cp. p. 74). Loredano (Giblet, II, p. 164) says that the Sultan received Janus rather favourably, and treated him more as a friend than as a prisoner.

<sup>4</sup> Abu'l-Mahasin, p. 363.

<sup>5</sup> Weil, v, p. 176.

The King's humiliation was complete; but there is reason to believe that the Sultan was touched by his misfortune, and gave him an allowance sufficient for his needs until the day of his release.<sup>1</sup>

The disaster which had overwhelmed the Kingdom was real enough, but it is necessary to discount some of the estimates of its gravity which found their way into print. It is true, for instance, that, as Pius II said, the invader defeated the Cypriotes, carried away King Janus captive, and burned churches. But it was gross exaggeration to add that he took nearly the whole population into slavery, and left the cities empty and the island almost desolate.<sup>2</sup> At the same time we have it credibly recorded,<sup>3</sup> as a mark of the enormous destruction wrought to the estates of the Hospital, that in 1428 the Grand Commander and Chapter General allowed the Grand Commandery of Cyprus, then held by Hermann von Ow, to be leased to two of the Brethren, Angelo Mucetula and Peter Carnes, at the nominal rent of four ducats a year for seven years, that they might restore it to prosperity. The usual responsion was 12,000 ducats.

Pope Martin V, on hearing of the disaster, bestirred himself to settle the quarrel between Venice and Milan, so that the former might be free to aid Cyprus. He wrote also to Genoa pointing out that, unless she did the same, she would certainly lose Famagusta.<sup>4</sup> The Florentine Council of Liberty expressed its deep distress to its ambassador at Venice, but there is no record of its having gone beyond such a demonstration of sympathy.<sup>5</sup> The University of Paris wrote to the King of the Romans of its fear that the Sultan, the emissary of the Devil, having conquered Cyprus might easily direct a powerful force to the seizure of other Christian territory.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Mahasin, p. 364. Cp. Weil, *ibid.* n. 4 (Janus freed from chains on 15 Aug., and allowed 12 pounds of meat and 6 chickens a day).

<sup>2</sup> *Comm.* p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Bosio, II, p. 147. The estate had recovered by 1449, when it again paid 12,000 ducats. Herquet, *Charlotta*, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Raynaldus, 1426, § 25, p. 46. The Genoese government expressed its horror, and its conviction of the necessity of union between the western Powers to prevent a repetition of such disasters. Letter to the cardinals, 10 Oct. 1426, Iorga, *N.E.* I, pp. 432-4. In a discussion on 14 Feb. 1427 it was generally recognized that Genoa could not undertake the defence of the island as a whole, but that it was desirable to send reinforcements to Famagusta; no vote was however taken at the time (*ibid.* p. 448).

<sup>5</sup> M.L., *H.* II, p. 517 (25 Sept. 1426).

<sup>6</sup> Iorga, *N.E.* II, p. 233.

Negotiations began for the ransom of the prisoners. In November 1426 Carceran Suarez was allowed to go on parole to Cyprus, to collect what he could, and he actually went on to Rome. James Gurri was sent to Castile, and other envoys passed to and fro.<sup>1</sup> Agreement was reached, through the mediation of the Genoese, Benedict Pallavicini,<sup>2</sup> and the Venetian merchants, on the basis of a ransom of 200,000 ducats (half of which should be paid before the King could be released), and an annual tribute of 5000 ducats.<sup>3</sup> The Sultan's first terms had been that Janus should apostatize or pay a million ducats or lose his head.

The money was partly borrowed from Frankish merchants.<sup>4</sup> Other means were adopted to raise the necessary sum in Cyprus itself.<sup>5</sup> Receipts from octrois and other duties were allocated to it. Holders of fiefs were allowed to sell their serfs and revenues; the *perperarii* of the capital were allowed to compound for taxation at twenty ducats a man—a pitiful descent from the sum which had been charged in the time of Peter I. The Pope permitted the diversion to Janus's treasury of revenues from Cyprus which should have gone to Rome.<sup>6</sup> The Hospitallers contributed largely, both directly and indirectly. They borrowed from Venice for the purpose 15,000 ducats, and the Grand Master, Antony Fluvian, himself advanced an equal sum.<sup>7</sup> Two rich men,

<sup>1</sup> Tafur (Letts), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Iorga, *N.E.* 1, pp. 421–2.

<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that these are the correct figures. A few of the incorrect statements may be mentioned; for others see Reinhard, II, p. 22, note *h*; and for the Arabic sources, Ziada, II, p. 38. Tafur's figure for the ransom is 300,000 ducats and for the tribute 8000. Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 991E, has 8000 (so, too, *Diarii*, LVI, 1041) for the tribute; but in col. 989DE, he gives a sum down of 30,000 and an annual tribute of 10,000 for ten years. The *Relatione* mentions only a sum down of 30,000. Pius II makes the ransom 125,000 ducats. Ibn Yahya (p. 358) has the ransom right, and describes the 5000 dinars as a sum sent to the sacred Harams of Mecca and Medina. (Cyprus thus came to be regarded by the Moslems as a sort of fief of the Holy Places.) In Mustafa ibn as-Sayyid (p. 369) the tribute is 20,000 dinars (cp. Weil, v, p. 177) and 2000 woollen garments; Suyuti doubtless means the same by his 2000 pieces of camlet to the value of 20,000 dinars.

<sup>4</sup> Who, according to the *Relatione*, gave goods to the value of 30,000 ducats.

<sup>5</sup> Was it at this time that Janus pledged a necklace with the Ca' Cornaro Episcopia for 4000 ducats? It was redeemed by James II in 1472. *M.L., H.* III, p. 331. Sanudo, *Vite*, col. 989E mentions only octrois and duties as the means by which the ransom was raised.

<sup>6</sup> Raynaldus, 1426, § 23, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> At the Council of Basle, when a half-tithe for the succour of Cyprus was imposed, the Order claimed exemption, since it had been excused from such impositions by Martin V, Eugenius IV and their predecessors. It had contributed 50,000 florins for

Benedict Pernessin, a Genoese citizen, and John Podocataro, a Cypriote noble, are said to have sold all they had to help to free the King.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand miscreants were not wanting who profited from the enthusiasm of the faithful. It was stated at the Council of Basle<sup>2</sup> that certain persons, including priests and friars, embezzled the contributions which they received in return for indulgences granted to those who helped to ransom Janus and other captives.

The tribute to the Sultan was paid, in part at least, not in money but in camlet, which was manufactured at Famagusta. The sum of 2000 gold ducats, which the King possessed at the time of his capture, was expended in purchasing such cloth.<sup>3</sup> After Venice took

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the ransom of captives, and 30,000 for the liberation of Janus in particular (*Monum. Conciliorum Gener. Seculi xv, Concil. Basil., Scr. II*, pp. 618-19). Bosio (*II*, p. 146) says that he does not know the total amount contributed by the Order, but the Grand Master himself lent 15,000 ducats, and some citizens and vassals of the Order lent the same amount. The authority to James of Germany to negotiate the loan of 15,000 ducats from Venice was given on 7 Dec. 1426 (*M.L., H. II*, p. 518), and on 15 Feb. 1427 the Order acknowledged the debt of the common treasury to the Grand Master of an equal amount advanced for the ransom (*ibid.*). It was long before the debt was repaid by Cyprus. From Venetian documents (*M.L., Nouv. preuves, B.E.C.* 35, pp. 136, 147-52) it appears that one Angelo Michiel, who had estates in Cyprus, advanced a large sum towards the ransom. The King pledged the Salines of Larnaka to him for 5000 ducats, but took them back when Michiel died. In 1440 the Senate threatened to sequester the property of Cypriotes in Venice if the King did not satisfy the claims of Michiel's executors. In 1445 the debt to the Michiel estate is reckoned at 17,000 ducats, for which the King had pledged the village of Kouklia. After arranging that this should be paid in instalments of 2500 ducats over six years, the security being the sugar of Kouklia and Akhelia, the Senate discovered to its disgust that all the sugar from those estates had already been pledged by the King to Genoese merchants. In 1446 a new agreement between the Order and the King was ratified, the debt still unpaid being secured on certain sugar-plantations in the Paphos district, including Tarsi, which has not been located (*M.L., H. III*, pp. 30-2, 60). Bosio (*II*, p. 178) records that in 1451 the King handed over Tarsi with all its revenues to the Order, which sent James du Fossat to administer it.

<sup>1</sup> Lusignan, *Chor.* f. 60; *Descr.* f. 155. Podocataro's sacrifice is also mentioned by the Bodleian MS. (Tanner cxvii f. 11b) of the *Relatione* of Francis Attar (not in the text printed by *M.L., H. III*, p. 526). The Genoese, Augustine Grillo, appears to have suffered imprisonment for the deliverance of the King; in 1435 he went to Cyprus to recover part of what was owing to him in compensation (*Iorga, N.E.* I, p. 572).

<sup>2</sup> J. Haller, *Concilium Basiliense. Studien u. Dokumente z. Gesch. der Jahre 1431-1437*, III, p. 571.

<sup>3</sup> Machaeras, 702; Dawkins on Machaeras, 454, n. 3. On the payment of the tribute, details from Arabic sources in Ziada, II, pp. 42-3.

over Cyprus, it continued to pay the tribute to the Sultan partly in this kind.<sup>1</sup>

Of the common folk among the captives, some were ransomed,<sup>2</sup> some sold and sent to various parts of the world, some accepted the faith of Islam, and some who refused to apostatize died in torment.

The treaty between the Sultan and Janus, embodying the terms on which he was released, included a clause in which the Sultan undertook to defend his 'viceroys in Cyprus' against the Venetians and Catalans.<sup>3</sup>

Carceran Suarez returned to Cairo with a large sum of money,<sup>4</sup> and after eight months in captivity the King left Egypt,<sup>5</sup> escorted by five galleys, two of his own, one Rhodian and two corsairs. On 12 May 1427<sup>6</sup> he was at Paphos. There James de Montolif was put ashore and arrived with the news at Nicosia next day. On the 15th Janus landed at Kerynia, and three days later entered his capital.

The faithful Carceran Suarez was rewarded with the hand of a natural daughter of the King, and made Admiral of Cyprus.<sup>7</sup> Janus also

<sup>1</sup> In 1499 (not for the last time) the Sultan complained of the quality of the goods: 'le cosse tristi et li zambeloti tarmadi' (Sanudo, *Diarii*, II, 614, cp. V, 114, 115). See below, Ch. XIII, p. 826.

<sup>2</sup> The Pope not only ordered the Spanish, French and English churches to contribute the hundredth penny of all their revenues towards the ransom of the Cypriote prisoners, but allocated a sum from the church dues of Italy, Savoy and Piedmont. Raynaldus, 1431, § 35, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Ziada, II, p. 39, from Abu'l-Mahasin.

<sup>4</sup> 300,000 ducats, according to Tafur, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> The Sultan on his release gave him a robe of honour and other rich presents (Ibn Yahya, p. 358), and sent with him a servant, who however on returning was sent into exile, the King having complained of his behaviour. Ibn Yahya adds that a Frank known as the 'son of the Prince of Beirut' was kept in Cairo as a hostage; when the payment of the ransom was delayed, he was beaten; but on the payment arriving he was released with a robe of honour.

<sup>6</sup> The dates given by Machaeras and Amadi may be accepted for the return of Janus, rather than those in the Arabic sources (Ziada, II, p. 41). Al-'Aini dates his release from the citadel on 26 Jan. 1427; others (Abu'l-Mahasin, etc.) on 24 Feb. Ziada therefore assumes that Janus reached Paphos in March. But, though he was released from strict confinement in January, and allowed to live in a house in Cairo, he did not leave that city until 14 April (Weil, v, p. 177).

<sup>7</sup> Machaeras, 704; Amadi, pp. 507-8; Fl. Bustron, p. 366; Tafur, tr. Letts, p. 67. Cp. M.L., *H.* II, p. 526, n. 2 and Iorga, *N.E.* II, p. 40, n. 5. He is not mentioned as Admiral before 1432, but almost certainly owed the office to Janus rather than John II. In 1438 he fell for a time into disfavour. Two Catalan galleys under his command intercepted and relieved of its cargo of cotton a ship belonging to a Genoese, Tobias

rewarded with an annual pension of 200 ducats the Sultan's chief interpreter, a renegade Jew of Seville, who had been helpful during the imprisonment.<sup>1</sup>

Janus returned broken in spirit and in health, although the worst results of the shock he had suffered did not appear for some four or five years. It was said that after his capture he never laughed again.<sup>2</sup> Soon after his return he placed his affairs in the hands of his brother, Cardinal Hugh.<sup>3</sup> It was the Cardinal therefore who went to Genoa and, on 11 February 1428, made a new arrangement<sup>4</sup> with the Office of St George (which had absorbed the rights of the Old Mahona of Cyprus) for the payment of the debt still owing to that body. The Cardinal pleaded that owing to the misfortunes that had befallen him, Janus had been unable to acquit the debt. He asked for a respite of six years, during which he might pay what he owed to the Sultan for his ransom. The Office was unable to make this concession, since the interest on their shares in the Mahona was the sole means of livelihood for an infinite number of wretched shareholders, especially churches, monasteries, orphans and

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Piccamiglio. Genoa protested, and the King sequestered the Admiral's property, but restored him to favour, without indemnifying Piccamiglio, who in 1440 asked for letters of reprisal against Cyprus (Iorga, *N.E.* III, p. 59). Lusignan (*Descr.* f. 81b) implies that Suarez was Chamberlain of Cyprus, being succeeded after his death by Rizzo di Marino. There is no other evidence of his having held that office; further, Hugh or Odet Langlois is mentioned as Chamberlain from 1458 to 1463 (G. Bustron, p. 433; Fl. Bustron, p. 386; M.L., *H.* III, p. 126) and Rizzo di Marino from 1464 onwards (M.L., *H.* III, p. 172; Fl. Bustron, p. 415), so that there is no room for him. He was Constable of Cyprus in 1457 and 1458 (Fl. Bustron, pp. 375, 384; G. Bustron, p. 430). M.L., *H.* III, p. 346, n. 1, says that he fled from Cyprus in Dec. 1473, quoting Fl. Bustron, p. 446 and G. Bustron, pp. 504-5, but these passages refer to Carceran's natural son, who refused to fly with Rizzo di Marino and the others.

<sup>1</sup> Tafur (Letts), p. 67; Ziada, II, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 702.

<sup>3</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 518-21 (25 Aug. 1427): he creates Hugh 'suum verum, certum, legitimum et indubitatum procuratorem, actorem, factorem et negotiorum gestorem et nuntium specialem,' etc., with special commission to apply to the Pope for indulgences in various parts of the world for the help and restoration of the King himself and his Kingdom. The Cardinal, unable himself to attend to all the matters in which the King's interests were involved, employed his squires, Simon du Puy and John Gardien, formally transferring the King's procurator to the latter on 29 Sept. 1431 (M.L., *H.* II, pp. 523-5).

<sup>4</sup> M.L., *H.* II, pp. 521-2; Iorga, *N.E.* I, pp. 467-9. The King's ambassador Philip Caldarino asked for more favourable terms, but Genoa was unable to grant them (9 Aug. 1428, *ibid.* p. 474). Agreement was reached on 19 Jan. 1429 (*ibid.* p. 485).



widows.<sup>1</sup> The previous treaties were confirmed, and the Cardinal engaged the King to pay to the representatives of the Old Mahona the sum of 952,000 florins still owing, plus 60,000 besants as indemnity for the arrears.<sup>2</sup> As to the 150,000 ducats owing to the New Mahona (p. 454), the King had paid no more than 5000 ducats for the two instalments due in 1425 and 1426. He was therefore held to be still in debt for the whole sum. But, in consideration of his misfortunes, the sums paid on account were to be deducted, and the King was to pay only a total of 47,100 ducats by instalments spread over the years 1429 to 1437.<sup>3</sup> But if the payments were not duly made, the arrangement was to be wiped out, and the King held liable for the whole 150,000 ducats.

Although Janus had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sultan, it is clear that he was in continual dread lest more should be demanded of him. The intensity of his fear is indicated by the fact that he turned to Genoa for aid. His envoy, the Bishop of Famagusta, approached the Genoese government with a request that forces sufficient to repel an invasion should be sent to Cyprus, and an envoy despatched to Cairo to mediate for peace. Cardinal James Isolani, Governor of Genoa for the Duke of Milan, and the Duke's commissary informed Janus by letters of 13 and 14 May 1427 that it had been decided to send Peter Doria as Captain extraordinary of Famagusta, with a hundred foot-soldiers and all arms, and with instructions to take orders from the King, as if he were the King's own officer and not that of Genoa, and to send ambassadors, if he thinks it useful, or even go in person, to Cairo. All Genoa, Janus was told, was very well disposed to him and his realm.<sup>4</sup> The Genoese merchants at Rhodes were told that their government, aware of the necessity of being forewarned of the Sultan's designs on Cyprus, had charged certain persons to collect information, sending emissaries to Famagusta, Damascus and Chios.<sup>5</sup> And the Captain and *massarii* of Famagusta were told that, horrible though the fate of Cyprus

<sup>1</sup> This plea recurs again and again, as in 1439: among the shareholders 'sunt pupilli, orphani, vidue, ecclesie, monasteria': Iorga, *N.E.* III, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> The payments to be made in annual instalments of 24,000 good besants of Nicosia, beginning 1 March 1429, at four besants to a florin. The receipts of the octroi of Nicosia and the customs of the Kingdom were to go towards these payments.

<sup>3</sup> This debt was also to be secured on the octroi of Nicosia and the customs.

<sup>4</sup> Iorga, *N.E.* I, pp. 457-8, 13-14 May 1427. The mission of Janus's envoy, Tomasino de Cornice, in March 1430, may have been connected with the same matter or with the question of the debt (*ibid.* p. 515).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 466.

was, 'there was no need for sighs', and a strong force was being despatched for their protection.<sup>1</sup> Though it may be true that in protecting Cyprus Genoa was far from blind to its own interests, it is pleasant to discern at this time a sympathetic note not usually apparent in its communications with the rulers of Cyprus. The same spirit is shown in the instructions which the government issued to its officers in connexion with the negotiations with the Sultan in February 1431. It was hoped to have the peace concluded at Famagusta, and the Captain and *massarii* were instructed, while expediting its conclusion, to treat the King of Cyprus with benevolence, consider what would be his requirements if a maritime war broke out, and prepare to supply them to the extent of their powers.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, to the end of his days, Janus never gave up hope of recovering Famagusta. On 24 March 1432 his brother, Cardinal Hugh, was appealing to Venice to aid him in this endeavour,<sup>3</sup> as, for a different purpose, Janus had already appealed three years before, when two ambassadors had appeared in Venice in May 1429, asking for a loan to meet the expenses of his ransom, and offering to pledge his sugar crop, or any other source of revenue, as security. This was refused, on the ground of the embarrassment in which the Republic found her finances involved at the time.<sup>4</sup> The same envoys went on to the Pope and Emperor and various Italian rulers.<sup>5</sup>

The danger to Cyprus from the other great enemy of Christendom, the Turk, may have seemed less immediate, but it was real, and the Powers which were threatened were united by their common peril. Venice was thus brought into touch with the Grand Karaman. It will be remembered that Janus had found him useful at the time of the Mameluke invasion (p. 478, n. 1). It was thus to the King of Cyprus, as being in close relations of friendship with the Grand Karaman, as well as a bitter enemy of the Grand Turk, that Venice in 1429 sent its envoys to obtain information about the disposition of the former ruler. If it should appear that he was favourably inclined, the envoys were to proceed to his court with full powers to conclude an alliance.<sup>6</sup> This was in accordance with the policy which was pursued by Venice until the

<sup>1</sup> Iorga, *N.E.* 1, pp. 466-7 (1 Feb. 1428).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 535-6. It is to be noted that there had been appointed at this time an 'officium ad agenda serenissimi domini regis Cipri et Soldani egyptii deputatum'.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 562.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 491 (26 May 1429).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* with n. 4. *Relatione*, in Reinhard, II, Beyl. p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Iorga, *N.E.* 1, 502-4 (30 Aug. 1429).

Karamanid power was finally crushed by the Ottoman Turk some forty-five years later.

In his quest for money to relieve his financial straits, Janus went far afield. The Marshal of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> Badin de Nores, and his two sons, with Peter de Bnin (a Polish knight who suggested the scheme) and 200 knights, were sent on a mission to Ladislas V, King of Poland, in 1432, with the proposal that Hedwig, the daughter of Ladislas, should marry Janus's son John, and bring as her dowry a loan of 200,000 ducats. But Hedwig died, and the plan came to nothing.<sup>2</sup>

Anna, the eldest daughter of Janus,<sup>3</sup> was betrothed on 9 August 1431 to Amadeus, the eldest son of Amadeus VIII of Savoy. But this prince died very soon afterwards, and on 1 January 1432 his brother Louis, Count of Geneva, took his place, although owing to the death of Janus the marriage was not celebrated until later.<sup>4</sup> Her subsequent history belongs to Savoy rather than to Cyprus. A very beautiful, extravagant and thoroughly mischievous woman, the influence which she and her Cypriote companions had on the affairs of the Duchy seems to have

<sup>1</sup> Called Marshal of Cyprus by Machaeras (705).

<sup>2</sup> Matthias de Michovia, *Chronica Polonorum*, lib. iv, c. 52 (in Pistorius, *Polon. hist. Corpus*, II (1582), p. 206); M. Cromer, *de orig. et rebus gestis Polon.* (1568), lib. xx, p. 302B; J. Dlugossus, *Hist. Polon.* (Lips. 1711), lib. xi, col. 609; Raynaldus, 1431, § 35, p. 115; Reinhard, II, p. 24; M.L., *Gén.* p. 44; Dawkins on Machaeras, 705, Machaeras calls Hedwig the 'emperor's' daughter, and dates her death wrongly in 1433. Badin de Nores, writing from Rome on 13 Jan. 1433 to the Duke of Savoy, mentions that he has returned from Poland.

<sup>3</sup> M.L. *Gén.* p. 41. Some writers wrongly call her the second daughter; in the contract of 1 Jan. 1432 she is *primogenita*.

<sup>4</sup> The records relating to this marriage, which was to be so momentous for the future history of Cyprus, cannot all be enumerated here. The most important are: (1) 1 Jan. 1432. Contract of marriage between Louis and Anna. Dowry of 100,000 ducats. Guichenon, *Hist. de Sav.* IV, p. 364; Reinhard, I, Beyl. 65, p. 97. (2) 12 Jan. 1432. Letters of Janus to Amadeus VIII, James II de Bourbon, and Cardinal Hugh. M.L., *H.* II, p. 525; *Nouv. preuves*, B.E.C. 35, pp. 140-4. (3) 17 Sept.-16 Nov. 1433. Journal of the ambassadors to Cyprus. M.L., *H.* III, pp. 17-23. (4) 4 Oct. 1433. Marriage by proxy at Nicosia. M.L., *H.* III, p. 20. (5) Nov. 1433. Anna and her suite arrive at Nice. L. Cibrario, *Mém. de l'Acad. de Turin*, 2 sér., t. I (1839), p. 388. (6) Feb. 1434. The marriage celebrated at Chambéry, *Chron. lat. Sab.*, in *Mon. Hist. Patr.* IV, *Scr.* II, col. 615; Cibrario, *op. cit.* p. 388. For other documents see M.L., *H.* III, pp. 10, 12-15, 805; *Nouv. preuves* as above, pp. 144-7; Cibrario, *loc. cit.* Although it is rather belated, the reference in the proceedings of the Council of Basle on 29 April 1437 to the 'recent' arrival in the West of the 'daughter of the King of Cyprus' (Haller, *Conc. Bas.* V, p. 230) can only be to Anna.

been deplorable, and their morals scandalized contemporary society.<sup>1</sup> She died on 11 November 1462.

In 1431 Janus, who, as already stated, never recovered from the shock of his capture, had a stroke. He lay paralysed head and foot for a year. Inevitably it was rumoured that his captors had poisoned him,<sup>2</sup> but it must have been a slow poison indeed that took four or five years before it began to work effectively. On 10 June 1432 he had a second stroke, from which he did not recover, dying on 28 or 29 June 1432.<sup>3</sup> He was buried on 30 June in the choir of St Dominic's.<sup>4</sup>

The physical characteristics of Janus have already been mentioned (p. 447). He had three natural children, but in comparison with others of the dynasty he seems to have been chaste, for the Greek chronicler remarks that after the death of his wife he knew no woman.<sup>5</sup> Strength of character he seems to have lacked. This may have been the reason for the way in which his Council prevented envoys, such as the son of the sheikh of Damascus and those other messengers sent by the Saracens on the eve of Khirokitia, from having access to him. Wrong-headed as their policy may have been, they doubtless feared that he might be too easily swayed by others. If John XXIII got the better of him in the

<sup>1</sup> Modern accounts in F. Cognasso, *Amedeo VIII*, I (1930), pp. 138-45 (description of the marriage) and V. de Saint-Genis, *Hist. de Savoie*, I (1868), pp. 435-7. Aeneas Sylvius may be quoted, though he is seldom an impartial witness (*Comm.* p. 335): 'uxorem duxerat ex Cypro Annam regiam sororem audacem feminam, quae subesse nesciret. Haec viri abusa ingenio regimen ad se traxit: magistratus pro arbitrio instituit ac destituit. Sacerdotia quibus voluit impetravit; Cyprienses in rerum culmine collocavit,' etc....

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 702.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Strambaldi, p. 287 (wrong year, 1434); Amadi, p. 515; Fl. Bustron, pp. 370-1 (gives his epitaph in St Dominic's, with the date 29 June).

<sup>4</sup> Machaeras, 704; Lusignan, *Descr.* f. 155b.

<sup>5</sup> G. Paradin, *Cronique de Savoye* (1552), p. 338, has a story which, if true, would show him to be capable of great refinement of cruelty: he killed a cousin (or nephew) by tying him by arms and legs to two trees bent towards each other and then released so as to tear him limb from limb. The story, so far as I know, is not otherwise confirmed, except in a Bodleian MS., Add. D. 1, f. 201b (a general history, written c. 1500). But the device was in any case not original. It, or something like it, had been used, according to the Theseus legend, by the robber Sinis; according to Vo-piscus, by the Emperor Aurelian; according to Saxo Grammaticus, by a Ruthenian pirate called Botho. See Frazer on Apollodorus, III, c. XVI, 2. Nothing that we otherwise know of Janus is in keeping with this story; we may therefore hesitate to believe it, remembering that in folklore such tales sometimes become attached to the wrong persons.

affair of the Commanderies, it was not due to any scrupulousness on his part. As regards political honesty he was no better than his time. He pledged estates twice over to pay his debts (p. 489 n.), and he made, for the same purpose, engagements by solemn treaty, which he must have known he could never meet. But in those days 'treaty faith was unknown.... A peace might be concluded for ten years or a hundred, though it was intended to observe it just four months'.<sup>1</sup> The only difference between his time and ours seems to have been that then it was not thought necessary to make excuses for such breaches of faith.

He died poor, says Amadi's chronicle. The plate and jewels which he left were estimated at the comparatively small amount of 200,000 besants (about 50,000 ducats).

It is not known whether he was interested in the arts. He completed the castle at Nicosia, and built many residences, including one to take the place of his palace which was burned in the Mameluke invasion.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Brown, *Studies in the Hist. of Venice*, 1 (1907), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Machaeras, 702. G. Bustron, however (p. 413; cp. Fl. Bustron, p. 373), says that when Janus returned he took the house of Sir 'Rikos' (Fl. Bustron has 'Ugo') de la Baume, and it remained the royal residence 'until this day'. Janus doubtless enlarged or improved it. G. Bustron, speaks of Janus as returning from 'Syria', which here, as elsewhere, he regards as including the coast of Egypt. So too Arnold von Harff, *Pilgrimage*, transl. Letts, p. 96: 'This town of Alexandria lies in Syria, abutting on the land of Egypt.'



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